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Jesuits and Islam in Europe

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Jesuits and Islam in Europe

By

Emanuele Colombo
Paul Shore

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Preliminary Note

The authors have conceived and discussed the book jointly. Paul Shore authored Parts 1, 3, 7, 8, and 9; Emanuele Colombo authored Parts 2, 4, 5, 6, and 10. The contents are discussed more extensively in articles and book chapters previously published by the authors.

For Part 1, see Paul Shore, "The *Vita Christi* of Ludolph of Saxony and Its Influence on the *Spiritual Exercises* of Ignatius of Loyola," *Studies in the Spirituality of Jesuits* 30, no. 1 (1998): 1–32.

For Part 2, see Emanuele Colombo, "Defeating the Infidels, Helping Their Souls: Ignatius Loyola and Islam," in *A Companion to Ignatius of Loyola: Life, Writings, Spirituality, Influence*, ed. Robert A. Maryks (Leiden: Brill, 2014), 179–97.

For Part 4, see Emanuele Colombo, "Entre guerre juste et accommodation: Antonio Possevino et l'islam," *Dix-septième siècle* 268, no. 3 (2015): 393–408; Colombo, "The Society of the World: Antonio Possevino and the Jesuit Debate over Purity of Blood," in *Jesuits and Race: A Global History of Continuity and Change, 1530–2020*, ed. Nathaniel Millett and Charles H. Parker (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2022), 23–52.

For Part 5, see Emanuele Colombo, "Jesuits and Islam in Seventeenth-Century Europe: War, Preaching, and Conversions," in *L'islam visto da occidente: Cultura e religione del Seicento europeo di fronte all'Islam*, ed. Bernard Heyberger, Mercedes García-Arenal, Emanuele Colombo, and Paola Vismara (Milan: Marietti, 2009), 315–40; Colombo, "Western Theologies and Islam," in *The Oxford Handbook of Early Modern Theology, 1600–1800*, ed. Ulrich L. Lehner, Richard Muller, and A. [Anthony] G. Roeber (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2015), 482–98; and the entries "Niccolò Maria Pallavicini," and "Juan de Almarza," in *Christian–Muslim Relations: A Bibliographical History*, vol. 9, *Western and Southern Europe* (*1600–1700*), ed. David Thomas and John A. Chesworth (Leiden: Brill, 2017), 339–42, 807–11; "Tirso González de Santalla," in *Christian–Muslim Relations: A Bibliographical History*, vol. 13, *Western Europe* (*1700–1800*), ed. David Thomas and John A. Chesworth (Leiden: Brill, 2019), 796–805.

For Part 6, see Emanuele Colombo, "'Infidels at Home': Jesuits and Muslim Slaves in Seventeenth-Century Naples and Spain," *Journal of Jesuit Studies* 1, no. 2 (2014): 192–211.

For Part 7, see Paul Shore, "Two Hungarian Jesuits and the Qur'an: Understanding, Misunderstanding, and Polemic," *Journal of Qur'anic Studies* 20, no. 3 (2018): 81–93.

For Part 9, see Paul Shore, "An Early Jesuit Encounter with the Qur'ān: Ignazio Lomellini's *Animadversiones, notae ac disputationes in pestilentem Alcoranum*," *American Journal of Islamic Social Sciences* 34, no. 1 (2017): 1–22.

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For Part 10, see Emanuele Colombo, "Jesuits and Islam in Early Modern Europe," in *The Oxford Handbook of the Jesuits*, ed. Ines G. Županov (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2018), 349–78.

Paul Shore dedicates this book to Klára, who helped so much.

Emanuele Colombo dedicates this book to the memory of Robert Bireley, S.J. (1933–2018) and John W. O'Malley, S.J. (1927–2022).

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Jesuits and Islam in Europe

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Abstract

This volume looks at both Jesuit efforts to engage Muslim populations with Europe, such as the Moriscos, and the work of Jesuit missionaries and others in settings such as Constantinople. The activities of the Society of Jesus along the eastern frontier with the Ottoman Empire is detailed, as are the careers of individual Jesuits such as Tomás de León and Antonio Possevino who devoted much of their careers to responding to the claims of Islam and the pressures applied on Christian Europe by Muslim polities. Less well-known Jesuit personalities such as the translator Ignazio Lomellini are also profiled.

Keywords

Arabic Studies – Constantinople – conversion strategy – Islam – Malta – Muslims – Moriscos – Orientalism – Qur'an – Slaves

1 An Encounter on the Road

In his *Pilgrim's Testament*—often called his "autobiography," although it was actually dictated to an amanuensis, Luís Gonçalves da Câmara (*c.*1519–75)—Ignatius of Loyola (*c.*1491–1556) describes his encounter with a "Moor." Ignatius and the Moor met on a road in Spain, while riding a horse and mule, respectively: "They went along conversing together and got to talking about Our Lady. The Moor said it seemed to him that the Virgin had indeed conceived without a man, but he could not believe that she gave birth while remaining a

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virgin."[1] The travelers parted ways, and Ignatius,[2] then around the age of thirty, became deeply emotional, feeling that he "had not done his duty," which in this instance meant defending the honor of the Virgin Mary, and that he should stab the Moor if he found him. As is well known, when Ignatius reached a crossroads, he let his mule pick which path to continue on. Fortunately for the Moor, the animal chose the highway, not the way to the village where the Moor had gone, and so there was no further confrontation between these representatives of two faiths.

In this story, which has the quality of a fairy tale but may very well be literally true, we see some foreshadowing of how the Society of Jesus would approach Islam. First, the initial point of contact is discussion, even debate, on a one-to-one level, a style of encounter that would form a crucial part of Jesuit institutional culture. When Jesuits met Muslims, they would unpack debate points in a manner learned during their schooling. But as with Jesuit debates with Orthodox Christians, winning a debate did not necessarily translate into the winning of a soul or the persuading of an audience. Islam as a way of life is not easily set aside as a result of careful argumentation of theological points. And this was the case with Ignatius and the Moor.

That Ignatius was spurred to potential violence by a perceived point of honor concerning the Virgin is another indicator of the mindset that some Jesuits would bring, not merely to their interactions with Muslims, both within and beyond Europe, but to encounters with other populations. The Society is an all-male order, at the same time one keenly aware of women. The trope of the virtuous Jewish woman (frequently with a child) fleeing a "stiff-necked husband" is found in many accounts composed by members of the baroque Society. Jesuit encounters with Muslim women were rarer, but these women were nevertheless frequently viewed with greater sympathy than their male counterparts. The chivalric notions of rescue and purity figured prominently in Ignatius's understanding of his mission: in the same autobiographical account, he relates how he came in contact with Ludolph of Saxony's (*c.*1295–1378) *Vita*

1 *Acta Patris Ignatii scripta a P. Lud. Gonzalez de Camara* (*1553–1555*), *Font. narr.* 1:323–507. English quotations are taken from Barton T. Geger, ed., *A Pilgrim's Testament: The Memoirs of Saint Ignatius of Loyola* (Chestnut Hill, MA: Institute for Jesuit Sources, 2020), 33. For more details about this episode and its reception in the Society of Jesus, see Emanuele Colombo, "Defeating the Infidels, Helping Their Souls: Ignatius Loyola and Islam," in *A Companion to Ignatius of Loyola: Life, Writings, Spirituality, Influence*, ed. Robert A. Maryks (Leiden: Brill, 2014), 179–97.

2 At this point, the future saint was probably still known by his baptismal name, Iñigo.

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Christi (Life of Christ) after having asked for a chivalric romance that could be read to him—probably by a woman.[3]

The dialogue between Ignatius and the Moor has virtually nothing to do with institutions, religious or otherwise, except to the degree that institutions had shaped the beliefs and attitudes of the two speakers. When the Society set out to carry the message of Christianity to Muslims, this was almost always done without direct encounters with Muslim clergy or officials. To be sure, Ottoman muftis had no interest in staging debates with Jesuits, yet beyond this restriction, the Society's approach to Muslims was one reflecting a broadly held Jesuit view of how to engage with Muslims. This approach was generally different from Jesuit dealings with European Jewish communities, or engagements with members of Protestant churches. In these latter settings, Jesuits could debate European rabbis or Calvinist pastors on scriptural topics in severely asymmetrical settings, confident that they had the support of the civil and ecclesiastical authorities. Jesuit encounters with Muslims tended to be less public and on an individual level, whether in the slave galleys of the Mediterranean or in prisons, baths, or the aftermath of battles. Debate and persuasion were employed in these sometimes-intimate environments, but it is also likely that less formal and structured approaches were used on occasion. We shall see how Michel Nau (1633–83), one of the most distinguished Jesuit missionaries to Muslims, cultivated an approach that stressed respect for the other and understanding of local customs and languages. Preaching, performance, and polemics were not a major part of Nau's strategy, but these features did play key roles in the way that efforts to convert Muslims and confront Islam were portrayed by the Society for Christian audiences.

This brings us to the fact that Ignatius considered the story of himself and the Moor, among the many dramatic events of his life, important enough to relate it to his amanuensis.

The pre-suppression Society paid great attention to self-presentation and how those with whom Jesuits interacted were portrayed.[4] The Qur'anic translation by Ignazio Lomellini (*c.*1560–1645), and the commentary on the Qur'an of Péter Pázmány (1570–1637), both of which we will soon meet, exemplify this focus on the presentation of both the Jesuit writer and his perceived opponent (i.e., Muhammad): the former's skills and motivations will be elevated

3 Paul Shore, "The *Vita Christi* of Ludolph of Saxony and Its Influence on the Spiritual Exercises of Ignatius of Loyola," *Studies in the Spirituality of Jesuits* 30, no. 1 (1998): 1–32.

4 Paul Shore, "Contact, Confrontation, Accommodation: Jesuits and Islam, 1540–1770," *Al-qanṭara* 36, no. 2 (2015): 429–41.

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and displayed, while the latter's shortcomings are emphasized and not infrequently distorted.

It is often forgotten that the original apostolic orientation of the Society's co-founder was defined in relation to the Muslim world.[5] Recalling his recuperation from a severe injury at the Battle of Pamplona (1521), Ignatius noted that "when he thought about going to Jerusalem barefoot, and about eating nothing but plain vegetables [...], he remained satisfied and joyful."[6] Medieval maps of the world had placed Jerusalem at their center, and Ignatius, a man with medieval roots, still looked to that city, occupied as it was by Muslims, as a spiritual center.

The slight overlap between the final act of the Reconquista (the capture of Granada in 1492) and Ignatius's own life suggests the relationship between spiritual and material conquest as regards Jesuits engaging with Islam. The Society's perspective in its early years was still shaped by memories of direct conflict with Muslim occupiers. Philip Endean observes that even later in life Ignatius regarded Islam as an "enemy to be conquered, the enemy menacing Christendom. Any full statement of mission at the frontiers had to include them, but in immediate practice, they were simply an unknown and destabilising threat, one perhaps that it was often impolite to name."[7] Endean's use of the word "destabilizing" is of particular note, as it captures the "too close for comfort" quality of the revelation in the Qur'an and the risks that a strongly monotheistic creed might hold for a Christian Europe struggling over points of doctrine. Even without the overlaps and similarities between Christianity and Islam that we shall explore in the following Parts, Islam would have been in a separate category from the other faith traditions that the Society would encounter because of its association, in some Jesuits' minds, with conquest and occupation in Europe. While Ignatius's resolve to kill the Moor was not explicitly duplicated in subsequent Jesuit endeavors involving Muslims, the sense of male combat, if restrained to a literary level, did not disappear.

Islam, a belief system based on a sacred text, was a creed and a way of life that the pre-suppression Society took seriously, even as it strove to reject and overcome Qur'anic teachings. The points of possible similarity between Christianity and Islam were a point of departure for debates and discussions such as the one between Ignatius and the Moor, as were also questions of

5 Damian Howard, "Ignatius of Loyola, Apostle to the Muslims," *Studies: An Irish Quarterly Review* 106, no. 423 (2017): 359–68, here 359.

6 Geger, *Pilgrim's Testament*, 29.

7 Philip Endean, "Ignatius and the Turks: Two Letters from 1552," *The Way* 211 (2006): 67–78, here 76.

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morality and the theology of grace. Jesuits often either deliberately, or through ignorance, misunderstood the positions set forth in the Qur'an. Yet at times, a few Jesuits acknowledged the possibility of dialogue between them and Muslims.

And now, turning from the conversation between the future saint and the nameless Moor, let us consider the variety of encounters between Jesuits and Muslims over the next two and a half centuries.

2 Ignatius of Loyola and Islam

At the time of his encounter with the Moor, Ignatius's destination was neither Montserrat nor Manresa, where he stopped for eleven months and underwent a crucial spiritual experience. His destination at this point in his life was, rather, the Holy Land. Since his convalescence in Loyola, where he had his first "conversion," Ignatius had desired to visit Jerusalem, and he had never abandoned this dream.[8]

2.1 *Ignatius before the Society: From Pedrola to the Holy Land (1521–40)*

Ignatius's desire to go to Jerusalem, influenced by the books he read during his convalescence in Loyola, was born out of his aspiration to imitate the saints.[9] At first, the goal of his journey was, primarily, to be devotional and penitential; after Ignatius's stay in Manresa, however, his missionary attitude grew stronger, and his desire to convert Muslims became a priority.[10] This same idea is confirmed and reinforced in letters and reports by Jesuits of the first generation, such as Juan Alfonso de Polanco (1517–76), Ignatius's secretary; Diego Laínez (1512–65), the Society's second superior general (in office 1558–65); and Jerónimo Nadal (1507–80), a "faithful interpreter of Ignatius and

8 See Braulio Manzano Martín, *Iñigo de Loyola, peregrino en Jerusalén (1523–1524)* (Madrid: Encuentro, 1995).

9 Pedro de Leturia, "La conversión de S. Ignacio: Nuevos datos y ensayo de síntesis," *Archivum historicum Societatis Iesu* 5 (1936): 1–35; Leturia, "Jerusalén y Roma en los designios de San Ignacio de Loyola," in Leturia, *Estudios ignacianos*, vol. 1, *Estudios biográficos* (Rome: Institutum Historicum Societatis Iesu, 1957), 181–200; James W. Reites, "Ignacio y los musulmanes de Tierra Santa," *Manresa* 52 (1980): 291–318, here 294–96.

10 His firm intention was to remain in Jerusalem, continually visiting those holy places, and, in addition to this devotion, he also planned to help souls. Geger, *Pilgrim's Testament*, 50. Polanco states that since his conversion, Ignatius's true desire was to convert Muslims and to die among them. *Font. narr.* 2:33.

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the Institute."[11] Despite a desire to stay in Jerusalem for his entire life, Ignatius had to abandon the Holy Land after only a few weeks: the Franciscan custodians of the holy places rejected his plea to remain among them, as it was dangerous, at that time, for pilgrims to stay. Therefore, Ignatius had to return to Spain.[12]

In the following years, Ignatius never lost his fascination with the Holy Land; he helped many of his friends go on pilgrimages to Jerusalem and was intrigued by the possibility of staying there and "helping souls."[13] During the famous gathering in Montmartre on August 15, 1534, the first companions vowed to travel to the Holy Land, and "if they were not given permission to remain in Jerusalem, then they would return to Rome and present themselves to the vicar of Christ, so that he could make use of them wherever he thought it would be more for the glory of God and the good of souls."[14] Polanco openly associated this plan with Ignatius's first pilgrimage, relating that "Father Ignatius wanted to make a second try."[15] Although he was ordained a priest on June 24, 1537, Ignatius waited until Christmas of the following year to celebrate his first Mass, probably

11 John W. O'Malley, *The First Jesuits* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1993), 13. On Polanco, Laínez, and Nadal, see O'Malley, *First Jesuits*, 1–22. References to Ignatius's desire to convert Muslims in the Holy Land can be found in a letter by Polanco to unknown, Rome, December 8, 1564 (*Pol. compl.* 1:507); Polanco, "Sumario de las cosas más notables que a la institución y progreso de la Compañía de Jesús tocan (1547–1548)," in *Font. narr.* 1:166–67; Laínez, *Adhortationes in librum examinis* (*1559*), *Font. narr.* 2:153–54. See also Ignatius's anonymous biography (*c.*1567), *Font. narr.* 2:432. Reites, "Ignacio y los musulmanes de Tierra Santa," 308.

12 His pilgrimage lasted about two weeks, from September 4 to September 22, 1523. See Agustín Arce, "Iñigo de Loyola en Jerusalén (1523): Nuevos datos," *Tierra Santa* 32 (1957): 197–209; Maurice Gilbert, "Le pèlerinage d'Inigo à Jérusalem en 1523," *Nouvelle revue théologique* 112 (1990): 660–85; Manzano Martín, *Iñigo de Loyola*; Juan Plazaola, "Las peregrinaciones a Tierra Santa en tiempo de Ignacio de Loyola," *Anuario del Instituto Ignacio de Loyola* 4 (1997): 65–92.

13 Ignatius wanted Rodrigues to go to Jerusalem to establish a college there. Ignatius to the companions in Malta, Rome, July 21, 1554, in *Epp. ign.* 7:260.

14 Geger, *Pilgrim's Testament*, 74. Not all of Ignatius's companions planned to stay indefinitely in the Holy Land: in their accounts, Simão Rodrigues (1510–79) and Pierre Favre (1506–46) expressed the desire to return to Europe after visiting Jerusalem. See *Memoriale Petri Fabri*, in *Font. narr.* 1:37; *Simonis Rodrigues commentarium de origine et progressu Societatis Iesu* (*1577*), in *Font. narr.* 3:20. See Maurice Gilbert, *Les jésuites et la Terre Sainte* (Rome: Gregorian and Biblical Press, 2014).

15 Juan de Polanco to unknown, Rome, December 8, 1564, in *Pol. compl.* 1:507. Many other texts confirm the first companions' desire to convert Muslims: Ignatius to Francesco Palmio, July 29, 1553, *Epp. ign.* 5:259–60; Nadal, *Apologia contra censuram Facultatis Theologiae Parisiensis* (*1557*), in *Font. narr.* 2:82; Nadal, *Dialogi pro Societate contra haereticos, pars prior secundi dialogi* (*1563*), *Font. narr.* 2:253; Polanco, *Sumario*, 190; Polanco, *Summarium italicum de origine et progressu Societatis Iesu* (*1549–1551*), in *Font. narr.* 1:264.

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because he had hoped to celebrate it in Jerusalem or Bethlehem.[16] In 1540, the "friends in the Lord" put themselves at the pope's disposal, and Rome became their Jerusalem. However, the Holy Land and the souls of Muslims continued to play a prominent role in Ignatius's spiritual and apostolic imagination.

2.2 *Ignatius and the Society: Fighting Islam, Converting Muslims (1541–56)*

After Ignatius became superior general of the Society (1541), the Muslim world remained very present in his mind. In the early 1550s, for example, he turned his attention toward the Barbary Coast, where the viceroy of Sicily, Juan de Vega (1507–58), had organized an expedition against Muslim pirates who were threatening commercial traffic in the Mediterranean.[17] In 1550, Laínez, who was in Sicily at the time, was asked to accompany Vega as a military chaplain in the campaign to conquer Mahdia (at the time known as Africa), the stronghold of the Muslim pirates.[18] The expedition was successful, and on September 10, 1550, the city was occupied.[19] Ignatius's reaction to the victory, as witnessed in his letters, is remarkable. He was so enthusiastic about it that he obtained for the military special privileges that were normally granted by the pope during a jubilee year. Writing to the fleet, he praised the men for "fighting the infidels for the glory of Christ and the exaltation of the holy faith" and expressed his support of the "very just war" against the "enemies of the holy cross."[20] He asked all of the Society's communities, including "priests in their Masses as well as laymen in their devotions," to pray "every day for the success of the expedition."[21] After the victory, in a letter to Vega, Ignatius

16 See Pedro de Leturia, "La primera misa de San Ignacio de Loyola y sus relaciones con la fundación de la Compañía," in Leturia, *Estudios ignacianos*, 1:223–35, here 228. The cause of the delay could have been the fact that Ignatius was dealing with accusations of alumbradism. See Enrique García Hernán, *Ignacio de Loyola* (Madrid: Taurus, 2013), 300–2.

17 See Fernand Braudel, *La Méditerranée et le monde méditerranéen à l'époque de Philippe II* (Paris: Colin, 1949), 704–31.

18 Laínez was the first in a long series of military chaplains of the Society of Jesus. See Vincenzo Lavenia, "'Non arma tractare sed animas': Cappellani cattolici, soldati e catechesi di guerra in età moderna," *Annali di storia dell'esegesi* 26 (2009): 47–100. See the thematic issue "Jesuits and Soldiers," ed. Vincenzo Lavenia, *Journal of Jesuit Studies* 4, no. 4 (2017); see also here, Part 4.

19 Laínez to Ignatius, September 14, 1550, in *Laínez* 1:166–67; Braudel, *La Méditerranée*, 729.

20 Ignatius to the military, Rome, July 9, 1550, in *Epp. ign.* 3:113–14.

21 Ignatius to Nadal, July 19, 1550, in *Epp. ign.* 3:123–24. See James W. Reites, "Ignacio y los musulmanes del Norte de África," *Manresa* 56 (1984): 5–31, here 10. See also Ignatius to Isabel Vega, July 19, 1550, in *Epp. ign.* 3:121–22.

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celebrated "the great benefit of the exaltation of our holy faith and the defeat of its enemies."[22]

In the following years, Ignatius's concern about the Muslim presence in the Mediterranean grew even stronger. After a second expedition to Mahdia in 1552, in which Nadal served again as a military chaplain, Ignatius began to consider an ambitious venture: an alliance of European rulers, led by Charles V (1500–58, r.1519–56), to promote an *armada*, an anti-Muslim fleet of at least three hundred ships, which would assume both a defensive and offensive role in the Mediterranean.[23] In a fascinating exchange of letters with Nadal, Ignatius explained the details of his plan, including fundraising and political strategies, anticipating the victorious Holy League of Lepanto by twenty years.[24] Ignatius, according to Polanco, felt himself "moved to this not only by zeal for souls and charity but also by the light of reason, which shows that this project is highly necessary and can be executed by the emperor spending less than what he now does."[25]

The reasons for creating the fleet were both political and religious. In particular, it would prevent the capture and enslavement of many Christians;[26] it

22 Ignatius to Juan de Vega, Rome, September 27, 1550, in *Epp. ign.* 2:190–91.

23 Francisco de Borja Medina, "Ignacio de Loyola y el mar: Su política Mediterránea," *Revista de historia naval* 13 (1995): 11–56, here 43; Gisbert Beyerhaus, "Karl v. und der Kreuzzugsplan des Ignatius von Loyola," *Archiv für Kulturgeschichte* 36 (1954): 9–17.

24 Two letters by Ignatius to Nadal, Rome, August 6, 1552, in *Epp. ign.* 4:353–59. The letters are published in Medina, "Ignacio de Loyola y el mar," 52–56. Ignatius was well aware of the emperor's economic problems and offered a detailed list of the institutions that should contribute to the funding of the anti-Muslim armada. Reites, "Ignacio y los musulmanes del Norte de África," 21.

25 Ignatius to Nadal, Rome, August 6, 1552, in *Epp. ign.*, 4:353–54.

26 In 1548, Ignatius sent three Portuguese Jesuits to Tétouan to work for the liberation of the captives. In 1551, he obtained papal permission to create a mount of piety (an institutional pawnbroker run as a charity) to raise money to free the captives (Ignatius to Francisco Villanova, Rome, August 1, 1551, in Epp. ign. 3:588–92, here 592); the project, however, never came to fruition. Ignatius tried unsuccessfully to redeem the Jesuit Jean de la Goutte (d.1556), who had been captured by the Turks. Ignatius to Doménech, Rome, July 1555, in Epp. ign. 9:336–38. See Robert Ricard, "L'aumônerie des captifs chrétiens et la mission des jésuites portugais à Tétouan (1548)," in Les sources inédites de l'histoire du Maroc, 1ère série, dynastie sa'dienne, archives et bibliothèques de Portugal (Paris: Geuthner, 1951), 4:273–85; James W. Reites, "Jean de la Goutte Slave of the Turks," Archivum historicum Societatis Iesu 51 (1982): 300–13; Pierre-Antoine Fabre, "La captivité de Jean de la Goutte: Un échec précoce de la diplomatie jésuite en Méditerranée (1553–1555)," in Les rachats de captifs en Méditerranée, ed. Wolfgang Kaiser (Rome: École française de Rome, 2009) 321–31. Ignatius also personally worked to redeem another Jesuit, Miguel de Nóbrega (dates unknown). See Ignatius to Nóbrega, August 25, 1554, in Epp. ign. 7:446–49.

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would interrupt the phenomenon of renegades (Christians who recanted their faith by converting to Islam); and "it would allow [Christians] to put one foot in many lands of the Moors and other infidels, giving a chance to conquer them and thus make them Christians."[27] The project, however, did not succeed for political and economic reasons.[28]

Ignatius's warlike attitude is easily understandable and completely compatible with the direction taken by the Catholic Church at that time. In 1542, Paul III (1468–1549, r.1534–49) listed among the goals of his pontificate a holy war against "the Turk, our godless and ruthless enemy."[29] Additionally, the struggle against Islam was part of Ignatius's own family background: his father, Beltrán de Loyola (dates unknown), had participated in the Granada campaign against the Moors, and one of his brothers died while fighting the Turks in Hungary.[30] Ignatius himself "breathed the spirit of a world-wide crusade" during his youth in Azpeitia and later, when he served for a decade (1507–17) as a page to the treasurer of the court of Castile, Juan Velázquez de Cuéllar (1465–1517).[31] In those years, Ferdinand of Aragon (1452–1516, r.1479–1516) promoted campaigns to extend his power in the Maghreb and into the eastern Mediterranean in order to free Jerusalem from Muslim control.[32] What is striking, though, is the passion and energy that Ignatius devoted to this endeavor despite his being overly occupied in the administration of the growing Jesuit order. On several occasions, Ignatius wrote that he considered the project a true priority for the Society and that he wanted to spend the remaining days of his life on it.[33]

In tandem with this militant approach, we also find in Ignatius strong missionary and pastoral desires toward Muslims. Since his first years in Rome, Ignatius had a special interest in Muslim (and Jewish) converts. He established a house of catechumens that was officially founded in 1543 by Pope Paul III.[34]

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27 Ignatius to Nadal, Rome, August 6, 1552, in *Epp. ign.* 4:356.

28 Medina, "Ignacio de Loyola y el mar," 50.

29 Paul III, *Initii Nostri huius pontificatus*, 1542, quoted in John W. O'Malley, *Trent: What Happened at the Council* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2013), 70.

30 Polanco, *Chron.* 1:516–17; 2:267. See Leturia, *Iñigo de Loyola*, 31. García Hernán, *Ignacio de Loyola*, 47.

31 Leturia, *Iñigo de Loyola*, 31.

32 For early modern Spaniards, the conquest of North Africa held both strategic and symbolic importance as they sought control of important trade routes and pursued a crusading agenda geared toward a Christian recovery of the Holy Land. Andrew W. Devereux, "North Africa in Early Modern Political Spanish Thought," *Journal of Spanish Cultural Studies* 3 (2011): 275–91, here 281; Medina, "Ignacio de Loyola y el mar."

33 Ignatius to Doménech, Rome, January 16, 1554, in *Epp. ign.* 4:194–96.

34 The house, which was in principle for infidels (that is, any sort of non-believer), primarily hosted male Jews. See Lance Gabriel Lazar, *Working in the Vineyard of the Lord:*

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His dream to travel to Jerusalem never died, and he even planned to build a college there. Full of enthusiasm, he also wanted to establish colleges in Chios, Cairo, and Ragusa (today's Dubrovnik).[35] In 1553, when the provincial of Sicily, Jerónimo Doménech (1516–92), informed Ignatius that there was a possibility to evangelize North African Muslims, the mission in the Maghreb became one of Ignatius's highest priorities and could not be neglected "even if the rest of the Society would bleed out."[36] Ignatius also had plans to create special colleges that would train missionaries for the Muslim world. When his attempt to create a college in Malta failed due to a difficult relationship between the local bishop and the Knights of Malta,[37] Ignatius set up separate residences in Messina and Monreale (Sicily), where Arabic was to be spoken and studied by young Jesuits destined to work with Muslims.[38] Additionally, Ignatius encouraged the acceptance of Moriscos in the Society, emphasizing that "some of them will be able to learn that language [Arabic] and could help us in our mission in the Maghreb."[39] He asked for a copy of the Qur'an "in order to confute

Jesuit Confraternities in Early Modern Italy (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2005), 106; Domenico Rocciolo, "Documenti sui catecumeni e neofiti a Roma nel Seicento e Settecento," *Ricerche per la storia religiosa di Roma* 10 (1998): 391–452.

35 García Hernán, *Ignacio de Loyola*, 406–7.

36 Doménech to Loyola, Messina, December 30, 1553, in *Epp. mix.* 3:700–3, here 703; Ignatius to Laínez, Rome, January 13, 1554, in *Epp. ign.* 6:162–64; Ignatius to Polanco, Rome, January 15, 1554, in *Epp. ign.* 6:187–89.

37 Ignatius was convinced that the language spoken in Malta was similar to Arabic; in his project, the College of Malta was to train missionaries for North Africa. See Ignatius to Araoz, January 15, 1554, in *Epp. ign.* 6:187–89. The college was not founded until 1592. See Pio Pecchiai, *Il collegio dei gesuiti a Malta* (Rome: Regia Deputazione per la Storia di Malta, 1938); Vincent Borg, *The Maltese Diocese during the Sixteenth Century* (Malta: n.p., 2009), 2:57–62; Carmel Cassar, "The Collegium Melitense: A Frontier Mission in the Interface between the Christian and Muslim Worlds," *Al-qantara* 36, no. 2 (2015): 443–62. On Jesuits in Malta, see Part 8 of this narrative.

38 In 1552, Juan de Vega gave the Society of Jesus three young North African convert-slaves. They were admitted as coadjutors in the Society. See Francisco de Borja Medina, "La Compañía de Jesús y la minoría morisca (1545–1614)," *Archivum historicum Societatis Iesu* 57 (1988): 3–136, here 57. The special college in Monreale, which came to be called the Arabic College, was open for a few months but then abandoned. See Ignatius to Doménech, Rome, December 5, 1554, in *Epp. ign.* 8:144. Ignatius's interest in the Arabic language might have been strengthened by his contacts with the famous Arabist Guillaume Postel (1510–81), who met Ignatius in Paris and later asked to join the Society of Jesus. Postel was first accepted but soon dismissed from the Society. See *Epp. ign.* 1:344–45; *Font. narr.* 3:754–55; Vincenzo Poggi, "Arabismo gesuita nei secoli XVI–XVIII," in *Eulogema: Studies in Honor of Robert Taft, s.j.*, ed. Ephrem Carr (Rome: Pontificio Ateneo S. Anselmo, 1993), 339–72.

39 Ignatius to Pedro Navarro, June 18, 1555, in *Epp. ign.* 9:209–10. On Ignatius's interest in a Morisco slave belonging to the duke of Florence, see Ignatius to Laínez, Rome, February 9, 1555, in *Epp. ign.* 8:368–70. On Jesuits and Moriscos, see Part 3 of this narrative.

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the mistakes it contains"[40] and expressed the desire to abandon his leadership of the Society and go himself to North Africa to convert Muslims.[41] In this missionary approach, Ignatius was just as strong and determined as he was two years before in his warlike approach.

Most of Ignatius's planned missions to Muslims never materialized, and some failed after just a few months. His dreams, however, were forever imprinted in his letters and in the Society's early documents, which undoubtedly helped to shape the Jesuit identity.

2.3 *Spiritual Exercises for Muslims*

A reference to Islam can be found in Nadal's *Apology for the Spiritual Exercises* (1554–56), a document of great value in understanding Ignatius's insights.[42] Nadal had been one of the fiercest advocates of Ignatius's *armada* project, and, in 1551, while in North Africa, he wrote to Ignatius that Muslims paid no heed to the Catholic preachers and that only a Spanish military conquest could weaken their fidelity to their religious law.[43]

A few years later, however, in a completely different context, Nadal showed that the heart of Jesuit identity—namely the *Spiritual Exercises*—was the source of a different approach toward Muslims. In 1553, the notorious anti-*converso* archbishop of Toledo, Juan Martínez Silíceo (1486–1557), urged by the Jesuits' opponents, appointed a commission to determine whether the *Exercises* were contaminated by the teachings of the *alumbrados*, a movement with a significant number of *conversos*. The Dominican Tomás de Pedroche (*c.*1500–69), head of the commission, supported the accusations and published a report criticizing the *Exercises*.[44] This was the culmination of a virulent campaign led by some of Spain's religious authorities who sought to question the Society's orthodoxy.[45] Ignatius decided not to address the accusations directly and to

40 Ignatius to Doménech, Rome, January 1, 1554, in *Epp. ign.* 6:194–96.

41 Ignatius to Antonio Araoz, Rome, January 15, 1554, in *Epp. ign.* 6:187–89.

42 Jerónimo Nadal, *Apologia pro Exercitiis S.P. Ignatii* (*1554–1556*), in *Nadal* 4:820–73.

43 "Their law, a bestial thing, attained its supremacy by force of arms. I know this to be the case here. They have no reason to listen to us. May the Lord give such resolve to his faithful ones that they will once and for all confound all infidels and convert them to the Catholic faith!" *Nadal* 1:118–19. Quoted in William V. Bangert, *Jerome Nadal, S.J., 1507–1580: Tracking the First Generation of Jesuits*, ed. Thomas M. McCoog (Chicago: Loyola University Press, 1992), 79.

44 Juan Martínez Silíceo was elected archbishop of Toledo in 1546. Tomás de Pedroche was a Dominican theologian and professor at the University of Toledo.

45 See Terence O'Reilly, "The Spiritual Exercises and Illuminism in Spain: Dominican Critics of the Early Society of Jesus," in Ite inflammate omnia: *Selected Historical Papers from Conferences Held at Loyola and Rome in 2006*, ed. Thomas McCoog (Rome: Institutum Historicum Societatis Iesu, 2010), 199–228. On Ignatius and alumbradism, see Marcel

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rely only on the approval of the *Exercises* by Pope Paul III in 1548.[46] At the same time, some Jesuits prepared a silent counteroffensive. Nadal wrote a long *Apology* that ultimately went unpublished, perhaps due to its polemical tone.[47] Instead of downplaying their novelty, Nadal highlighted the absolute originality of Ignatius's *Exercises*, which he considered an essential expression of the order's identity. One of the arguments he used to defend the *Exercises* was their universality and the fact that they could be understood by everyone, even by the infidels and, among them, the Muslims. In describing how to adapt the *Exercises* for the heretics and infidels, Nadal underscored that it was not necessary to require from them confession or communion. Rather, all that was required was sincere contrition, which was necessary for all human beings even before the coming of Jesus. Furthermore, when the *Exercises* were offered to the "infidels," it was acceptable to avoid talking about the Trinity or Jesus Christ. The belief in one God, without any other theological and religious understanding or belief, was the only condition for fruitfully following the *Exercises*. Nadal referred particularly to Muslims—it was much easier to propose the *Exercises* to them rather than to the heretics, as long as they were modified accordingly:

> Finally, we should communicate to them the way to make a good "election" according to their capacity to understand and their reason; if they follow the exercises in the correct way as we described before, if God wills, and if they do not deny the principles of the Christian faith, it does not seem difficult that the Muhammadans allow themselves to be persuaded, since they think that both our law and their Qu'ran lead to salvation. […] When relying on a high truth, one cannot be mistaken.[48]

Bataillon, *Les jésuites dans l'Espagne du XVI^e siècle*, ed. Pierre-Antoine Fabre (Paris: Les Belles Lettres, 2009); Milagros Ortega Costa, "San Ignacio de Loyola en el 'Libro de alumbrados': Nuevos datos sobre su primer proceso," *Arbor* 107 (1980): 163–74; Luis Fernandez, "Iñigo de Loyola y los alumbrados," *Hispania sacra* 35 (1983): 585–680; Guido Mongini, *Maschere dell'identità: Alle origini della Compagnia di Gesù* (Rome: Edizioni di Storia e Letteratura, 2016); Stefania Pastore, "Unwise Paths: Ignatius Loyola and the Years of Alcalá de Henares," in Maryks, *Companion to Ignatius of Loyola*, 25–44.

46 *Epp. ign.* 8:253.

47 The text was not published until the twentieth century in the Monumenta Historica Societatis Iesu. On its relevance, see Guido Mongini, "Lo spiritualismo nella Compagnia di Gesù tra dissenso e obbedienza: Le teologie gesuitiche delle origini," in Mongini, *"Ad Christi similitudinem": Ignazio di Loyola e i primi gesuiti tra eresia e ortodossia* (Alessandria: Edizioni dell'Orso, 2011), 131–54.

48 Nadal, *Apologia*, 849.

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In short, the *Exercises* could be adapted to a different perspective, as far as it was monotheistic, in order to approach Muslims. In this unexpected form of accommodation, we already find—long before the Second Vatican Council (1962–65)—an attempt to see monotheism as a common ground between Catholicism and Islam.

2.4 *Conclusion*

Ignatius's relationship with Islam cannot be neatly categorized into simple, chronological stages: he fluctuated between a militant attitude toward Islam and a pastoral approach toward Muslims throughout his entire life. The reasons for his vacillating attitudes are complex and can be attributed to Ignatius's own personality, to the historical situation of the sixteenth-century Mediterranean, and to the peculiarity of Islam from a Jesuit perspective.

First, Ignatius's court education in Spain, at the start of the sixteenth century, was dominated by two important influences: the enthusiasm for the Reconquista and the Spanish military's plans for conquest in North Africa as an important step toward a Christian recovery of Jerusalem.[49] This historical backdrop easily explains Ignatius's warlike style, which was well represented in the episode of the Moor in Pedrola and not completely superseded by his spiritual experience in Montserrat and Manresa. His early education and the rhetoric of crusade left an indelible mark on his personality and thinking that kept exercising its influence well into the 1550s, when he was already the head of the Society of Jesus.

Second, Ignatius's own personal path should be contextualized with the historical situation in the sixteenth century: the extraordinary expansion of Islam in the Mediterranean and the emergence of new theological debates about conversion in Europe. Beginning in the 1520s, the Mediterranean underwent great political and religious changes. The establishment of Ottoman hegemony in the eastern Mediterranean and in the Maghreb became a serious menace for European rulers: Muslims were now "the most dangerous enemies of faith." Simultaneously, new theological debates were developing in Europe. After a period of forced conversions in Spain, Catholic theologians in the 1540s began to question the meaning of conversion and the role of a convert's freedom. These debates were fueled both by new problems arriving from the missions in the New World and from the cultural and religious resistance of Moriscos in Spain.[50] Ignatius's own concern over the Mediterranean's geopolitics is

49 Miguel Ángel de Bunes Ibarra, "Ignacio de Loyola y la expansión del islam en el siglo XVI," *Anuario del Instituto Ignacio de Loyola* 4 (1997): 93–105, here 94.

50 Isabelle Poutrin, *Convertir les musulmans: Espagne, 1491–1609* (Paris: PUF, 2012), 173–326.

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demonstrated by his desire to create the military league and the *armada*; the impact of the debates about religious conversion can be seen in his interest in the possibility of a "soft" approach to Muslims: learning their language and their culture, respecting their freedom, adapting the *Spiritual Exercises*, and using Moriscos as intermediaries. This approach was evident in the way in which the early Jesuits developed their apostolate toward the Moriscos in the Iberian Peninsula, described in the next Part.

3 A Morisco Jesuit: Ignacio de las Casas

The first Jesuits who seriously engaged with Islam were not part of a monolithic group. They appear as distinct individuals to us now, none more so than Ignacio de las Casas (1550–1608), whose efforts to engage with Muslims were wide-ranging and driven by great energy and conviction.

3.1 *The Moriscos of Spain*

The Moriscos were unlike other populations among whom the sixteenth-century Society missionized. While conversions to Christianity had taken place over the centuries, Moriscos became conspicuous as a group due to the—in many cases forced—baptisms, which made them nominally Christian while retaining many characteristics that revealed their Muslim heritage. These began in 1499 in Granada and expanded to other territories of the Spanish crown in the following decades, with the Society of Jesus playing an active role in the process. In the view of the Catholic majority, Moriscos were a population with dubious religious antecedents and, as some modern scholars have argued, a population with distinct physical characteristics that marked them as inferior in the eyes of many Spaniards.[51] Some Moriscos had married into the high aristocracy, and seemed essentially assimilated, with their descendants claiming Christian lineage. Other Moriscos lived in clearly defined *barrios* and continued to abstain from alcohol and pork. Valencia, in particular, was a stronghold of Morisco language and customs.

The unified kingdom of Castile and Aragon, of which the Moriscos were now subjects, was a recent creation, and elimination of any points of potential division or opposition was a high priority of the unified crown. Moriscos, some of whom held hopes for the arrival of a messiah, were therefore inevitably under

51 Iskander Abbasi, "Islam, Muslims, and the Coloniality of Being: Reframing the Debate on Race and Religion in Modernity," *Journal for the Study of Religion* 33, no. 2 (2020): 1–31.

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suspicion.[52] There was also the concern that Christians might be "infected" by the lingering Islamicizing characteristics of the Moriscos. The crown's response to these threats included attempts to restrict the movements of Moriscos and forbid their possession of weapons or slaves, as well as to suppress their music. These measures prompted a significant number of Moriscos to rise in revolt for three years in the mountains south of Granada. This revolt, also known as the War of the Alpujarras, lasted from 1568 to 1571. Turks and Berbers joined Morisco forces, which were initially successful; this furthered the sense that the revolt was an existential threat to the Spanish monarchy. The rebels were eventually completely suppressed, with perhaps eighty thousand Moriscos, or half of Granada's population, expelled from the kingdom, with many becoming galley slaves.

Ignacio de las Casas (not to be confused with the Dominican friar Bartolomé de las Casas [1484–1566]) was born in Granada to an assimilated Morisco family who had converted. Contemporary records describe him as being of "low birth,"[53] a circumstance not improved by the apostasy of his brother, who fled to the Barbary Coast.[54] Educated in a Jesuit school, de las Casas was a student of the Morisco Jesuit Juan de Albotodo (1527–78) for five years and joined the Society in Rome in 1572.[55] In 1583–84, he was in the Levant, where he established contacts with Melkite Christians. After further education in Florence and Rome (where he sometimes appears in records as Ignacio López),[56] de las Casas undertook a thorough study of the Qur'an and was sent to Valencia in 1587, later studying at the University of Alcalá. He had already come to

52 In a memorial to Philip III (1578–1621, r.1598–1621), de las Casas acknowledged that Moriscos were suspected of being in league with the enemies of the kingdom (see Youssef El Alaoui, "Ignacio de las Casas, jesuita y morisco," *Sharq Al-Andalus* 14–15 [1997–98]: 317–39, here 322). In an *Información* of 1605 to Pope Clement VIII (1536–1605, r.1592–1605), de las Casas also speaks of Islamic books kept hidden by Moriscos. See Ana Labarta, "La cultura de los Moriscos Valencianos," *Sharq al-Andalus* 20 (2011–13): 223–47, here 228. De las Casas knew of what he wrote: he had translated a hadith focusing on the heroic resistance of a Morisco remnant at the End of Days. L.P. [Leonard Patrick] Harvey, *Muslims in Spain, 1500 to 1614* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2005), 63.

53 The charge was unfounded, as de las Casas's father was a legislative official for the Real Audiencia. Claire M. Gilbert, *In Good Faith: Arabic Translation and Translators in Early Modern Spain* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2020), 191.

54 Borja Medina, "La Compañía de Jesús y la minoría morisca," 6–7.

55 Bernard Vincent, "Los moriscos del reino de Granada después de 1570," *Nueva revista de filología hispánica* 30, no. 2 (1981): 594–608, here 601.

56 Anthony O'Mahony, "Eastern Christianity and Jesuit Scholarship on Arabic and Islam: Modern History and Contemporary Theological Reflections," in *Philosophy, Theology, and the Jesuit Tradition: "The Eye of Love,"* ed. Anna Abram, Peter Gallagher, and Michael Kirwan (London: Bloomsbury, 2017), 159–86, here 163.

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the conclusion that Arabic-speaking Catholic clergy should be conversant in Islamic law and continued to develop his ideas about the relationship of the Arabic language to evangelization. Another thread running through de las Casas's approach to the evangelization of the Moriscos was the conviction that they could be won over by appeals to reason much more readily than through ritualistic ceremonies of baptism, during which, as he reported, some Moriscos hid under the pews to avoid being touched by the water of baptism.

3.2 *Joining the Jesuits*

The Society began engaging in missionary work among the Morisco population in 1559, when it established a Casa de Doctrina where de las Casas later studied, in the Albaicín neighborhood of Granada.[57] An earlier school in Gandia had failed because of a lack of both Arabic-speaking teachers and of Moriscos willing to send their children to it. The Society's next tactic was to visit the homes of Moriscos to teach Christianity to those they encountered.[58] De las Casas approached Morisco domesticity from an additional angle: he proposed that sacred images be placed in the rooms where Moriscos slept. De las Casas observed that many Moriscos were already familiar with Christian imagery and had even produced such imagery.[59] Preaching, ever a Jesuit mainstay, was another tactic. Jerónimo Mur (1525–1602), another Morisco Jesuit, preached in Arabic to the Moriscos of Valencia and may also be the author of an Arabic catechism.[60]

3.3 *The Critical Scholar*

De las Casas has earned a place in the history of Jesuit philological studies through his involvement in the case of the Lead Books or *Libros plúmbeos* of Sacromonte. These were counterfeit objects written in a bewildering combination of Arabic without vowel points, "old Castilian," and Latin that were alleged by their promoters to date from the time of the emperor Nero (37–68, r.54–68). After examining them, Morisco translators—some of whom may have been the same persons who "discovered" the books—declared them to be proof that

57 Borja Medina, "La Compañía de Jesús y la minoría morisca," 69. Among the six Jesuits assigned to the school were three lay brothers. Two years later, four of the teachers at the school were described as "hermanos." A separate school was also established for Morisca girls.

58 Mary Elizabeth Perry, *The Handless Maiden: Moriscos and the Politics of Religion in Early Modern Spain* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2005), 140.

59 Borja Franco Llopis and Francisco Moreno Díaz del Campo, "The Moriscos' Artistic Domestic Devotions Viewed through Christian Eyes in Early Modern Iberia," in *Domestic Devotions in the Early Modern World*, ed. Marco Faini and Alessia Meneghin (Leiden: Brill, 2018), 107–25, here 114.

60 Gilbert, *Good Faith*, 160.

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Arabic was one of the ancient languages of Spain and that Arabs were the first Christians of Spain. While de las Casas initially regarded them as authentic and even participated in their translation from 1596 to 1597, he soon became convinced that they were a forgery.[61] He also correctly pointed out that the formula found in the Lead Books, "There is no God but God, and Jesus is the Spirit of God," is Islamic in origin. The key to this analysis was de las Casas's correct interpretation of the Arabic *rvhhv* as "spirit" (and cognate with the Hebrew *ruah*) but in no way implying Sonship or consubstantiality.[62] The Jesuit's objections to the Lead Books were not limited to questions of terminology: he found the anti-Trinitarianism in them dangerous.[63] De Las Casas went even further, claiming that the Lead Books were oriented toward conversion to Islam, a charge that caused him to be interrogated by the Inquisition, since the books had powerful backers in the church.[64] De las Casas also declared the parchment found in 1588, in the Torre Turpiana (also known as the Torrevieja), probably the former minaret of a mosque in Granada, a forgery.[65] It has been argued that de las Casas's investment in the Lead Books' controversy was not merely a waste of his time but even hastened his death.[66] But it is hard to imagine anyone committed to evangelizing the Moriscos avoiding the controversy. This was a time of intense interest in the relics of saints, some of which had been found along with the Lead Books: the Roman catacombs had recently been the object of renewed investigation, and communities vied with one another in producing and promoting holy relics. For the first time, Granada could now claim relics related to its own earliest Christian history, objects that,

61 Grace Magnier, *Pedro de Valencia and the Catholic Apologists of the Expulsion of the Moriscos: Visions of Christianity and Kingship* (Leiden: Brill, 2010), 15.

62 See Claire Wilde, "The Utility of Christian Arabic Texts for Qur'ānic Studies," in *Heirs of the Apostles: Studies on Arabic Christianity in Honor of Sidney H. Griffith*, ed. David Bertaina et al. (Leiden: Brill, 2019), 93–114, here 101.

63 Rafael Benítez Sánchez-Blanco, "De Pablo a Saulo: Traducción, crítica y denuncia de los libros plúmbeos por el P. Ignacio de las Casas, S.J.," *Al-qantara* 23, no. 12 (2002): 403–36, here 416, 424–25. De las Casas also detected Nestorian influences in the Lead Books. Equally problematic was the fact that the stories from the life of Jesus found in the Lead Books are taken from the life of Muhammad!

64 De las Casas would be vindicated when Innocent XI (1611–89, r.1676–89) condemned the books as heretical. Katrina Olds, "The Ambiguities of the Holy: Authenticating Relics in Seventeenth-Century Spain," *Renaissance Quarterly* 65, no. 1 (2012): 135–84, here 149.

65 This document contained a prophecy attributed to St. John, and was written in Spanish, Arabic, and Latin. Gerard Wiegers, "Moriscos and Arabic Studies in Europe," *Al-qantara*, 30, no. 2 (2010): 586–610, here 591–92.

66 Manuel Barrios Aguilera, "El castigo de la disidencia en las invenciones plúmbeas de Granada: Sacromonte versus Ignacio de las Casas," *Al-qantara* 24, no. 2 (2003): 477–531, here 479.

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as Mercedes García Arenal and Fernando Rodríguez Mediano point out, told a story with roots in legends already common in the region.[67] De las Casas thus found himself in opposition to church leaders who wanted to advance the cult of these relics and thereby the status of their own diocese and the piety of their flocks. For this reason, he fled Granada in 1598, leaving behind his transcriptions and translations.[68]

3.4 *De las Casas's Approach to Morisco Culture*

De las Casas likewise found himself in conflict with the Dominicans Jaime Bleda (1550–1622)[69] and Damián Fonseca (1573–1640), both of whom favored the expulsion of the Moriscos. Language mastery and its relation to assimilation was a key issue in this debate.[70] De las Casas found Morisco boys subject to such mistreatment in schools that in 1558 not a single Morisco was enrolled in the Colegio de San Miguel in Granada.[71] The Jesuit was also prepared to criticize his ranking clerics for their lack of zeal and Christian charity. He further proposed that lower clergy be provided relief from the financial difficulties they faced. While rejecting the authenticity of the Lead Books, De las Casas argued that Arabic was employed at the Second Council of Seville in 619, citing the respected historians Esteban de Garibay (1533–99) and Juan de Mariana (*c.*1537–1624).

De las Casas, who, as Youssef El Alaoui points out, recognized the futility of trying to ban a commonly used language,[72] advocated the indoctrination of Morisco boys already fluent in Iberian Arabic,[73] who could then serve as auxiliaries of evangelization. Drawing on ideas from the *Ratio studiorum* (1599), he

67 Mercedes García-Arenal and Fernando Rodríguez Mediano, "Jerónimo Román de la Higuera and the Lead Books of Sacromonte," in *The Conversos and Moriscos in Late Medieval Spain and Beyond*, ed. Kevin Ingram (Leiden: Brill, 2009), 243–68, here 245.

68 Claudia Colini, "La invención del Sacromonte: How and Why Scholars Debated about the Lead Books of Granada for Two Hundred Years," in *Fakes and Forgeries of Written Artefacts from Ancient Mesopotamia to Modern China*, ed. Cécile Michel and Michael Friedrich (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2010), 209–61, here 249.

69 Barrios Aguilera, "Castigo," 520.

70 Among the faults of the Moriscos that Bleda claimed could be detected by watching them carefully was their speaking "bad Latin." Paolo Broggio, "The Religious Orders and the Expulsion of the Moriscos," in *The Expulsion of the Moriscos from Spain: A Mediterranean Diaspora*, ed. Mercedes García-Arenal and Gerard Wiegers (Leiden: Brill, 2014), 156–78, here 162. At the same time, Moriscos were criticized for their inability to speak Spanish.

71 El Alaoui, "De las Casas," 328.

72 Youssef El Alaoui, "El jesuita Ignacio de las Casas y la defensa de la lengua árabe: Memorial al padre Cristóbal de los Cobos, provincial de Castilla (1607)," *Areas: Revista internacional de ciencias sociales* 30 (2011): 11–28, here 14.

73 Franco Llopis and Moreno Díaz del Campo, "Moriscos' Artistic Domestic Devotions."

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urged that prizes be awarded to young Morisco "theólogos" (theologians) who would then become effective preachers against Islam. De las Casas seems to have been undeterred by the claim that Morisco Arabic lacked the terminology to communicate the mysteries of Catholicism.[74] His approach has been called "soft evangelization" (*evangelización suave*),[75] yet it was a persistent evangelization, nonetheless. By insisting that classical, that is, Qurʾanic Arabic, was the best vehicle to reach Moriscos, de las Casas reflected Jesuit attitudes about "high" and "low" language and set forth the notion that arguments made directly from the text of the sacred book would be more compelling to Moriscos.[76]

While recognizing that theological problems could arise when inexperienced preachers used Arabic terminology carelessly, de las Casas was convinced that with theological training and, more importantly, the skill to invent Arabic equivalents for Christian terms, true conversions could be achieved. Notably, de las Casas did not devote much attention to the question of *taqiyya*, a Qurʾanic principle by which Muslims, with Qurʾanic sanction, could deny their faith outwardly in the face of persecution. De las Casas had a few allies in his campaign. At least one Franciscan, whose name has not come down to us, believed in supporting the *alfaquis* (experts in Islamic law) who were willing to help advance the program of evangelization.[77]

Fluent in classical Arabic, de las Casas argued for the teaching of that language in Jesuit schools, even when it was argued (by non-Arabic speakers) that the language was inadequate to convey the mysteries of Christian belief.[78]

74 Mercedes García-Arenal, "The Religious Identity of the Arabic Language and the Affair of the Lead Books of the Sacromonte of Granada," *Arabica* 56, no. 6 (2009): 495–528, here 506.

75 Manuel Barrios Aguilera, "Ignacio de las Casas y la polémica laminaria en la *Historia authéntica de Viana* y *Laboraría* (1756)," *Chronica nova* 29 (2002): 343–405, here 349.

76 Sámuel Timon (1675–1736), for example, claimed that the Cuman form of Hungarian was "ridicule atque insulse" (ridiculous and tasteless). *Imago antiquæ Hungariæ* […] (Vienna: Trattner, 1762), adimentum 20. Views on "high" and "low" language might vary from Jesuit to Jesuit, but generally, the classical education provided by the Society placed great stress on clear definitions of vocabulary and on an elaborated grammar on the Greek or Latin model. Languages or dialects that seemed to lack or have blurred distinctions between an indicative and subjunctive mood, or that did not make clear differences between passive and active voices, would be candidates for "low" language.

77 Rafael Benítez Sánchez-Blanco, ed., *Tríptico de la expulsión de los moriscos: El triunfo de la razón de estado*, new ed. (Montpellier: Presses universitaires de la Méditerranée, 2012), https://books.openedition.org/pulm/1146?lang=en (accessed October 20, 2022).

78 The use of spoken and written Arabic had been forbidden by the Cortes Valencianas in 1564. Mercedes García-Arenal, *Is Arabic a Spanish Language? The Uses of Arabic in Early Modern Spain* (San Diego: Binder Lecture Series, 2015), 6.

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He saw Arabic as one of the oldest languages in the world, identifying it as a form of Hebrew called Sumana. De las Casas even went so far as to claim that this was the common language of humankind before the confusion of languages following the fall of the Tower of Babel.[79] Notably, despite his facility in Arabic and his knowledge of many of its dialects, plus his likely exposure to Hebrew through his Jesuit education, de las Casas made no acknowledgment of Aramaic as a biblical language, claiming instead that Jesus and his disciples spoke Hebrew. He defended the use of Hebrew and Arabic triliteral roots when communicating with Morisco populations.[80] Most importantly, de las Casas saw the question of Morisco evangelization from a global perspective, including the Middle East. His persistence and connections in Rome produced results: in 1610, Paul V (1550–1621, r.1605–21) decreed that a chair of Arabic be set up in every Catholic institution of higher learning.[81]

De las Casas advocated a process of evangelization that went beyond mere conversion of individuals—it was an expression of the Ignatian idea of the "spiritual conquest"[82] of Dar-al-Islam (Abode of Islam). De las Casas's approach likewise influenced Jesuit missionizing in the Philippines.[83] De las Casas recognized that the Morisco population was made up of several distinct groups: those of Castille, those of the crown of Aragon, and the Moriscos of Granada and Valencia, who still spoke Arabic and retained much more of their Muslim culture.[84] He acknowledged that many Moriscos had not made sincere conversions to Catholicism, and their identification with Islam endured.

While de las Casas rejected the claims of those defending the Lead Books, he nevertheless strove to show that the Arabic language had first been brought to the Iberian Peninsula not by Moorish invaders but by the Phoenicians, followed by the Carthaginians.[85] There is an element of Jesuit searches for

79 "Porque todos los hombres que avía antes de la confusión usaban, […]." El Alaoui, "El jesuita Ignacio de las Casas y la defensa de la lengua," 24.

80 Seth Kimmel, *Parables of Coercion: Conversion and Knowledge at the End of Islamic Spain* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2015), 76.

81 Stefania Pastore, "Rome and the Expulsion," in García-Arenal and Wiegers, *Expulsion of the Moriscos from Spain*, 132–55, here 143.

82 The phrase can be traced to the title of a work by Antonio Ruiz de Montoya, *Conquista espiritual* […], published in Madrid in 1639, but the notion is embedded in Ignatius's own writings.

83 Ana M. Rodríguez-Rodríguez, "Mapping Islam in the Philippines: Moro Anxieties of the Spanish Empire in the Pacific," in *The Dialectics of Orientalism in Early Modern Europe*, ed. Marcus Keller and Javier Irigoyen-García (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2018), 85–100, here 93.

84 El Alaoui, "Ignacio de las Casas," 321.

85 Mercedes García-Arenal Rodriguez and Fernando Rodríguez Mediano, *The Orient in Spain: Converted Muslims, the Forged Lead Books of Granada* (Leiden: Brill, 2013), 18; El Alaoui, "El jesuita Ignacio de las Casas y la defensa de la lengua," 26.

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equivalencies here, but more importantly, de las Casas sought to rebut the view that Moriscos were the descendants of invaders—even if those who introduced Arabic were Pagans.[86] This distinction was driven in part by decree 52 of the Fifth General Congregation, held in 1593, which banned descendants of Jews and "Saracens" from admission into the Society. De las Casas also referred to the conversions to Islam that were occurring in the Spanish North African outpost of Oran, where hundreds of soldiers had "gone over to the Moors" (*pasado de aquellos presidios a los moros*), a process perhaps reflecting events on the Iberian Peninsula centuries earlier.[87] Ancestry mattered to de las Casas: he wrote that "most, or almost all [Moriscos], were descendants of Christians" and also that Christian maidens had been given as outcasts (*parias*) to Moorish men. Others had become Muslims out of fear or for other reasons.[88] Thus, in de las Casas's retelling, the Christian roots of the Iberian population had transcended social class and provided a "deep Christian genealogy at all levels of society."[89] De las Casas's campaign also calls attention to the degree that the "Christianization" of Moriscos was inextricably connected to their recasting as "Spanish." His final argument in favor of the use of Arabic is an appeal to reason (a point made by many other Jesuits) and to the will of God, which are presented as completely compatible. We can also see in de las Casas's writings a recognition of the role of civic education, always an important part of the Jesuit program.

De las Casas confronted another particularly difficult issue: that of the *elches*[90]—Christian converts to Islam (usually called *renegados* in Spanish), and their children. Once again, he argues for appreciation of the differences among those called Moriscos and cites the conduct of Archbishop Francisco Jiménez de Cisneros (1436–1517), who exploited the ambiguous legal status of many of these individuals. Later, de las Casas would argue that when tried

86 A widespread idea that religious belief was in some way "inherited," and therefore transfer of allegiance from one religion to another was virtually impossible, would have spurred on de las Casas's efforts to disassociate Moriscos from Muslim Arabs. Of course, according to such a theory the descendants of Pagan Phoenicians could never have become real Christians! Mercedes García-Arenal, "*Mi padre moro, yo moro*: The Inheritance of Belief in Early Modern Iberia," in *After Conversion: Iberia and the Emergence of Modernity*, ed. Mercedes García-Arenal (Leiden: Brill, 2016), 303–35.

87 Oran seems to have functioned as a linguistic and cultural crossroads: it was also the community from which Tomás de León later sought a translator. García-Arenal and Rodríguez Mediano, *Orient in Spain*, 325.

88 El Alaoui, "Ignacio de las Casas," 320.

89 Payton Camille Phillips Quintanilla, "Imperial Occlusions: Mestizaje and Marian Mechanisms in Early Modern Andalucía and the Andes" (PhD diss., UCLA, 2018), 26–27.

90 The term comes from the Qur'anic Arabic name for the Gospel revealed to ʿĪsā, Ilj, which in turn is derived from the Greek *evangelion*.

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on charges of heresy, Moriscos should be tried individually, according to the tenets of canon law, and not condemned by mere suspicion.[91]

Perhaps the most radical plank in de las Casas's platform was his support of marriage between Christians and Moriscos.[92] In an era when "purity of blood" was emphasized both within and beyond the Society, this approach to evangelization was bound to prompt objections from the Christian side, as it also did from Morisco leaders. Merely hearing spoken Arabic, de las Casas acknowledged, disturbed Christians.

3.5 *Two Sincerely Held Identities*

Some of de las Casas's claims seem far-fetched today: more than half the world spoke Arabic, the Three Magi were Arabs, and since the mythical Prester John was descended from one of them, he too was an Arab.[93] He asserted that a third of Spain's population was made up of Moriscos.[94] We may question whether de las Casas believed these tales. Less exaggerated were his claims that Arabic was also the language of the Jews of Palestine and of many Christians in the East.[95] The Morisco Jesuit was a learned but not easily categorized individual. De las Casas has been described as "not as print savvy" as his opponents[96]—indeed, his strengths lay in his intuitive grasp of successful missionary practice, his tireless application of his scholarly skills, and his boundless energy as a teacher (despite frequently poor health).[97] And for all his sympathy with the circumstances of converted Moriscos, de las Casas was horrified by the presence of Islamic symbols and inscriptions in Segorbe Cathedral.[98] Like other Jesuits of his day, he referred to Islam as a "secta,"

91 Magnier, *Pedro de Valencia*, 292.

92 Max Deardorff, "The Ties that Bind: Intermarriage between Moriscos and Old Christians in Early Modern Spain, 1526–1614," *Journal of Family History* 42, no. 3 (2017): 250–70, here 250.

93 Mercedes García-Arenal and Fernando Rodríguez Mediano, "Sacred History, Sacred Languages: The Question of Arabic in Early Modern Spain," in *The Teaching and Learning of Arabic in Early Modern Europe*, ed. Jan Loop, Alastair Hamilton, and Charles Burnett (Leiden: Brill, 2017), 133–62, here 151.

94 It is estimated that in 1492, a fifth of the population of Aragón was of Muslim origin. Borja Medina, "La Compañía de Jesús y la minoría morisca," 11.

95 El Alaoui, "El jesuita Ignacio de las Casas y la defensa de la lengua árabe," 12.

96 Kimmel, *Parables of Coercion*, 9.

97 De Las Casas even gave Roberto Bellarmino lessons in Arabic. See Pastore, "Rome and the Expulsion," 145.

98 Borja Franco Llopis, "Ignacio de las Casas y el arte como método de evangelización," *Travaux et documents hispaniques* 3 (2012): 39–45, here 42.

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adding the adjective "diabólica," and regarding it as more dangerous than all heresies combined.[99]

De las Casas reveals no tension between his two sincerely held identities, that of a Jesuit committed to Catholicism, and as an Arabic speaker completely comfortable with using that language to evangelize (and perhaps to formulate his ideas as well). He is rare, if not unique among the Jesuits discussed in this volume in that his understanding of a language associated with a major non-Christian faith was native. His willingness to press his case to luminaries such as Cesare Baronio (1538–1607) was motivated by his considerable understanding of Morisco culture and his conviction that Moriscos could and should receive salvation.

In 1602, the Inquisition of Valencia called upon de las Casas to serve as consultor and interpreter in Arabic, but he had to resign two years later because of poor health. De las Casas died in 1608.[100] The following year, Philip III (1578–1621, r.1598–1621) issued an edict expelling Moriscos from his realm, regardless of evidence of their baptism, a process that continued until 1614.[101] Nor was de las Casas's position regarding the Lead Books quickly or universally accepted: more than two centuries later, he was still under attack, by the historian José Godoy Alcántara (1825–75), who called attention to de las Casas's Morisco background and accused the Jesuit of being motivated by self-love.[102] Seth Kimmel draws a parallel between the Society's philosophy of accommodation and a linguistic pedagogy such as de las Casas's that stressed "practice over a theology of exactitude."[103] This pedagogy was practiced not in "the Indies" but in the heart of the greatest European power.[104] De las Casas's recommendations did not gain the influence he had hoped for them but

99 Memorial to Cristóbal de los Cobos, cited in El Alaoui, "El jesuita Ignacio de las Casas y la defensa de la lengua árabe," 16.

100 Francisco de Borja Medina, "Legación pontificia a los Siro-ortodoxos, 1583–1584: Las relaciones de Ignacio de las Casas de la Compañía de Jesús," *Orientalia christiana periodica* 55 (1989): 125–67, here 129.

101 Emanuele Colombo, "'Even among Turks': Tirso González de Santalla (1624–1705) and Islam," *Studies in Jesuit Spirituality* 44, no. 3 (2012): 3.

102 Benítez Sánchez-Blanco, "De Pablo a Saulo," 404.

103 Kimmel, *Parables of Coercion*, 167.

104 De las Casas turned to the Western Hemisphere for the example of Jesuit *collegia* that trained their students in "evangelical law," thereby winning the hearts of the parents through the piety and knowledge of their children. Youssef El Alaoui, *Jésuites, Morisques et Indiens: Étude comparative des méthodes d'évangélisation de la Compagnie de Jésus d'après les traités de José de Acosta (1588) et d'Ignacio de Las Casas (1605–1607)* (Paris: Honoré Champion, 2006), 407.

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nonetheless stand as an example of Jesuit openness and flexibility during a time of persecution and mistrust.

4 Between War and Accommodation: Antonio Possevino

The possibility of admitting Moriscos such as de las Casas, Albotodo, and Mur to a Catholic religious order was uncommon in the Iberian Peninsula and was a specific feature of the early Society of Jesus that remained unchallenged during the first three generalates. In the 1570s, this custom began to falter, and an acrimonious debate developed within the Society. One of the protagonists of the debate was the Italian Jesuit Antonio Possevino (1533–1611), whose views on Islam are described in this Part.

4.1 *The Society of Jesus and New Christians*

Since its origins, the Society of Jesus had had a policy of not discriminating on the basis of lineage in the admittance of new members.[105] This was unusual, especially after the statutes of *limpieza de sangre* (purity of blood), which required that candidates for ecclesiastical and civil positions had no Moorish or Jewish ancestry, took effect on the Iberian Peninsula in 1499.[106] In 1547, Silíceo, the archbishop of Toledo, enforced his own statutes and banned Jewish and Moorish descendants from any position within the Catholic Church. Many confraternities, dioceses, and religious orders enforced these prohibitions; among the exceptions was the Society of Jesus, and, as a result, many New Christians, especially those of Jewish ancestry, joined it.[107]

105 See Thomas M. Cohen, "Nation, Lineage, and Jesuit Unity in Antonio Possevino's Memorial to Everard Mercurian (1576)," in *A Companhia de Jesus na Penisula Iberica nos secs. XVI e XVII* (Porto: Universidade do Porto, 2004), 2:543–61; Cohen, "Racial and Ethnic Minorities in the Society of Jesus," in *The Cambridge Companion to the Jesuits*, ed. Thomas Worcester (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009), 199–214; Cohen, "Jesuit and New Christians: The Contested Legacy of St. Ignatius," *Studies in the Spirituality of Jesuits* 42, no. 3 (2010); Robert A. Maryks, *The Jesuit Order as a Synagogue of Jews: Jesuits of Jewish Ancestry and Purity-of-Blood Laws in the Early Society of Jesus* (Leiden: Brill, 2009).

106 See the classic works by Marcel Bataillon, *Erasmo y España: Estudios sobre la historia espiritual del siglo XVI* (Mexico: Fondo de Cultura Económica, 1966); Albert Sicroff, *Los estatutos de Limpieza de Sangre: Controversias entre los siglos XV y XVII* (Madrid: Taurus, 1985).

107 James W. Reites, "St. Ignatius of Loyola and the Jews," *Studies in the Spirituality of Jesuits* 13, no. 4 (1981): 20.

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The origin of the Society's nondiscrimination policy can be found in the attitudes of its co-founder and first superior general, Ignatius of Loyola.[108] To him, New Christians were a resource for the Society and a clear sign of its universality. In 1554, echoing Saint Paul, Ignatius wrote that "in the Society *there is no distinction between Jew and Greek* when [its members] are united in the spirit of divine service."[109] Many sources demonstrate that "to Ignatius, and those successors who inherited his nondiscriminatory spirit, the most important criterion for admitting a candidate was his spiritual and educational suitability, regardless of his lineage."[110]

This custom, which remained unchallenged for the first three generalates of the Society, began to falter with the election of Everard Mercurian (1514–80, in office 1573–80), and especially Claudio Acquaviva (1543–1615), the Society's fifth superior general (in office 1581–1615). Pressured by different Jesuit groups and influenced by his collaborators in the Roman curia, Acquaviva became more and more convinced that, for the good of the Society, it was necessary to place limits on the admission of New Christians and on the power of those who had already been admitted.[111]

Things escalated during the Fifth General Congregation (1593–94), which was convened under pressure of some Iberian Jesuits who gained the support of Philip II of Spain (1527–98, r.1556–98) and Pope Clement VIII (1536–1605, r.1592–1605) and demanded radical changes in the structure of the Society.[112] The congregation approved the *De genere* decree (no. 52) that excluded from the Society all candidates with Jewish or Muslim ancestors, no matter how distant in time.[113] The decree was mitigated in 1608 and 1923 and abolished only in 1946.

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108 See James W. Reites, *St. Ignatius and the People of the Book: An Historical-Theological Study of St. Ignatius of Loyola's Spiritual Motivation in His Dealings with the Jews and Muslims* (Rome: Pontificia Universitas Gregoriana, 1977); Reites, "St. Ignatius of Loyola and the Jews"; Francisco de Borja Medina, "Ignacio de Loyola y la 'limpieza de sangre,'" in *Ignacio de Loyola y su tiempo: Congreso Internacional de Historia (9–13 Septiembre 1991)*, ed. Juan Plazaola (Bilbao: Universidad de Deusto, 1992), 579–615; Robert A. Maryks, "Ignatius of Loyola and the Converso Question," in Maryks, *Companion to Ignatius of Loyola*, 84–102.

109 *Mon. Ign.* 12:569 (with a reference to Rom. 10:10 and Gal. 3:28).

110 Maryks, "Ignatius of Loyola and the Converso Question," 93.

111 On the internal debates within the Society in this period, and the debates with the so-called *memorialistas*, see Michela Catto, *La Compagnia divisa: Il dissenso nell'ordine gesuitico tra '500 e '600* (Brescia: Morcelliana, 2009); Fermín del Pino-Díaz, "José de Acosta y el generalato de Claudio Acquaviva, a fines del s. XVI: Sobre el verdadero significado de la visita jesuita a Andalucía y Aragón (1589–1591)," *Nuevas de Indias* 6 (2021): 214–93.

112 See John W. Padberg, Martin D. O'Keefe, and John L. McCarthy, eds., *For Matters of Greater Moment: The First Thirty Jesuit General Congregations; A Brief History and a Translation of the Decrees* (St. Louis, MO: Institute of Jesuit Sources, 1994), 10–13.

113 Padberg, O'Keefe, and McCarthy, *For Matters of Greater Moment*, 204–5.

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Among the Jesuits who opposed the decree and fought fiercely against it was the Italian Jesuit Antonio Possevino, a key figure in the early Society.[114] Like Ignatius, Possevino believed in the transformative power of conversion and baptism and denounced the danger of the Society distancing itself from Ignatius's vision. With Ignatius, Possevino also shared a double-faceted view of Islam, in which war and evangelization could coexist.

4.2 *Antonio Possevino*

According to Laínez, the Society's second superior general, Possevino was one of those men who "in fifteen days understand more than what many people understand in several years."[115] Born in Mantua in 1533, Possevino was trained as a humanist before joining the Society of Jesus in 1559.[116] While still a novice, he was sent to Piedmont to negotiate the founding of Jesuit colleges that he considered fortresses against heresy and to debate theological issues with the Waldensians.[117] He was ordained a priest in 1561, and the following year he went to France, where he spent almost ten years preaching, writing, and organizing colleges.[118]

In 1573, Possevino was appointed secretary of the Society of Jesus, a four-year position that involved him in correspondence with Jesuits around the world. In the following years, he stayed in Poland–Lithuania, where he enjoyed the esteem of King Stephan Báthory (1533–86, r.1576–86). From there, he

114 John P. Donnelly, "Antonio Possevino and the Jesuits of Jewish Ancestry," *Archivum historicum Societatis Iesu* 109 (1986): 3–29; Emanuele Colombo, "The Watershed of Conversion: Antonio Possevino, New Christians, and Jews," in *The Tragic Couple: Encounters between Jews and Jesuits*, ed. James Bernauer and Robert A. Maryks (Leiden: Brill, 2013), 25–42.

115 Quoted in Luigi Balsamo, *Antonio Possevino s.i. bibliografo della Controriforma e diffusione della sua opera in area anglicana* (Florence: Olschki, 2006), 24.

116 On Possevino's vocation in the Society of Jesus, see Giuseppe Castellani, "La vocazione alla Compagnia di Gesù del P. Antonio Possevino da una relazione inedita del medesimo," *Archivum historicum Societatis* 14 (1945–46): 102–24. On Possevino's role in the Society of Jesus under Laínez, see Mario Scaduto, *L'epoca di Giacomo Laínez: Il governo* (*1556–1565*) (Rome: La Civiltà Cattolica, 1964); Scaduto, *L'epoca di Giacomo Laínez: L'azione* (*1556–1565*) (Rome: La Civiltà Cattolica, 1974).

117 See Camillo Crivelli, "La disputa di Antonio Possevino con i Valdesi," *Archivum historicum Societatis Iesu* 7 (1938): 79–91; Raffaele Di Simone, *Tre anni decisivi di storia valdese: Missioni, repressione e tolleranza nelle valli piemontesi dal 1559 al 1561* (Rome: Università Gregoriana, 1958); Mario Scaduto, "Le missioni di A. Possevino in Piemonte: Propaganda calvinista e restaurazione cattolica 1560–1563," *Archivum historicum Societatis Iesu* 28 (1959): 51–191.

118 See Marc Venard, "L'apostolat du P. Antonio Possevino en France (1562–1570)," in *Les jésuites parmi les hommes aux xvi^e^ et xvii^e^ siècles*, ed. Guy Demerson (Clermont-Ferrand: Université de Clermont-Ferrand, 1987), 247–56.

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was assigned to diplomatic missions for the pope: he went twice to Sweden (1577–80), where King John III (1537–92, r.1569–92) wanted to convert to Catholicism;[119] later, he was the first Jesuit to enter Muscovy (1581–82), in order to promote the peace between King Báthory and Tsar Ivan IV (1530–84, r.1547–84), a peace that in the pope's mind would achieve a union with the Orthodox Church and create a strong coalition against the Turks.[120] Then he was in Transylvania (1583–84) to build in today's Cluj-Napoca a seminary on the behalf of the pope and Báthory.[121] In the years that followed, he traveled between Rome and Poland–Lithuania, and in 1587, after the death of Báthory, Superior General Acquaviva called him back to the Jesuit college at Padua. There, Possevino worked on his most important book, the *Bibliotheca selecta* (Selected library [1593, 1603, 1607]), which first appeared in 1593 with a prefatory letter from Clement VIII.[122] This work, a monumental bibliography with suggested readings for almost any topic, became exceptionally popular in the Jesuit network and extremely influential in the elaboration of the Jesuit pedagogical code, the *Ratio studiorum*. Despite his relevance, which goes well beyond the Society of Jesus, a comprehensive modern biography of Possevino is still lacking.[123]

119 John Patrick Donnelly, "Antonio Possevino: From Secretary to Papal Legate in Sweden," in *The Mercurian Project: Forming Jesuit Culture*, ed. Thomas M. McCoog (Rome: Institutum Historicum Societatis, 2004), 323–49; Oskar Garstein, *Rome and the Counter-Reformation in Scandinavia: Jesuit Educational Strategy 1553–1622* (Leiden: Brill, 1992).

120 See Domenico Caccamo, "La diplomazia della Controriforma e la crociata: Dai piani del Possevino alla 'lunga guerra' di Clemente VIII," *Archivio storico italiano* 128 (1970): 255–81; Caccamo, "Conversione dell'Islam e conquista della Moscovia nell'attività diplomatica e letteraria di Antonio Possevino," in *Venezia e Ungheria nel Rinascimento*, ed. Vittore Branca (Florence: Olschki, 1973), 167–91.

121 *Antonio Possevino: I gesuiti e la loro eredità culturale in Transilvania: Atti della Giornata di studio, Cluj-Napoca, 4 dicembre 2007*, ed. Alberto Castaldini (Rome: Institutum Historicum Societatis Iesu, 2009).

122 Antonio Possevino, *Bibliotheca selecta qua agitur de ratione studiorum in historia, in disciplinis, in salute omnium procuranda* (Rome: Typographia Apostolica Vaticana, 1593; 2nd ed. Venice: Salicato, 1603; 3rd ed. Cologne: Gymnich, 1607). Here, I quote from the second edition.

123 The only biography is Jean Dorigny, *La vie du Père Antoine Possevin de la Compagnie de Jésus* (Paris: Ganeau, 1712). The Italian translation, *Vita del Padre Antonio Possevino* (Venice: Remondini, 1759) includes additional documents and notes by the Jesuit Niccolò Ghezzi (1683–1766). See also Liisi Karttunen, *Antonio Possevino: Un diplomate pontifical au XVI^e siècle* (Lausanne: Pache-Varidel & Bron, 1908); an overview with bibliography in Emanuele Colombo, "Possevino, Antonio," in *Dizionario biografico degli italiani* (Rome: Istituto dell'Enciclopedia Italiana, 2016), 85:153–58.

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4.3 *Fighting Muslims*

Like Ignatius, Possevino showed an apparently conflicted tension between the idea of a holy war against Islam and an attempt at a missionary approach toward Muslims.

The idea that the most dangerous enemies of Christendom were both the reformed Christians and the Turks was widespread in sixteenth-century Europe. In 1569, Pius V (1504–72, r.1566–72) and the superior general of the Society of Jesus Francisco de Borja (1510–72, in office 1565–72) asked Possevino to write a book of instructions that was to be distributed to the papal army that was setting out from Turin to support Charles IX (1550–74, r.1560–74) against Huguenots and to future armies who were going to fight against Muslims.[124]

It was not uncommon for a Jesuit to be involved in the apostolate to the armies: during the sixteenth century, the Society of Jesus had an avant-garde role in spiritual assistance to the military.[125] However, *The Christian Soldier* was the first early modern Catholic catechism for military forces and inaugurated a new literary genre. In writing the book, Possevino was undoubtedly inspired by his experience in Piedmont and France, but he always mentioned Islam. In fact, *The Christian Soldier* was also distributed to the fleet that confronted the Ottomans at the Battle of Lepanto (October 7, 1571),[126] a victory that was celebrated as a triumph of Catholicism against Islam and opened the path to a sort of "Catholic reconquest" in the Balkans, with the goal of reaching Constantinople.[127] The subtitle—"a book necessary to anyone who desires to know the way to achieve victory against heretics, Turks, and other

124 Antonio Possevino, *Il soldato christiano con l'istruttione dei capi dello essercito catolico* (Rome: Dorici, 1569). In the following years, there were other expanded editions and translations into Latin, Spanish, and French. See *Sommervogel*, 6:1065–66. Here, I quote from the 1583 edition (Macerata: Martellini, 1583).

125 See the thematic issue on "Jesuits and Soldiers," ed. Vincenzo Lavenia, *Journal of Jesuit Studies* 4, no. 4 (2017).

126 Dorigny, *Vita del Padre Antonio Possevino*, 89. Many copies of the book were sent to the penitentiary of Loreto, where many soldiers stopped before going to Lepanto. See Giuseppe Castellani, "L'assistenza religiosa nell'armata di Lepanto (1570–1572) con documenti inediti," *Civiltà cattolica* (1936): 471–81; (1937): 39–49; 433–43; (1938): 259–69; 538–47; Mario Scaduto, *Storia della Compagnia di Gesù in Italia*, vol. 5, *L'opera di Francesco Borgia* (Rome: La Civiltà Cattolica, 1992), 375–85; Enrique García Hernán, "La asistencia religiosa en la armada de Lepanto," *Anthologica annua* 43 (1996): 213–63; Gianclaudio Civale, *Guerrieri di Cristo: Inquisitori, gesuiti e soldati alla battaglia di Lepanto* (Milan: Unicopli, 2009); Giampiero Brunelli, *Soldati del papa: Politica militare e nobiltà nello stato della chiesa, 1560–1644* (Rome: Carocci, 2003).

127 See Géraud Poumarède, *Pour en finir avec la Croisade: mythes et réalités de la lutte contre les Turcs au XVI^e^ et XVII^e^ siècles* (Paris: PUF, 2004); Manuel Rivero Rodríguez, *La batalla de Lepanto: Cruzada, guerra santa e identidad confesional* (Madrid: Sílex, 2008).

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unbelievers"—clearly shows the different categories of enemies of the church the author had in mind. Possevino provides specific suggestions to the soldiers involved in a war with these various enemies. When fighting against the heretics, for instance, the Christian soldier had to avoid debating faith and doctrine, because "the heretics, with the aim to deceive simple people, act like those who, in order to poison someone, coat the poison with sugar."[128] When fighting against the Turks or other "barbarians," "the Christian Soldier [...] has to avoid any curiosity about their habits and their sects; he also has to avoid reading the Qur'an [...] because from it one cannot learn other than violence, tyranny, and a life based on sensuality, that even the wild animals hate."[129]

In the following years, Possevino developed the idea of the war against Islam implied in *The Christian Soldier*.[130] At the end of the 1570s, Gregory XIII (1502–85, r.1572–85) was intrigued by the project of creating a holy league to expel the Turks from Europe and to reconquer Constantinople. In Gregory's mind, an alliance with King Báthory and Tsar Ivan IV was crucial for the league; answering the request of the tsar, the pope agreed to be the mediator between the two rulers, who at that time were fighting each other, and sent Possevino to Muscovy with this task.[131] The mission was successful: on January 15, 1582, the so-called Truce of Yam-Zapolsky ended the war.

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128 Possevino, *Il soldato christiano,* 40.

129 Possevino, *Il soldato christiano,* 39. The last Italian edition of *Il soldato christiano* (Venice: Imberti, 1604) was dedicated to Cosimo II (1590–1621, r.1609–21) and was meant to be read by the Cavalieri di Santo Stefano di Pisa, engaged in anti-Muslim campaigns.

130 According to Possevino, a war is "just" "when there is the will of the princes to re-establish the faith where it has been extirpated. Additionally, [when there is] the authority of the pope, God's lieutenant, that makes the soldiers more than safe, since they do not act for their own appetite, nor with spirit of rebellion, but with obedience and humility, two virtues highly appreciated by the Divine Majesty." Possevino, *Il soldato christiano*, 10–11.

131 Paul Pierling, ed., *Antonii Possevini missio moscovitica ex Annuis literis Societatis Jesu excerpta et adnotationibus illustrata* (Paris: Leroux, 1882); Oskar Halecki, "Possevino's Last Statement on Polish–Russian Relations," *Orientalia christiana periodica* 19 (1953): 261–302; Stanislas Polčin, *Une tentative d'union au XVI^e^ siècle: La mission religieuse du père Antoine Possevin S.J. en Moscovie* (*1581–1582*) (Rome: Institutum Orientalium Studiorum, 1957); Maria Olsoufieff, ed., *Le lettere di Ivan il Terribile con i commentarii della Moscovia di Antonio Possevino* (Florence: Centro internazionale del libro, 1958); Mario Scaduto, "Ivan il Terribile e Antonio Possevino," *Civiltà cattolica* 4 (1959): 292–96; Francesco Guida, "Ivan il Terribile e Antonio Possevino: Il difficile dialogo tra Cattolicesimo e Ortodossia," in *Le origini e lo sviluppo della cristianità slavo-bizantina,* ed. S.W. Swiekosz-Lenart (Rome: Istituto Storico Italiano per il Medio Evo, 1992), 261–76; John Patrick Donnelly, "Antonio Possevino, S.J., Papal Mediator between Emperor Rudolf II and King Stephan Báthory," *Archivum historicum Societatis Iesu* 69 (2000): 3–56; Francine-Dominique Liechtenhan, *Les trois christianismes et la Russie: Les voyageurs occidentaux face à l'Église orthodoxe russe XV^e^–XVIII^e^ siècle* (Paris: CNRS, 2002),

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At the beginning of the 1580s, Possevino was full of hope and expectation for the league, as appears in his letters and speeches. Before and after the mission to Poland and Muscovy, he had been sent several times to Venice to promote commercial exchanges between the Serenissima and Muscovy, and to request Venice's support for the league. During one of his speeches to the Venetian Senate, Possevino said that "it was clear that by uniting themselves the two powers—Poland and Muscovy—were going to deal a final blow to the Turk, and that His Holiness was using his authority for this project."[132] He often mentioned the plan of a war against the Turks in his letters to Ivan IV, and despite the appearance of numerous obstacles after the conclusion of the peace, Possevino did not renounce the league, although he was convinced that the project could no longer follow the original plan.[133] Since it was not possible to fight immediately, it was necessary to prepare the ground for a future confrontation. Addressing the Council of Ten in Venice, Possevino demonstrated the importance of strengthening commercial relationships between Venice and Muscovy in order to intimidate the Turks. Additionally, he had two extremely ambitious ideas, namely the creation of a common fund, to which each member of the league would pay an annual contribution,[134] and the creation of military seminaries for young men "where we can both teach the things of faith […] and prepare the future soldiers, training them every day in military discipline. In this way, we will not have military leaders […] that are more enemies than defenders of Christ."[135] Islam was always on Possevino's mind: for instance, in order to describe the negative consequences of the soldiers' ignorance in matters of faith, he recalled the stories of "Uciali and Cicala," two famous renegades who, a few years before, had abandoned the Catholic faith and embraced Islam during the corsair wars.[136]

48–52; Stéphane Mund, "La mission diplomatique du père Antonio Possevino (S.J.) chez Ivan le Terrible en 1581–1582," *Cahiers du monde russe* 45 (2004): 407–39.

132 Possevino to Venice's Senate, April 11, 1581, quoted in Paul Pierling, ed., *Bathory et Possevino: Documents inédits sur les rapports du Saint-Siège avec les slaves* (Paris: Leroux, 1887), 40–47, here 44.

133 *Ragionamento di Antonio Possevino alla signoria di Venetia in collegio di detta repubblica sopra il fatto e il modo della lega, il di 12 di agosto 1582*, in Pierling, *Bathory et Possevino*, 168–92. The discrepancies between Possevino's and the curia's plans are shown in Caccamo, "Conversione dell'Islam."

134 *Ragionamento di Antonio Possevino*, 189.

135 *Ragionamento di Antonio Possevino*, 186.

136 *Ragionamento di Antonio Possevino*, 186. On Uluç Alì Pascià (1519–87), known as Uciali or Occhialì, see Gustavo Valente, *Vita di Occhialì* (Milan: Ceschina, 1960); on Scipione Cicala (1544–1606), see Gino Benzoni, "Cicala, Scipione," in *Dizionario biografico degli italiani* (Rome: Istituto dell'Enciclopedia Italiana, 1981), 25:34–39. On the "renegades," see

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The project of military seminaries was near to Possevino's heart: he mentioned them in *The Christian Soldier*, he wrote a letter to Gregory XIII to promote the project and devoted to them several pages of his *Bibliotheca selecta*.[137] The long-term plan for the creation of the league, according to Possevino, could also contribute to peace among European rulers: facing a successful alliance, the Lutheran princes might have decided to join it, and the French king might finally abandon his alliance with the Turk. In a powerful statement, Possevino reinforced the final goal of his action: "It is better that we all die for a just war and enterprise than allowing everything to become, little by little, subject to Muhammadism."[138]

4.4 *Missionary Enterprise*

Possevino's attitude toward Islam cannot be reduced to his plans for wars. A second aspect, which we might call a missionary approach, is even more relevant.

Dealing with the Jesuit correspondence during his tenure as secretary of the Society (1573–77), Possevino had direct access to the Jesuit worldwide missionary network, and he would always remember those years as crucial to his personal formation because he could witness every day "what God was doing in the whole Christendom with his means, and what the others did with the means of the world."[139]

In 1574, the Hungarian Jesuit István Szántó (1540–1612) wrote a long letter from Vienna to the superior general of the Society; in his detailed description of the Turks in the Balkans, in particular in Transylvania, he disavowed the usual cliché and described the Turks as respectful of freedom:[140]

> In the cities under the control of the Turks, there are no monasteries, with the exceptions of some Franciscan ones. The Turks love, support, and respect [the Franciscans] and allow them to cross the country freely. Their provincial has been this year at our house in Vienna and told us that his brothers highly prefer to be among the Turks than among heretics or lukewarm Christians.[141]

Bartolomé and Lucile Bennassar, *Les Chrétiens d'Allah: L'histoire extraordinaire des renégats, XVI^e–XVII^e siècles* (Paris: Perrin, 1989).

137 Possevino, *Bibliotheca selecta*, book 5, "De militum, de clericorum, de religiosum familiarum seminariis," 20–65.

138 *Ragionamento di Antonio Possevino*, 192.

139 *Ragionamento di Antonio Possevino*, 181.

140 On István Szántó, see here Part 7.

141 Szántó to Mercurian, 1574, *Monumenta antiquae Hungariae*, 1:460–74, here 467.

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In describing Muslim ceremonies for the dead, Szántó showed great respect and curiosity; instead of highlighting the well-known theological errors of the "Muhammadan heresy," he described some aspects of Muslim religiosity, their habits, and their virtues. Of course, in the end, Szántó did not forget to point out what these people were lacking: "Without faith, it is impossible to be beloved of God the King. Hopefully God will illumine them."[142] Here, Szántó's attitude resembles the paternalistic but ultimately positive attitude of many Jesuits toward the native peoples of the New World. Possevino, who read this and other similar letters by Szántó, supported him enthusiastically and begged Superior General Mercurian for permission to go to Transylvania.[143] Additionally, in 1576 Possevino himself asked unsuccessfully to be exonerated from his appointment as secretary of the Society and to leave for the missions in the Balkans. He reminded the superior general of his persistent "desire to help the East" and his repeated requests to leave for Transylvania in the hope of reaching Turkey and converting Muslims.[144]

When Possevino went to Transylvania to found a seminary on behalf of the pope and Báthory in 1583,[145] he wrote letters full of missionary enthusiasm. In his view, Transylvania was like the extra-European missions, the "great Indies," and he doubted that "the Society could find a mission greater or more filled with hope." Possevino also wrote a *Commentary on Transylvania* that was published only during the twentieth century, probably because Superior General Acquaviva did not like parts of it.[146] The dedicatory letter to Gregory XIII again gives the sense of Possevino's double-faceted attitude toward Islam.[147] On the one hand, some references to the Turks highlight the resurgent idea of the need, if not of an offensive action, at least of a defensive one; on the other hand, the general tone of the letter is full of missionary

142 Szántó to Mercurian, 1574, 473.

143 See, for instance, Possevino's comments on Szanto's letter, ARSI, Germ. 135, fols. 337r–345v.

144 Possevino to Mercurian, 1576. ARSI, Opp. NN. 316, 5v. László Lukács, ed., *Monumenta antiquae Hungariae* (Rome: Institutum Historicum Societatis Iesu, 1969), 1:441n2.

145 Giacomo Carlo Bascapè, *Le relazioni fra l'Italia e la Transilvania nel secolo XVI: Note e documenti* (Rome: Anonima Romana, 1931); Domenico Caccamo, *Eretici italiani in Moravia, Polonia, Transilvania (1558–1611): Studi e documenti* (Florence: Sansoni-Newberry, 1970); Francesco Guida, "Antonio Possevino e la Livonia: Un episodio della Controriforma (1582–1585)," *Europa Orientalis* 2 (1983): 73–105.

146 Andrea Veress, ed., *Antonii Possevini Societatis Jesu Transilvania (1584)* (Budapest: Fontes Rerum Transylvaniarum, 1913). A later edition—based on a different manuscript—in Bascapè, *Le relazioni*, 49–163.

147 Possevino to Gregory XIII, Olmutz, April 12, 1583, in *Epistolae et acta jesuitarum Transylvaniae temporibus principum Báthory (1571–1613)*, ed. Andreas Veress (Cluj-Napoca: Fontes Rerum Transylvanicarum, 1911), 1:279–84.

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enthusiasm and shows Possevino's desire to develop new instruments for evangelization.[148]

4.5 *Islam and Muslims in the* Bibliotheca selecta

The readers of Possevino's late and most important work, *Bibliotheca selecta*, can find both the need for a war against Islam and the desire for a peaceful evangelization of Muslims.[149] In book 7, devoted to heresies and the enemies of the church, Possevino offers a particularly harsh image of Muhammad and Islam:

> We see the Turks, Muhammad, and Monk Sergius the apostate lie howling in a deep abyss, oppressed by their evils and the evils of their successors. If Saracens and Turks, terrible and cruel beasts, had not been beaten and arrested by our sacred military orders, our princes, and our people, they—like furious and deadly Erinyes—would have depopulated Europe, thanks to Luther […] and Lutherans (who are appreciative of the proliferation of the Turks), and not just devastated altars and crosses, as Calvin had done. Therefore, [the Turks] will be our enemies, until they are completely rejected from the Christians' throats thanks to the work of our allies.[150]

Here we can see the alleged connection of Islam with Lutheranism and Calvinism (a classic topic in Catholic polemical literature), and the need for a war to liberate Europe from the Muslim threat.[151] At the beginning of book 9, "On the Helping of the Jews, Muslims, and Other Peoples," Possevino describes the Catholic Church as a beleaguered citadel, between a rock and a hard place, with the Saracens and Turks on one side, and heretics and Jews on the other.[152] Additionally, when suggesting a list of readings about Islam, Possevino quotes standard Christian polemical literature.[153] A significant exception is the last

148 Possevino presents Transylvania as a "fortress of Christendom" that would prevent the Turks from reaching Kraków (*Epistolae et acta*, 283); at the same time, he asks for fifty priests in order to penetrate Transylvania "without noise" (*Epistolae et acta*, 282).

149 Stefano Lator, "Il P. Antonio Possevino e l'Islam," *Studia missionalia* 1 (1943): 215–25.

150 Possevino, *Bibliotheca selecta*, 359–60.

151 See the bibliography in Emanuele Colombo, "Western Theologies and Islam," in *The Oxford Handbook of Early Modern Theology, 1600–1800*, ed. Ulrich L. Lehner, Richard Muller, and A. [Anthony] G. Roeber (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2015), 482–98.

152 Possevino, *Bibliotheca selecta*, 441.

153 The authors quoted by Possevino include John of Damascus (645–749), Euthymius Zigabenus (*fl.* twelfth century), Theodore bishop of Haran (Abucaras [*fl.* eighth century]), Nicetas of Byzantium (*fl.* ninth century), John VI Kantakouzenos (1292–1383), Alexander of

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author listed, the humanist Juan Luis Vives (1492–1540), who had nuanced positions toward Islam and supported more peaceful attempts at conversion, an attitude that fitted well with Possevino's missionary approach toward Muslims.[154]

The following Parts of book 9, in fact, were probably influenced by Vives and by Possevino's missionary experience. To underline the linguistic issue and the importance of learning Arabic, Possevino reports a complete letter of the Flemish traveler and humanist Nicolas Clénard (1492–1542), a particularly intriguing character.[155] A scholar in Greek and Hebrew, Clénard was fascinated by Islam. He learned Arabic, read the Qur'an, and traveled to Fez, Morocco, where he developed his missionary skills running theological debates in Arabic:

> Theological disputations in Arabic and refutations of Islamic doctrine became his dream. He ran a great risk in Fez, for he never hid the fact that he was a Catholic priest, though only a few years earlier some clerics who had come to redeem Christian captives had been put to death.[156]

In Clénard's letter quoted by Possevino, Muslims appear not so much as dangerous and fierce enemies but as ignorant people, deceived and fooled by Muhammad, who gained his power through trickery.[157] The ignorance of ordinary people was evident in Fez, where everyone learned the Qur'an by heart without understanding its meaning and where other books hardly circulated.

Hales (1185–1245), Jacques de Vitry (1160–1240), Thomas Aquinas (1225–74), John of Wales (d.1285), Humbert of Romans (1200–77), Nicholas of Cusa (1401–64), Denis the Carthusian (1402–71), Riccoldo of Monte Croce (1243–1320), Juan de Torquemada (1388–1468), John of Toledo (d.1275), Juan Luis Vives (1493–1540). See Possevino, *Bibliotheca selecta*, 441. See Norman Daniel, *Islam and the West: The Making of an Image* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1960).

154 On Juan Luis Vives, see Vincente Catarino, "La polemica de Luis Vives contra el Islam," *Boletin de la Biblioteca de Menéndez Pelayo* 67 (1991): 5–34; Edward V. George, "Author, Adversary, and Reader: A View of the *De veritate fidei christianae*," in *A Companion to Juan Luis Vives*, ed. Charles Fantazzi (Brill: Leiden, 2008), 315–57.

155 On Clénard, see Victor Chauvin and Alphonse Roersch, *Étude sur la vie et les travaux de Nicolas Clénard* (Brussels: Hayez, 1900); Alphonse Roersch, ed., *Correspondance de Nicolas Clénard*, 3 vols. (Brussels: Palais des Académies, 1940–46); Henry de Vocht, Frans M. Olbrechts, and Herman F. Bouchery, eds., *Nicolaus Clenardus* (Antwerp: De Sikkel, 1942).

156 Thérese-Anne Druart, "Arabic Philosophy and the Université Catholique de Louvain," in *The Introduction of Arabic Philosophy into Europe*, ed. Charles E. Butterworth and Blake André Kessel (Leiden: Brill, 2004), 83–97, here 87.

157 Possevino, *Bibliotheca selecta*, 442–43; Roersch, *Correspondance de Nicolas Clénard*, 1:171–83.

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A Catholic preacher could win in the face of this ignorance only by speaking Arabic. Only with the "fortress of languages" (*linguarum praesidio*), Possevino concludes, was it possible to confront Islam.[158]

Additionally, according to Possevino, a dialogue would only be possible once Christians and Muslims emphasized their common ground instead of their differences. He quotes a passage from Avicenna's (980–1037) *Metaphysics*,[159] where human beings' natural need for spiritual goods is underlined. In Possevino's view, Avicenna, "despite being a Muhammadan," had been "obliged by the truth" (*veritate coactus*) to recognize that human beings are not attracted only by bodily pleasures, as Muhammad and the Qur'an stated (at least according to Possevino) but also by spiritual happiness:

> From these words—Possevino comments—wise men understand that it is possible to introduce among the Turks the desire for a kind of happiness different [from the bodily one] and to drive their minds to think. However, it is not recommended to talk openly against Muhammad's law, unless God opens a path for that.[160]

Forms of dialogue with Muslims based on the natural light of reason could also be supported by reading other philosophers well known in Arabic translation, such as Plato (428/427–348/347 BCE), choosing the passages compatible with the Christian tradition.[161]

Possevino's attempt to find common ground with Muslims continues in the following Part of the *Bibliotheca*, where he makes a distinction between "two kinds of Turks." He was well aware of the phenomenon of "renegades" and stated that the Turks who abandoned the Catholic Church were extremely hard to convert, since they "had tasted the good Word of God but closed their eyes so as not to see heaven" and were oppressed by the weight of apostasy.[162] On the contrary, the other Turks "born from Turk parents" who never embraced Christianity were more open to conversion, led by the natural light of reason (*naturali lumine ducti*). They did not tolerate blasphemies against Jesus Christ and had a sincere esteem for the beauty of the Christian law, more because of

158 Possevino, *Bibliotheca selecta*, 444.
159 Avicenna, *Metaphysica* (Venice, 1508), lib. 9, c. 7.
160 Possevino, *Bibliotheca selecta*, 445.
161 Possevino, *Bibliotheca selecta*, 445.
162 Possevino, *Bibliotheca selecta*, 444. "However, the Muslims who abandoned Christ for fear or for sexual pleasures, are more docile than the others. In fact, when they feel that their conscience is calling them, they desire to join again their ancient religion."

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Christians' lifestyle than because of their words.[163] For this reason, the clergy and the laypeople who were sent to Muslim lands should be selected for their irreproachable life and for their virtues.

Possevino also reports the list of the books found on the ships of the Turkish fleet defeated at the Battle of Lepanto. These books of astronomy, mathematics, geography, physics, and optics suggested some possible connections between Muslims and European culture. By discussing some of these topics, "the man of God, wise in interpreting the signs and highly learned, will be able to ingratiate himself with some prominent Turks. If at the end our position will be seen as the wisest, [the Turks] will desire to hear about the superiority of the Christian faith from trustworthy men."[164]

Books were instruments of conversion—this is one of Possevino's most recurring statements—and there was nothing better for the evangelization of Muslims than books in Arabic. For this reason, Possevino mentions the Medici Polyglot Press, founded in Rome in 1584 by Ferdinando I de' Medici (1549–1609).[165] In the early 1590s, the press published an Arabic edition of the Gospels with Latin interlinear translation, while the Letters of St. Paul and the Acts of the Apostles were in press when Possevino was compiling his *Bibliotheca*. An edition of Avicenna's works, extremely useful for a dialogue with Muslims, had also been published. As in many other passages of the *Bibliotheca*, Possevino shows himself to be extremely up to date in his knowledge of new books: he quotes editions of 1592 in his 1593 *Bibliotheca*.

4.6 *Conclusion*

In dealing with Islam, Possevino clearly uses two different forms of rhetoric that sometimes seem scarcely reconcilable: the war and the missionary approach. Facing Islam, the Christian soldier should not be curious about Muslim theology and habits, but this curiosity is implied in Possevino's missionary attitude; Islam, in its theoretical representation, can be compared to the most dangerous heresies of the Catholic Church, but with the actual Muslims met on the mission ground a dialogue is possible, starting from the common "light of natural reason." Some of the Muslims' religious habits nevertheless attracted Possevino. This fluctuating view of Islam can be understood in the context of Possevino's view of the world. The structure of the *Bibliotheca*

163 Possevino, *Bibliotheca selecta*, 444. "Honesty and soberness, two key virtues in our religion, are the most important and most effective ways [...] to persuade them."

164 Possevino, *Bibliotheca selecta*, 445.

165 Possevino, *Bibliotheca selecta*, 442. See Caren Reimann, "Ferdinando de' Medici and the Typographia Medicea," in *Print and Power in Early Modern Europe (1500–1800)*, ed. Nina Lamal, Jamie Cumby, and Helmer J. Helmers (Leiden: Brill, 2021), 220–38.

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selecta mirrors his perception of geography, which follows the criterion of the degree of proximity to the Catholic Church.[166] In the first nine books of the *Bibliotheca*, Possevino represents the entire world, moving from the Latin churches to the eastern churches, to the Christian heresies, to the gentiles. The judgment on more distant people is somehow softer than the judgment about closer heretics. The latter distorts the true Christian message and detach themselves from a truth that they have seen, while gentiles could be excused at least for their ignorance, and often the fascination with outlying territories and exotic peoples makes them paradoxically more attractive.

Islam and Muslims are in a peculiar position within Possevino's sacred geography. On the one hand, Islam is extremely close to Catholicism: from the theological point of view, most of the medieval authors quoted by Possevino considered Islam a heresy, a distortion of Christianity, in which Jesus is presented as a prophet but not as the Son of God. Additionally, Islam is close because of the Muslim threat to early modern Europe, something that fueled the rhetoric of war. On the other hand, when Muslims are described in their environment, they appear as distant people, living in a culture completely different from the European one, and whose habits can stimulate curiosity, interest, and even respect. The descriptions by Szántó and Clénard relate to Possevino's search for common ground with Muslims, based on natural reason and supported by the discussion of scientific subjects that could arise out of Muslims' curiosity and thereby strengthen their trust in European missionaries.

Because of the dual nature of Islam, it was possible to compare it to Lutheranism and Calvinism, and, at the same time, to promote from a completely different perspective a missionary approach, translating the Gospel into Arabic, learning languages, and looking for common ground with Muslims.

Possevino's long-term influence should not be underestimated, and it would be worth searching for traces of his views on Islam in seventeenth-century Jesuit literature. The next two Parts deal with later developments in the Jesuit encounter with Islam: Part 5 discusses the theoretical views on Islam of a series of Jesuits who published their books seventy years after Possevino and often quoted him; Part 6 discusses Jesuit missionary approaches toward Muslim slaves in seventeenth-century Naples and Spain.

166 See Jean-Marc Besse, "Quelle géographie pour le prince chrétien? Premières remarques sur Antonio Possevino," *Laboratoire italien: Politique et société* 8 (2008): 123–43; Antonella Romano, "La experiencia de la misión y el mapa europeo de los saberes sobre el mundo en el Renacimiento: Antonio Possevino y Jose de Acosta," in *Saberes de la conversión: Jesuitas, indígenas, e imperios coloniales en las fronteras de la cristiandad*, ed. Guillermo Wilde (Buenos Aires: Editorial Sb, 2012), 133–54.

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5 Jesuits and Islam in Seventeenth-Century Western Europe

The rhetoric of war in *The Christian Soldier* and in the Jesuit descriptions of the Battle of Lepanto constantly re-emerged in moments of confrontation with the Muslim world when the imperative of fighting against enemies of the faith was often tinged with apocalyptic tones.[167] This view became widespread among European Jesuits at the end of the seventeenth century after the Battle of Vienna (1683), in which the Holy League defeated the Ottoman army.

5.1 *Jesuit Polemical Views*

The success of the Holy League was celebrated as the victory of Christianity over Islam and led to a proliferation of prophetic interpretations on its significance.[168] It also had an important effect on Jesuits' perception of Islam. At the end of the seventeenth century, Europe saw a number of books written by Jesuits about Islam, including "handbooks" for the conversion of Muslims, books of controversies, catechisms, transcriptions of real or imaginary dialogues between Muslims and Catholics, and anthologies of sermons aimed at converting Muslims.[169] In the same period, martyrologies of the Society of Jesus strove to emphasize the presence of Jesuits in Islamic lands who were killed for their faith by Muslims.[170]

Niccolò Maria Pallavicino (1621–92), a prominent Italian Jesuit and the personal theologian of Queen Christina of Sweden (1626–89) in Rome, authored *The Modern Prosperities of the Catholic Church against Muhammadanism* (1686) and inserted many comments about Islam in other books he wrote in defense of Catholicism.[171] The celebrated Italian preacher and theologian Paolo Segneri (1624–94) published *The Unbeliever Is Inexcusable* (1690), an apology for the reasonableness of the Catholic faith, containing several references to Islam.[172]

167 See Poumarède, *Pour en finir avec la Croisade*; Giovanni Ricci, *Ossessione turca: In una retrovia cristiana dell'Europa moderna* (Bologna: Il Mulino, 2002).

168 See John Stoye, *The Siege of Vienna: The Last Great Trial between Cross & Crescent* (New York: Pegasus, 2011).

169 See Thomas Michel, "Jesuit Writings on Islam in the Seventeenth Century," *Islamochristiana* 15 (1989): 57–85.

170 See Mathias Tanner, *Societatis Jesu usque ad sanguinis et vitae profusionem militans, in Europa, Africa, Asia et America* (Prague: Hampel, 1675).

171 Niccolò Maria Pallavicino, *Le moderne prosperità della Chiesa Cattolica contro il Maccomettismo* (Rome: Komarek, 1688); Pallavicino, *L'evidente merito della fede cattolica ad essere creduta per vera* (Rome: Komarek, 1689); Pallavicino, *La grandezza della Madre di Dio contro le moderne eresie* (Rome: Komarek, 1690).

172 Paolo Segneri, *L'incredulo senza scusa, dove si dimostra che non può non conoscere quale sia la vera religione, chi vuol conoscerla* (Milan: Agnelli, 1690).

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The Spanish Jesuit Manuel Sanz (1646–1719),[173] who was stationed for many years in Malta, where he worked for the Inquisition, published a *Brief Treatise for the Conversion of the Turks* (1691), while the French Jesuit Michel Nau, a missionary for almost twenty years in Syria, published two books in Paris: *Christian Religion against the Qur'an* (1680) and *The Present State of the Muhammadan Religion* (1684).[174] Finally, Tirso González de Santalla (1624–1705),[175] a renowned theologian and missionary, upon becoming the thirteenth superior general of the Society of Jesus (in office 1687–1705), wrote the *Handbook to Convert Muslims* (1687), an authoritative guide that was widely diffused and translated.[176]

The books published on Islam in the 1680s were influenced by the fear of the approaching Turks and by the enthusiasm that followed the victory of Vienna. Explicit references are made in these books to military events, which are not seen as opposed to missionary activities. What was occurring on the eastern front influenced the perception of Muslims held by the missionaries operating, for example, in Andalusia or on the Sicilian coast. For Pallavicino, the defeat of the Ottoman army was a sign of "the current prosperity of the Catholic Church." The cause of the victory, in his view, was political and military as well

173 Manuel Sanz was a Spanish Jesuit of the Sicilian province. He was a missionary in Malta, where he became rector of the Jesuit college and a qualifier of the Inquisition. Manuel Sanz, *Breve trattato nel quale con ragioni dimostrative si convincono manifestamente i Turchi, senza che in guisa veruna possano negarlo, esser falsa la legge di Maometto, e vera solamente quella di Cristo* (Catania: Bisagni, 1691). See Emanuele Colombo, "'La setta malvaggia dell'Alcorano': Emmanuele Sanz, S.J. (1646–1719) e il *Breve trattato per convertire i Turchi*," *Rivista di storia e letteratura religiosa* 51, no. 3 (2015): 1–25.

174 Michel Nau was born in Tours and in 1665 was assigned to the Jesuit house in Aleppo, where he remained until 1682. Michel Nau, *Religio christiana contra Alcoranum per Alcoranum pacifice defensa ac provata* (Paris: Gabriel Martinus, 1680); Nau, *L'état présent de la religion mahométane, contenant les choses, les plus curieuses qui regardent Mahomet et l'établissement de sa secte* (Paris: Boüillerot, 1684). See Bernard Heyberger, "Nau Michel," in *Dictionnaire des orientalistes de langue française*, ed. François Pouillon (Paris: Karthala, 2008), 717–18.

175 See Elias Reyero, *Misiones del P. Tirso González de Santalla, XIII prepósito general de la Compañía de Jesús* (Santiago: Tipografía Editorial Compostelana, 1913); Bernard Vincent, "Musulmans et conversion en Espagne au XVII^e siècle," in *Conversions islamiques: Identités religieuses en Islam méditerranéen*, ed. Mercedes García-Arenal (Paris: Maisonneuve et Larose, 2001), 193–203; Colombo, "Even among Turks"; Jean-Pascal Gay, *Jesuit Civil Wars: Theology, Politics, and Government under Tirso González (1687–1705)* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2012).

176 Tirso González de Santalla, *Manuductio ad conversionem Mahumetanorum in duas partes divisa: In prima veritas religionis catholicae-romanae manifestis notis demonstratur; In secunda falsitas mahumetanae sectae convincitur* (Madrid: Villa-Diego, 1687). Several editions followed, and a manuscript translation in Arabic is preserved at the Vatican Library. Here, I quote from the edition printed in Dillingen in 1689.

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as religious, and the defeat of the Ottoman Empire represented a providential opportunity for Christians to convert Muslims.[177]

The authors believed that, to be "just," the war against Islam should be a "defensive war"; however, according to Pallavicino, "against the Turks, every offensive war is simply defensive, […] since for the Turks peace is only preparation for another war."[178] The image of the defensive war, which we have already encountered in Possevino, is present in many other books written by Jesuits in the same period. With his book, Nau tried "to wrench the weapons away from Muslims" in order to stop their terrible offensive. In the dedication of González's *Handbook* to Emperor Leopold I (1640–1705, r.1658–1705), there was the same war-like idea of mission, with the Jesuits presented as "defensive soldiers of the church."[179]

Jesuits wanted to fight Islam "with pen and ink," that is, by writing books demonstrating the falsity of Islam. They used classic medieval arguments: the condemnation of Muhammad for his moral conduct; the falsity of what they called the "Muhammadan heresy" as shown by the sexual customs of Muslims; and the treatment of women, both in the practice of polygamy and in the ease with which men could abandon their wives. Additionally, the image of paradise as a realm of sensory satisfaction was not only against Christianity but also against the very nature of human beings.[180] A second argument retrieved from the past was the demonstration of the "falsity of the Qur'an using the Qur'an itself." The unreasonableness of Islam was demonstrated by the contradictions contained in the Qur'an: the validity of the Gospels was at times affirmed and at other times rejected, and the notion of "holy war" was deemed necessary in one surah and rejected altogether in another passage. Dietary prohibitions were justified by "absurd and incredible fables." Readers of Islamic "legends" should laugh heartily, González observes, confident that anyone who encounters such "lies" would be able to recognize their inherent irrationality. The customs derived from Islam, furthermore, run contrary to history, philosophy, and

177 Pallavicino, *Le moderne prosperità*, 170–71; 251ff. Thomas Michel reveals Pallavicino's selective use of history for propagandistic goals: "His silence concerning the significant role of Orthodox Russia in the Holy League, the earlier Venetian refusal to take part in an anti-Ottoman Holy League which led to the papal interdict of 1605, and the contemporary opposition of Catholic France leads to the conclusion that Pallavicino has been highly selective in his use of history." Michel, "Jesuit Writings on Islam," 81.

178 Pallavicino, *Le moderne prosperità*, 189.

179 González de Santalla, *Manuductio ad conversionem Mahumetanorum*, 2:dedicatory.

180 González de Santalla, *Manuductio ad conversionem Mahumetanorum*, 2:69.

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even mathematics.[181] Finally, Islam was seen as being hostile to man's critical capacity: Muhammad prohibited arguments against the Qur'an and forbade any discussion of the precepts of Islamic law. To quote González:

> If a man holds an authentic gold coin, he would not be afraid of having its weight tested by the goldsmith. If the Muhammadan religion is afraid of being tested, and prohibits examination into whether it is indeed God-given, this means that it is not the law of God, but a voluntary creation of a pseudo-prophet in order to oppress people and to maintain his own power.[182]

In an imaginary dialogue with a Muslim, Sanz encourages his interlocutor—a recent convert to Catholicism—to ask all his questions:

> My friend Mustafa, ask all you want, because Christian priests are different from Muslim *papaz* [religious authorities], who refuse to give reasons for the Muslim law. They do that because they do not know and will never know these reasons, simply because these do not exist. But we have reasons, thanks be to God, and we always answer questions; rather, we *take pleasure* in answering them.[183]

Muslims were also understood as living according to a sort of fatalism that devalued human liberty. Sanz wrote that, when asked when they planned to convert, Muslims would reply, "When God wills it," as if they had no responsibility in the decision. Both Sanz and González report an argument often used by the Muslims they invited to convert: "My father is a Muslim, my grandfather is a Muslim, and my great-grandfather was also a Muslim. I too therefore will be a Muslim until I die."[184]

In all these books, there is a particular emphasis on the value of miracles, essential proofs of the truth of the Catholic faith. Miracles were also present in the Islamic tradition, but—according to the Jesuits—they were "private miracles," not documented in any way, and so they were certainly false. Segneri uses the same argument with the issue of "sanctity," important evidence of the truth

181 See González de Santalla, *Manuductio ad conversionem Mahumetanorum*, 2:253ff.

182 González de Santalla, *Manuductio ad conversionem Mahumetanorum*, 2:32; see also Pallavicino, *Le moderne prosperità*, 51.

183 Sanz, *Breve trattato*, 80; the same idea occurred in Segneri, *L'incredulo senza scusa*, 651; Nau, *Religio christiana*, 6.

184 On this argument, see García-Arenal, "*Mi padre moro, yo moro*," 304–35.

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of the Catholic Church that he considered to be completely absent in Islamic theology.[185]

The Jesuits followed the traditional view that Islam was a heresy because it misinterpreted and distorted several elements of the Christian doctrine. In their view, Islam was the complete synthesis of all the heresies in the history of the church: although already defeated by the councils, these heresies were proposed anew by Islam.[186]

All these arguments emphasized the value of reason. Using reason, everyone is able to discriminate between what is false and the truth that exalts human nature. Christian faith, these authors argued, is strictly connected with reason, not because reason allows one to totally comprehend God, but because there is *valid evidence* that Christianity is possibly true and, in any event, not against reason. At the same time, reason shows the contradictions and falsity of Islam. In the dialogue cited above, Sanz concluded his explanations of the arguments in favor of the Christian faith in this way: "Now, Mustafa, reason *obliges* you to confess, whether you like or not, that it would be a terrible foolishness and an evident deceit to follow Muhammad and his Qur'an."[187] For the same reason, after his exposition of the foundations of Catholic dogmas, Segneri states, echoing the title of his book, that "the unbeliever is inexcusable."[188]

5.2 *Islam in a Divided West: Competing Christian Views*

The arguments used by Jesuits—Muhammad's immorality, the Qur'an's incompatibility with human reason, Islam's lack of consideration for the critical capacity of human beings, the falsity of its supposed miracles, and the representation of Islam as a heresy—are traditional arguments from polemical medieval sources that circulated widely in Western Europe.[189] Most of

185 Segneri, *L'incredulo senza scusa*, 678–79. Both González and Segneri emphasized the validity of the Catholic Church's method of examining the proofs of miracles. See Alexandre Coello de la Rosa and Linda G. Jones, eds., *Saints and Sanctity in Judaism, Christianity, and Islam: Striving for Remembrance* (Abingdon: Routledge, 2020).

186 González de Santalla, *Manuductio ad conversionem Mahumetanorum*, 2:88; 208; Pallavicino, *Le moderne prosperità*, 12. This is a classic argument that became very popular in anti-Islamic treatises in the West. See Daniel, *Islam and the West*; Norman Daniel, *The Arabs and Medieval Europe* (London: Longman, 1979), 242; John Tolan, *Saracens: Islam in the Medieval European Imagination* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2002). For the use of this argument in fifteenth-century Spain, see Ana Echevarria, *The Fortress of Faith: The Attitude towards Muslims in Fifteenth-Century Spain* (Leiden: Brill, 1999), 164–65.

187 Sanz, *Breve trattato*, 77.

188 Segneri, *L'incredulo senza scusa*, 17–18.

189 Daniel, *Islam and the West*, 271–307; Tolan, *Saracens*. For the sources relating to Tirso González, see Emanuele Colombo, *Convertire i musulmani: L'esperienza di un gesuita spagnolo del Seicento* (Milan: Mondadori, 2007), 159ff; Michel, *Jesuit Writings*, 67–68.

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the authors listed above—with the exception of Nau—did not know Arabic and relied on Western sources, such as the *Confusión o confutación de la secta Mahomética* (Confusion or confutation of the sect of Muhammad [1515]) by Juan Andrés (*fl.* 1487–1515), a *faqīh* (scholar of Islamic law) who converted to Catholicism and was ordained a priest.[190] The book became popular well beyond the Iberian Peninsula in the early fifteenth century and in the following decades had seven editions in Italian, French, German, Latin, and English. Andrés reiterated popular beliefs, mistakes, and legends about Islam.

Early modern Jesuits, however, embedded the classic arguments in the historical and religious context of post-Reformation Europe. Catholics and Protestants shared the fear of the expansion of Islam, which they often interpreted as a punishment from God and as the accomplishment of the prophecies of the book of Revelation. On both sides, there were calls for a united effort against the Turks, but more often the anti-Muslim literature was embedded in the confessional polemics of a divided Christendom.

The translation of the Qur'an published by Theodor Bibliander (*c.*1506–64) was introduced by a *Praefatio* (Preface) written by Martin Luther (1483–1546); while refuting "the pernicious belief of Muhammad," he harshly criticized the Catholic Church, comparing the "idolatrous Muhammadans" to the "papists."[191] Luther was reluctant to completely transfer the notion of the Antichrist from the pope to the Turks: Muslims were an external enemy, and the Antichrist should have been a sneaky internal adversary; the pope fit better with this description. Philip Melanchthon (1497–1560), however, reinforced the idea of the "double Antichrist," attacking Christianity from the East (the Turks) and from the West (the pope). This image was used as a model for Protestant–Catholic controversies until the end of the seventeenth century.[192]

190 Juan Andrés, *Confusión de la secta mahomética y del Alcorán* (Valencia, 1515). The book was translated into Italian, Latin, English, French, German. A modern edition by Elisa Ruiz García and María Isabel García Monge (Mérida: Editora Regional de Extremadura, 2003); Ryan Szpiech, "Preaching Paul to the Moriscos: The *Confusión o confutación de la secta mahomética y del Alcorán* (1515) of 'Juan Andrés,'" *La corónica: A Journal of Medieval Hispanic Languages, Literatures and Cultures* 41 (2012): 317–43.

191 See Adam Francisco, *Martin Luther and Islam: A Study in Sixteenth-Century Polemics and Apologetics* (Leiden: Brill, 2007).

192 Daniel Vitkus, "Early Modern Orientalism: Representation of Islam in 16th- and 17th-Century Europe," in *Western Views of Islam in Medieval and Early Modern Europe: Perception of Other*, ed. David R. Blanks and Michael Frassetto (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1999), 207–30, here 211; Noel Malcolm, "Comenius, the Conversion of the Turks, and the Muslim–Christian Debate on the Corruption of Scripture," *Church History and Religious Culture* 87 (2007): 477–508; Malcolm, *Useful Enemies: Islam and the Ottoman Empire in Western Political Thought, 1450–1750* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2019); Karine Crousaz, "Pierre Viret et l'Islam," in *Pierre Viret et la diffusion de la réforme: Pensée,*

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On the other side, Catholics represented Lutherans as "the other Turks" using the hottest topics in the Catholic–Protestant polemics. Two popular books, both written in Latin by English authors, directly addressed the Catholic–Protestant debate. William Rainolds (*c.*1544–94), professor of theology at the English College of Reims and a convert to Catholicism, authored the *Calvino-Turcismus* (published posthumously in 1597, second edition 1603).[193] Two years later, the strongly anti-Catholic dean of Exeter Matthew Sutcliffe (*c.*1550–1629) responded with the publication of *De Turcopapismo* (Turcopapism [1599, 2nd ed. 1604]),[194] in which he presented a mirror of the same arguments comparing Catholics to Muslims. This rhetoric, with endless variations and nuances, was widespread in early modern Europe.[195] The comparison with Islam was also used against anti-Trinitarian religious groups, who, according to both Catholics and Protestants, could be compared to Muslims in their denial of the Trinitarian dogma. Socinians were one of the favorite targets of these polemics, according to the common argument that the schismatic divisions of the eastern Christian churches were one of the causes of the rise of Islam.[196]

Jesuits participated in these debates in which Islam became a weapon to refute the doctrines of competing Christian groups. In his *Alcorani seu legis Mahometi* (Qur'an, or the law of Muḥammad [1543]), the former Jesuit Guillaume Postel (1510–81) listed twenty-eight errors shared by Muslims and Protestants and claimed that the approach used by Muhammad to falsify the Christian doctrine was far more acceptable than the one used by Protestants. In order to strengthen this point, in *De la république des Turcs* (Of the republic of the Turks [1560]) Postel showed that unlike Luther, Muhammad did not abolish the Eucharist; the distortion of Islam in support of the anti-Lutheran polemic is evident and was not unusual at that time.[197]

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action, contextes religieux, ed. Karine Crousaz and Daniela Solfaroli Camillocci (Lausanne: Antipodes, 2014).

193 William Rainolds, *Calvino-Turcismus id est, Calvinisticae perfidiae, cum Mahumetana collatio, et dilucida utriusque sectae confutatio: Quatuor libris explicate* (Antwerp: Bellerus, 1597); Matthew Sutcliffe, *De Turcopapismo, hoc est, De Turcarum et papistarum adversuus Christi ecclesiam et fidem coniuratione* (London: Excudebant Georgius Bishop, Radulphus Newberie, & Robertus Barker, 1599).

194 Sutcliffe, *De Turcopapismo*.

195 Nicolette Mout, "Calvinoturcisme in de zeventiende eeuw: Comenius, Leidse oriëntalisten en de Turkse bijbel," *Tijdschrift voor Geschiedenis* 91 (1978): 576–607; Mout, "Calvinoturcismus und Chiliasmus im 17. Jahrhundert," *Pietismus und Neuzeit* 14 (1988): 72–84.

196 Martin Mulsow, "Socinianism, Islam, and the Radical Uses of Arabic Scholarship," *Al-qantara: Revista de estudios árabes* 31 (2010): 549–86; Jan Loop, *Johann Heinrich Hottinger: Arabic and Islamic Studies in the Seventeenth Century* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013).

197 Aldobrandino Malvezzi, *L'Islamismo e la cultura europea* (Florence: Sansoni, 1956), 243–46.

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Seventeenth-century Jesuits used similar arguments. The "current prosperity of the church" coincided, in Pallavicino's view, not only with the defeat of Islam but also with the defeat of Lutheranism and Calvinism, considered to be even more dangerous than Islam. In these books, the same arguments used to refute Islam were often also used against these other "heretics." For example, the arguments about the "falsity of miracles" and the "absence of sanctity" were useful weapons against Lutherans, who, according to González, shared with Muslims the idea that human beings could be saved without "good works."[198] Alleged Islamic fatalism was compared with the doctrine of predestination held by Calvinists. Lutheranism, in Pallavicino's mind, was allied to Islam because it taught that it was not licit to struggle against the Turk.[199] On several occasions, Sanz and González repeated that preaching directed toward Muslims provided useful arguments against the many Lutherans and Calvinists engaged in commercial activity in different European port cities. Finally, Turks and heretics were also associated because they were enemies of Marian devotion, which was of great importance among Jesuits during the seventeenth century.[200]

5.3 *Fluctuating Views of Islam*

The printed sources used in this Part belong to different literary genres—controversial books, handbooks for missionaries, dialogues—and reflect experiences of different places (Rome, Spain, Malta, Syria). The analogies in the books of Segneri, Pallavicino, Nau, Sanz, and González allow us to make some remarks about Jesuits' attitude toward Islam in the late seventeenth century.

The war against the Ottomans deeply influenced the missions. The unexpected success of the Holy League, considered a sign of divine intervention, was a good omen and a strong incitement for preaching to the Muslims. The authors of these books seem to object resolutely to the widespread prejudice, even within the Catholic Church, that converting Muslims was impossible. This approach was supported by the idea that "each one can be saved in one's own law," a notion usually attributed to the beliefs of Islam and confuted in anti-Muslim polemics, but sometimes shared by many Christians who were in touch with Muslims. It was an expression of a sort of "toleration" not uncommon in early modern Europe and supported by well-known authors.[201]

198 González de Santalla, *Manuductio ad conversionem Mahumetanorum*, 2:265–66.

199 Pallavicino, *La grandezza della Madre di Dio*, 24.

200 Pallavicino, *La grandezza della Madre di Dio*, 17.

201 Mercedes García-Arenal, "Religious Dissent and Minorities: The Morisco Age," *Journal of Modern History* 81 (2009): 888–920. On the idea of "toleration" in early modern Europe, see Stuart Schwartz, *All Can Be Saved: Religious Tolerance and Salvation in the Iberian Atlantic World* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2008); Benjamin Kaplan, *Divided by*

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The Jesuits' attitude toward Muslims, as appears in these books, is ambivalent. Islam is a heresy because it is a religion that threatens the Catholic Church theologically and militarily; but it is also a form of "idolatry" or "paganism," because of its "incomprehensible and strange piety." "There is not a big difference," writes Nau, "between Islam and idolatry, i.e., between those who adore idols and those who do not adore the true God." According to Segneri:

> There are three different ways to be an infidel to the one true religion: the first one is to accept both the Old and the New Testament, interpreting them as much as one likes (i.e., Lutheranism and Calvinism). The second one is to accept only the Old Testament (Judaism). And the third one is to accept neither the Old, nor the New Testament. It is a form of paganism, and Islam is the paganism of our days.[202]

On the one hand, Islam was considered a heresy, the "mare magnum" of all the errors already condemned by the church, according to an ancient argument that would be used in the West until the nineteenth century.

On the other hand, there was a practical non-theorized attitude, especially among the authors who had first-hand missionary experience. This was not something new in the history of the Catholic Church. Since the thirteenth century, together with the confrontational approach, a more pragmatic, missionary approach toward Islam had been developing in the Catholic Church. The mendicant orders counted among their tasks the resumption of an apostolate to Muslims; their attempts usually resulted in failure in Muslim lands but were occasionally successful in countries subject to Catholic rule. At the same time, while some Dominicans and Franciscans attempted to preach Christianity to the Muslims, other members of their orders preached the just war against them; both approaches were considered indispensable and complementary.[203] During the early modern period, a new missionary impulse toward Muslims developed among Christians as part of a more general movement of spreading the Gospel.

Jesuits were part of this movement. In Spain, after de las Casas's apostolate was stopped by the forced expulsion of the Moriscos (1609–14), Jesuits worked for the conversion of Muslim slaves and servants. In Italian port cities, such as

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Faith: Religious Conflict and the Practice of Toleration in Early Modern Europe (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2007).

202 Segneri, *L'incredulo senza scusa*, 7.

203 See Benjamin Z. Kedar, *Crusade and Mission: European Approaches toward the Muslims* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1984).

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Genoa, Naples, and Livorno, Jesuits were active in the apostolate for Muslim slaves, as well as in Sicily and Malta.

When dealing with Muslim slaves, Jesuits realized that theological arguments were not beneficial to evangelization. It was necessary to identify common ground, forms of adaptation, and effective ways to introduce the Catholic faith. The distance between theoretical views on Islam and practical approaches toward Muslims can be appreciated through the works of many Jesuits, in particular Tirso González de Santalla. As we have seen in this Part, González was sharp in his theological judgment against Islam; however, in the same book, when talking about his apostolic activity, he expressed his fascination with certain aspects of Islamic religiosity, as we shall see in the next Part.

6 Converting Muslim Slaves: The Jesuit Missionary Approach

Recent historiography has concentrated on the phenomenon of early modern Mediterranean slavery, highlighting the surprisingly large number of Christian slaves in the Maghreb and Muslim slaves in Europe and documenting their stories, travels, and religious conversions.[204] This Part presents some case studies of Jesuit pastoral activity with Muslim slaves in Naples and in different cities of Spain during the seventeenth century in order to identify some aspects of the Catholic apostolate dedicated to Muslim slaves.

6.1 *Muslim Slaves in Naples and Spain*

During the seventeenth century, Naples was one of the most important Italian ports and a pivot point for the commerce of slaves. Although it is always

204 See Alessandro Stella, *Histoires d'esclaves dans la péninsule Ibérique* (Paris: EHESS, 2000); Salvatore Bono, *Schiavi: Una storia mediterranea* (*XVI–XIX secolo*) (Bologna: Il Mulino, 2016); Giovanna Fiume, *Schiavitù mediterranee: Corsari, rinnegati e santi di età moderna* (Milan: Bruno Mondadori, 2009); Emanuele Colombo et al., eds., *Schiavitù del corpo e schiavitù dell'anima: Chiesa, potere politico e schiavitù tra Atlantico e Mediterraneo* (*sec. XVI–XVIII*) (Milan: Accademia Ambrosiana, 2018); Daniel Hershenzon, *The Captive Sea: Slavery, Communication, and Commerce in Early Modern Spain and the Mediterranean* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2018); Jocelyne Dakhlia and Bernard Vincent, eds., *Les musulmans dans l'histoire de l'Europe: I. Une intégration invisible* (Paris: Albin Michel, 2011); Jocelyne Dakhlia and Wolfgang Kaiser, eds., *Les musulmans dans l'histoire de l'Europe: II. Passages et contacts en Méditerranée* (Paris: Albin Michel, 2013); Lucette Valensi, *Ces étrangers familiers: Musulmans en Europe* (*XVI^e–XVIII^e siècles*) (Paris: Payot, 2012); Beatriz Alonso Acero, *Sultanes de Berbería en tierras de la cristiandad: Exilio musulmán, conversión y asimilación en la monarquía hispánica* (*siglos XVI y XVII*) (Barcelona: Bellaterra, 2006); Poutrin, *Convertir les musulmans*.

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difficult to estimate precise numbers, many studies have determined that at the beginning of the seventeenth century, there was a stable presence of at least ten thousand Muslim slaves, mostly captives of war and piracy from the Maghreb.[205] Some of them were the property of the Kingdom of Naples and worked on the galleys; others—mainly women and children—were owned by private families and worked as domestic servants. The slaves were not the only Muslims in the city: Naples hosted a large and well-organized Muslim community that enjoyed a fair amount of autonomy and was always ready to fight to support its rights and claims. Muslims had a mosque in the Fondaco of the Moors near the port of Naples, where their religious authorities would lead the prayers, often attended by curious Christians.[206]

Jesuits had been present in the city since 1552, and in the early seventeenth century they started a serious apostolate to Muslim slaves. In 1601, two Jesuits Girolamo d'Alessandro (dates unknown) and Giacomo Antonio Giannoni (dates unknown), after meeting Muslim slaves while they were preaching in the city, created a lay confraternity, the Congregation of the Epiphany, to "take [the slaves] away from hell."[207] At first, members of the confraternity visited the slaves in the homes of their masters; then, they started to gather them in the church of the Jesuit college to catechize them. The success of the congregation and of this Jesuit apostolate fluctuated during the century, depending on the support of local bishops and nobility and on the presence of particularly zealous missionaries. Such was the case of Baldassarre Loyola (1631–67), a former Muslim prince of Fez, Morocco, who converted, joined the Society of Jesus, and was sent to Genoa and Naples to preach to the slaves in preparation for the mission to the Grand Mughal.[208] During his presence in Naples (1666–67), Loyola converted more than three hundred Muslims, helped by his knowledge of Arabic and the Qur'an and by the respect granted to him by the civil and ecclesiastical authorities. Toward the end of the century, the Jesuit apostolate to Muslim slaves was still active: we know about Francesco de Geronimo

205 Giuliana Boccadamo, *Napoli e l'Islam: Storie di musulmani, schiavi e rinnegati in età moderna* (Naples: D'Auria, 2010).

206 Boccadamo, *Napoli e l'Islam*, 13–15. Mosques and cemeteries for Muslims were present in the same period in many cities of Italy. See Salvatore Bono, *Schiavi musulmani nell'Italia moderna* (Naples: Edizioni scientifiche italiane, 1999), 241–52.

207 The congregation was informally known as "Congregation of the Slaves." See Gennaro Nardi, "Nuove ricerche sulle congregazioni napoletane a favore degli schiavi: La congregazione degli schiavi dei PP. gesuiti," *Asprenas* 15 (1967): 294–313; Saverio Santagata, *Istoria della Compagnia di Gesù appartenente al Regno di Napoli*, 2 vols. (Napoli: Mazzola, 1756–57), 1:28–30.

208 Emanuele Colombo, "A Muslim Turned Jesuit: Baldassarre Loyola Mandes (1631–1667)," *Journal of Early Modern History* 17 (2013): 479–504.

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(1642–1716), a prominent preacher of popular missions who tirelessly worked to convert Muslim slaves on the galleys.[209]

In the seventeenth century, Muslims were still a significant component of the Iberian Peninsula, even after the final expulsion of the Moriscos (1609–14). There were communities of descendants of the Moriscos who had escaped the expulsions, secretly preserving their Islamic traditions and habits, as well as Muslim slaves who had been captured in North Africa or had voluntarily emigrated from Maghreb because of frequent famines.[210] The exceptional scholarly interest in the Moriscos and the consequent river of ink that has been running in articles and books over the past few decades have somehow obscured an intriguing paradox: the same monarchy that expelled converted Muslims whose ancestors had lived in Spain for centuries welcomed other Muslims coming from outside with the hope of converting them.[211] Jesuits were among the main promoters of the evangelization of Muslim slaves: between 1609 and 1610, while the final expulsion of the Moriscos was starting, more than two hundred Muslim slaves received baptism in the Jesuit Colegio Imperial in Madrid.[212] Missions continued during the entire century: starting from the 1620s, Francisco de Alemán (1566–1644) preached to Muslims in Granada at the request of the local archbishop.[213] Juan de Almarza (1619–69) was active in Murcia, where there was a large community of Muslims; he also left a fascinating *Catecismo de moros* (Catechism for Moors) a manuscript catechism for the conversion of Muslims.[214] In Barcelona, Francisco Poch (1631–85) preached to the Muslim slaves on the galleys for at least nine years (1676–85) and described his ministry in correspondence with Rome.[215] Finally, the two most famous "apostles" of Muslim slaves are certainly Juan Gabriel Guillén (1627–75) and, of course, Tirso González de Santalla, whose *Handbook to Convert Muslims* we have already discussed.[216]

209 Carlo de Bonis, *Vita del Padre Francesco di Geronimo della Compagnia di Gesù* (Naples: Muzio, 1747), 29–30. De Geronimo was canonized in 1839 by Pope Gregory XVI (1765–1846, r.1831–46).

210 Vincent, "Musulmans et conversion en Espagne au XVII^{e} siècle," 195.

211 See Bernard Vincent, "Les musulmans dans l'Espagne moderne," in Dakhlia and Vincent, *Les musulmans dans l'histoire d'Europe*, 1:611–34, here 615.

212 ARSI, *Tolet.* 37a, 460–66^{v}.

213 *DHCJ*, 1:45; the archbishop of Granada was Cardinal Augustín de Spinola (1597–1649).

214 *DHCJ*, 1:79–80; Juan de Almarza, *Catecismo de moros*, Real Academia de la Historia, Madrid, MS 9/2263.

215 *DHCJ*, 4:3161–62.

216 Reyero, *Misiones del P. Tirso González*. On Guillén, see *DHCJ*, 3:1841.

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6.2 *Missionary Methods*

In early modern Naples and Spain, Muslims were an integral part of the social fabric in the cities where they lived and had significant interactions with Catholics. It is therefore not surprising that the style of Jesuit missions to Muslim slaves resembled their approach in the so-called "popular missions."[217]

In Naples, Baldassarre Loyola's sermons could last more than four hours, and he preached in public both for Muslims and Christians and privately for "the most stubborn Muslims."[218] The pulpit was transformed into a stage, where every detail was designed to move the interlocutors. In Spain, one Jesuit performed dramatic monologues:

> Turning his back toward the public and facing the wall, he wiped the sweat off his brow with his hand, and then placed his palm on the wall and exclaimed in a loud voice: "Oh wall, listen to the Word of God, and be witness to the fact that I have preached the truth to these insensible people." And then, turning to face the Muslims, he spoke to them menacingly: "I, I will be strict against you before God on the Judgment Day. I will condemn your stubbornness before the Supreme Judge […]. O good God! Melt the hardness of their hearts!"[219]

Processions and grand ceremonies, used in the Jesuit popular missions, were even more important with Muslims since they were powerful instruments to bypass the cultural gap. Writing from Barcelona in 1680, Poch reported that "during Holy Week the galleys were decorated like a church." Each ship had three altars, and the benches were adorned with flowers. Among the images, the one of the Virgin Mary, highly respected in the Muslim world, was considered a possible bridge with the Muslim slaves.[220]

When they preached to private slaves, missionaries had to face different problems, the most serious of which was the lack of cooperation of the masters: they were reluctant to send the slaves to religious services, fearing to lose what they considered to be their private property or to be obliged to practice better treatment toward their slaves. Jesuits often asked for the collaboration

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217 Bernadette Majorana, "Une pastorale spectaculaire: Missions et missionnaires jésuites en Italie (XVI^{e}–XVII^{e} siècle)," *Annales* 57 (2002): 297–332.

218 ARSI, *Vita* 106, 111–13.

219 See González de Santalla, *Manuductio ad conversionem Mahumetanorum*, 2:99–300.

220 Francisco Poch to Gianpaolo Oliva, November 10, 1680, ARSI, *Arag.* 27 II, 95. For Mary as a possible bridge between Christians and Muslims in the early modern period, see Daniel, *Islam and the West*, 175–84; Rita George-Tvrtković, *Christians, Muslims, and Mary: A History* (New York: Paulist Press, 2018).

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of the local nobility, who through social pressure could persuade the masters to cooperate. In Naples, Baldassarre Loyola, taking advantage of his status as a former prince, was in touch with the viceroy Pedro Antonio de Aragón (1611–90) and his wife; they sent their own slaves to Loyola's homilies and encouraged the nobility of the city to do the same.[221] In Seville, during an extremely successful campaign in 1672, González and Guillén were helped by the well-known nobleman Don Miguel de Mañara (1627–79), knight of Calatrava and *hermano mayor* (head brother) of a local lay confraternity, the Santa Hermandad de la Caridad; he made every effort to gather the Muslim slaves, even paying each of them the equivalent of the day of work they would lose when taking part in the mission.[222] Lay confraternities were also key in Naples: it was easier for laypeople to connect with Muslim slaves, who were scared and reluctant to be directly in touch with priests or civil authorities. Additionally, the participation of lay Catholics in those missions was extremely useful in strengthening their own faith: Jesuits were more confident in the benefit of their missions for the Catholics involved in them than in the fruit they bore among the Muslims.[223]

Jesuit missions in Europe were often devoted to the pastoral care of the sick and dying.[224] This also happened with dying Muslims on the galleys, in the houses of their masters, or in hospitals. After a race against time, conversion of a dying slave was celebrated as a special triumph. Jesuits often took advantage of the bodily weakness of dying slaves in order to convert them, although they never acknowledged doing so. On the contrary, they considered deathbed conversions to be the truest ones, because the converts sought no political, social, or economic benefits from them. González used this argument to belittle the phenomenon of "renegades," or Christians who converted to Islam, who were a true thorn in the side of Catholic propaganda. While it was true that many Christians "brought into captivity by the devil" had embraced Islam for material advantages, according to González they never converted on their deathbed.[225]

The sources and the reports from the missions highlight the oscillation between the "pedagogy of fear" and the "pedagogy of charity," a double-faceted strategy that was not new in the missionary style of the Society of Jesus. In

221 Archivio della Pontificia Università Gregoriana (hereafter APUG) 1060-I, 68.

222 González de Santalla, *Manuductio ad conversionem Mahumetanorum*, 2:291.

223 González de Santalla, *Manuductio ad conversionem Mahumetanorum*, 2: "Introduction"; Baldassarre Loyola, APUG 1060-I.

224 See Francisco Rico Callado, *Misiones populares en España entre el Barroco y la Illustración* (Valencia: Institució Alfons el Magnànim, 2006), 251ff.

225 González de Santalla, *Manuductio ad conversionem Mahumetanorum*, 2:41. Baldassarre Loyola, APUG 1060-I, 23; 61.

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showing the consequences of the Muslims' stubborn fidelity to Islam, Jesuits presented with dark tones the hell to which they would be confined if they did not convert. The description of hell—a recurring topic in the traditional popular missions—was adapted to the Muslim audience and was identified as the kingdom of Muhammad.[226] In 1610 in Naples, a stubborn Muslim slave who was dying did not want to convert. A Jesuit visited him and, taking a candle, drew it near the hand of the slave, who moved his hand away so as not to be burned. The Jesuit said:

> Oh wicked, do you escape this little fire that is like water, if compared to the fire of hell? What will you do when, in a few hours, you will go to the house of the devils, where not only your hand but your whole body and soul will burn for eternity?[227]

During his homilies in Spanish cities, González used to display the fearful image of a soul condemned to hellfire to show to the Muslims their destiny if they did not convert.[228] At the same time, charity was also key in moving the Muslims' souls. González and Guillén recalled that in Seville several Muslims converted because they were inspired by the archbishop, who took care of and comforted the sick in the local hospital. In Naples, many conversions happened in the Hospital for Incurables, where Jesuits and other religious assisted the sick and the dying.[229]

Missions to Muslim slaves, both in Naples and in Spain, were considered an extension of the popular missions. When the masters brought their slaves to church, Jesuits preached for them first, highlighting the grace and the

226 See, for instance, Baldassarre Loyola to Domenico Brunacci, Naples, October 2, 1666, APUG 1060 I, 10–11. On the image of hell, see Paolo Segneri, *L'inferno aperto al cristiano perché non v'entri: Overo considerationi delle pene infernali* (Naples: Bonis, 1689); Piero Camporesi, *The Fear of Hell: Images of Damnation and Salvation in Early Modern Europe* (University Park, PA: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1991 [Italian edition, 1987]).

227 ARSI, *Neap.* 72, 140. Santagata, *Istoria della Compagnia di Gesù*, 2:330–31 claims that a similar episode happened in 1624; see also Peter Mazur, "Combating 'Mohammedan Indecency': The Baptism of Muslim Slaves in Spanish Naples, 1563–1667," *Journal of Early Modern History* 13, no. 1 (2009): 25–48, here 37. This practice was common in Jesuit popular missions: see David Gentilcore, "'Adapt Yourselves to the People's Capabilities': Missionary Strategies, Methods, and Impact in the Kingdom of Naples 1600–1800," *Journal of Ecclesiastical History* 45, no. 2 (1994): 269–96, here 281.

228 González de Santalla, *Manuductio ad conversionem Mahumetanorum*, 2:229.

229 On Spain, see *Relación de los maravillosos efectos que en la ciudad de Sevilla ha obrado una misión de los padres de la Compañía de Jesús* (Seville: n.p., 1672); on Naples, see APUG 1060-I, 23; 61.

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responsibilities of their status as Christians; additionally, the imposing ceremonies organized for Muslims attracted and had an impact on the entire city.[230]

6.3 *Adaptation*

Muslim slaves were part of the society of the city where they lived. But they also represented something more in the eyes of Jesuits: they were "infidels" and distant in terms of culture and religious beliefs. In their encounters with Muslim slaves, Jesuits had to listen to them and approach them in a human way to become as close as possible to their audience. This was easier for Jesuits who had spent time in Muslim lands and even more for a former Muslim prince like Baldassarre Loyola. In other cases, Jesuits tried to use stories of prominent converted Muslims that could attract the attention of the slaves.[231] In order to make the encounters more effective, Jesuits attempted to use different forms of adaptation, as they used to do in the missions overseas.

As noted by Adriano Prosperi, "'accommodating' oneself to others, in the interpretation that the Society of Jesus gave the notion, was a means necessary to obtaining the end of 'winning them over to Christ.'"[232] One intriguing form of accommodation was the Jesuits' approach toward Muslim women, a frequent highlight in the Jesuits' accounts even though women were a minority among the slaves. Women were usually presented as reasonable, sensitive, and gifted with natural virtues. In 1649, Jesuits witnessed the conversion of Cata in Naples, a "twenty-five-year-old young woman, tall, noble and lovely, extremely talented as often are noble people; she claimed to be the daughter of a Muslim ruler." At first, she did not want to convert because she was proud of her religion; when she became deathly ill, her master asked a Jesuit to try to twist her arm; eventually, she was persuaded by a dream and decided to convert. She died gazing at the cross, and "after her death, the stench and deformity of the illness disappeared, and her body was fragrant and beautiful."[233] In Málaga, a young Muslim woman who converted was informed that she would be set free and could return to Algiers, her native town; "she kindly answered that she would prefer to stay in Spain as a slave among Christians, than to go back to her Muslim land as a free woman."[234] Converted women were particularly effective

230 In his letters, Baldassarre Loyola talks about the high number of Christians who "converted" during his missions to Muslims (APUG 1060-I, 10–11; 24–25; 64; 221; 228).

231 González de Santalla, *Manuductio ad conversionem Mahumetanorum*, 2:40–44; Reyero, *Misiones del P. Tirso González*, 289–93.

232 Adriano Prosperi, "The Missionary," in *Baroque Personae*, ed. Rosario Villari (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1995), 160–94, here 173.

233 ARSI, *Neap.* 204, 94.

234 González de Santalla, *Manuductio ad conversionem Mahumetanorum*, 2:295.

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in converting other Muslim women, and Jesuits often asked for their help.[235] The extremely positive representation of women—not frequent in the traditional Jesuit popular missions—was probably an implicit argument to create a contrast with the status of women in Islam, which was one of the Jesuits' arguments to convince their audience of its falseness.[236]

The problem of language, a key issue in the Jesuit missions overseas, was also raised in the missions to Muslim slaves. In Naples, Jesuits soon realized that it was necessary to master Arabic to effectively communicate with the slaves. As we have seen, the importance the Jesuits attached to the study of Arabic dated back to Ignatius. While many previous attempts had aimed to evangelize extra-European lands, in Naples a special institution was created for the evangelization of Muslim slaves. In 1603, the Jesuits Pietro Antonio Spinelli (dates unknown) and Mariano Manieri (dates unknown) started the Academy of Languages (Accademia dei Linguaggi) in the Collegio Massimo in Naples.[237] Manieri had been to Algiers thirteen times on behalf of the viceroy of Naples on missions for the redemption of Christian captives: "When he went back to Naples with the knowledge of different African languages, he taught those languages to some of our young [Jesuits] [...]. In this way, Manieri acquired some companions for catechizing Muslims in Naples."[238] The importance of languages was recalled a few years later in the provincial congregation of Naples (1619), when another Jesuit was indicated as a possible teacher of Arabic languages.[239] He was Pietro Ferraguto (d.1656), author of one of the first Turkish grammars written in Europe.[240] Born in Messina, Ferraguto had been captive for about six years in Tunisia, where he acquired a good knowledge of Arabic and Turkish. When back in Naples, he decided to put his knowledge at the service of the evangelization of Muslim slaves "for the salvation of those

235 ARSI, *Neap.* 72 XIX, fols. 138–140^{v}, 138^{v}.

236 See Almarza, *Catecismo de moros*, 44–49 ("Impugnase la licencia de repudio"); González de Santalla, *Manuductio ad conversionem Mahumetanorum*, 2:222–24.

237 See Santagata, *Istoria della Compagnia di Gesù*, 1:572. On Spinelli, see Antonio Barone, *Della vita del Padre Pierantonio Spinelli della Compagnia di Giesù* (Naples: n.p., 1707), 100–1.

238 Santagata, *Istoria della Compagnia di Gesù*, 2:469. See also 1:28, 95, 504–5, 572. On Maniero's missions in Algiers, see ARSI, *Ital.* 171, fols. 304–305^{v}.

239 Santagata, *Istoria della Compagnia di Gesù*, 1:42.

240 The manuscript is preserved at the Biblioteca Nazionale di Napoli, MS III F 52. See Alessio Bombaci, "Padre Pietro Ferraguto e la sua *Grammatica turca* (1611)," *Annali dell'Istituto Orientale di Napoli* 1 (1940): 205–36; Luciano Rocchi, *Il* Dittionario della lingua turchesca *di Pietro Ferraguto* (*1611*) (Trieste: Edizioni Università di Trieste, 2012); Santagata, *Istoria della Compagnia di Gesù*, 2:99–102, 157, 348–58, 569–73. According to Santagata, in 1617 a dictionary and a grammar of Arabic and Moresco were published by the Congregation of the Epiphany, as an instrument for the conversion of Muslim slaves. *Istoria della Compagnia di Gesù*, 1:41–42.

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souls immersed in the errors," as he wrote to Cardinal Roberto Bellarmino (1542–1621) in the dedication of his grammar.[241] Although the Academy of the Languages was a short-lived experiment that never flourished, the mere fact of its creation, together with Maniero's and Ferraguto's engagement in missionary activity, shows a particular sensibility in a period when the academic study of eastern languages was at its earliest stages. The Congregation de Propaganda Fide in Rome started more systematic plans in the same direction a few years later.[242]

In Spain, according to the missionary reports, the need for learning Arabic seemed to be less urgent: most of the private slaves could understand, and sometimes even read, Castilian, and we have only a few references to the need for an interpreter.[243] However, there were Jesuits who studied Arabic, knew the books printed in Europe in Oriental languages, and produced translations, grammars, and dictionaries, and they were often connected with the missionaries: González, for instance, was in touch with the prominent Jesuit Orientalist Tomás de León (1613–90), whose work will be discussed in Part 9.

A form of accommodation can be found in fictional dialogues, proposed as examples of a practical approach to Muslims. At the end of his Turkish grammar, Ferraguto inserted a "Dialogue between a Turk and a Christian." In the first part of the dialogue, the Christian is scandalized by Muslim habits, such as polygamy and the ease with which men could abandon their wives; but at the end, he suggests that the Muslim God is the same as the Christian God. The Turk says: "Let's pray God with all our heart so that he enlightens us and will help us to know the truth"; the Christian answers: "I hope God will allow us to meet each other in heaven if we follow his law."[244] In his *Handbook*, González presents a long dialogue based on a similar scenario. The Christian's final speech is intriguing: "Pray persistently God to enlighten you, so that you may be worthy of his light; avoid vices, practice piety, love God above all things and your neighbor as yourself."[245] Unlike the conventional model of similar dialogues, here the two Muslims do not convert, suggesting that González and Ferraguto were probably inspired by real encounters. The emphasis on the common ground between Christians and Muslims is radically different from the polemical approach used by Jesuits in their theoretical

241 Bombaci, "Padre Pietro Ferraguto," 206–7.

242 Giovanni Pizzorusso, "La preparazione linguistica e controversistica dei missionari per l'Oriente islamico: Scuole, testi, insegnanti a Roma e in Italia," in *L'islam visto da Occidente*, ed. Bernard Heyberger et al. (Milan: Marietti, 2009), 253–88.

243 González de Santalla, *Manuductio ad conversionem Mahumetanorum*, 2:303; Borja Medina, "La Compañía de Jesús y la minoría morisca," 22.

244 The dialogue is transcribed in Bombaci, "Padre Pietro Ferraguto," 230–36.

245 González de Santalla, *Manuductio ad conversionem Mahumetanorum*, 2:155.

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descriptions of Islam. These dialogues show the importance of the shared belief in monotheism, a topic systematically developed by Christians only in the twentieth century but already present in early modern Catholic literature.

While the climax of the traditional popular missions to Catholics was usually confession, which marked the return to Christian life, baptisms were the climax of the missions to Muslim slaves. Jesuits always explained the importance of those religious ceremonies, transformed into grand baroque events. González observed that both Catholics and Muslims who participated in those sacred ceremonies were fascinated by "their solemnities" and understood that there was "something great at stake […]; it would not happen if they saw just men entering the holy water."[246] In Naples and in Spain, Jesuits had the archbishop celebrating baptisms and confirmations of slaves, and noblemen and civil authorities vying to be their godparents.[247] For Jesuits, it was particularly important to celebrate those baptisms in their own churches: both in Naples and Spain, they often broke the common habit to celebrate baptisms of infidels in the cathedral, provoking complaints and jealousy from other religious orders.[248]

In their reports, Jesuits mirrored the letters from the Indies referring to their desire for martyrdom—a *topos* in the letters from the missions overseas—and overemphasizing the hostile reactions of Muslims to their preaching. During a mission in Málaga, Guillén reports that Muslims covered their heads with their hands and women used their veils, fearing that the missionaries were putting an evil spell on them with their gestures. Some of them yelled at the Jesuits, threatening to "write to Africa, suggesting [Muslims] to fry the captive [Christians] in oil, since they are enemies of Muhammad."[249] Baldassarre Loyola mentioned that in Naples, Muslims "were astonished and confused, and closed their ears not to listen to my arguments against Muhammad," and recalled that once, during a homily, "a Muhammadan priest […] listening to what I was saying

246 González de Santalla, *Manuductio ad conversionem Mahumetanorum*, 2:296. The description of the imposing ceremony that preceded the baptisms of thirty-eight Muslims in Seville in 1672 circulated in a printed report: *Relación de los maravillosos efectos*.

247 Archbishops of Naples baptized Muslim slaves converted during Jesuit missions. In 1605, Cardinal Ottavio Acquaviva (1560–1612) baptized twenty-one slaves (Santagata, *Istoria della Compagnia di Gesù*, 1:167–68; in 1620, Cardinal Decio Carafa (1556–1626) baptized twenty slaves and confirmed one hundred slaves (Santagata, *Istoria della Compagnia di Gesù*, 2:156–57); in 1640, Cardinal Francesco III Boncompagni (1592–1641) converted and confirmed a group of slaves (ARSI, *Neap.* 74, 14–15). On the presence of civil authorities in Spain, see González de Santalla, *Manuductio ad conversionem Mahumetanorum*, 295; on Naples see Santagata, *Istoria della Compagnia di Gesù*, 1:167–68; 2:156–57.

248 Reyero, *Misiones del P. Tirso González*, 69; Baldassarre Loyola, APUG, 1060 I, 20.

249 Guillén to Oliva, Jesus del Monte, July 10, 1670, in Reyero, *Misiones del P. Tirso González*, 237.

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about Muhammad, stood in the midst of the assembly and began to scream like one haunted."[250]

The social inferiority of the slaves raises the question of the level of pressure the Jesuits or the masters exerted on them. Of course, there were always forms of pressure; however, reading the documents between the lines reveals a more nuanced picture. There were Muslims who refused to convert and openly attacked Jesuits. Similarly, the *alfaquis* often worked against the Jesuits and persuaded the slaves not to convert, and Muslims were not passive in front of the Jesuit apostolate. Additionally, the Jesuit sources always insist on the importance of the freedom of the slaves: a conversion was valid only if it was free. This was not only another aspect of Jesuit rhetoric; as one study has shown, starting from the second half of the sixteenth century, canon law and theological literature developed strong arguments against forced baptisms, influenced by the failure of forced conversions, the fiasco of the Catholic strategy toward the Moriscos, and the debate about baptism coming from the New World.[251] Jesuits were not naïve in understanding the authentic reasons for conversion and often questioned their sincerity. They acknowledged that Muslim slaves might convert in the hope of better treatment and were concerned about providing a solid religious education. For this reason, Jesuits founded an oratory for baptized slaves and a house of catechumens in Naples that functioned for a few years (1637–49) based on the model of similar institutions in other Italian cities.[252] In Spain, both González and Guillén organized classes of Christian doctrine for slaves and often postponed baptisms in order to guarantee more effective education of the catechumens.[253]

Missions to Muslim slaves raised similar problems to the missions overseas: the need for accommodation, the debates about forced baptisms, and the desire for martyrdom. Despite being in Europe, Jesuits described their pastoral activity as if they were in the Indies.

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250 Baldassarre Loyola, APUG, 1060 I, 158–59.

251 Poutrin, *Convertir les musulmans*.

252 The Oratory for Baptized Slaves (Oratorio degli schiavi Battezzati) was founded in 1605. See ARSI, *Neap.* 72 XV-2, 8. The house of catechumens was created in 1637 by the Jesuit Giovanni Battista Galeota (dates unknown) and could host for one or two weeks Muslims who wanted to convert. During the years 1637–49, the house registered about one hundred baptisms. See Boccadamo, *Napoli e l'Islam*, 235; 239. In 1659, the Jesuits asked for the support of civil authorities for building a house of catechumens—which suggests that the previous one no longer existed (see ARSI, *Opp. NN.* 75, 231–32). The project probably failed, since in his several letters Baldassarre Loyola, who was in Naples in 1666, never mentioned the house. For the house of catechumens in Rome, see Wipertus Rudt de Collenberg, "Le baptême des musulmans esclaves a Rome aux XVI^{e} et XVII^{e} siècles," *Mélanges de l'Ecole Française de Rome* 101 (1989): 9–181.

253 González de Santalla, *Manuductio ad conversionem Mahumetanorum*, 2:299.

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6.4 *Conversions*

It is difficult to assess the extent to which the conversions were sincere. A few remarks on this topic are therefore necessary.[254]

First, as mentioned earlier, the Jesuit sources always insist on the importance of the freedom of the slaves.

Second, the Muslim slaves who converted to Catholicism usually did not obtain freedom following their conversion. The problem of the manumission of the slaves was regulated by the civil authority, and in the Spanish kingdoms it was never granted as a consequence of conversion.[255] Even when they had been regularly redeemed, baptized Muslims in Naples could not abandon the city without special permission; the fear was that they would go back to their countries and to their religion.[256] In Spain, the sponsor, as a free gesture of charity, sometimes gave the baptized enough money to redeem himself, but we do not know how often this happened.[257] The only exception, with specific rules and limitations, was the decree (*motu proprio*) of Paul III (1549), confirmed by Pius V (1566), "that dictated that any slave who had been baptized could come to the Capitoline Hill, seat of the municipal administration of the city of Rome and be granted freedom and the status of a Roman citizen."[258] This decree shows the discrepancy between the law and reality on this matter and the constant fear in the Catholic world that converted Muslims would return to their countries and their religion.[259]

Third, sometimes Muslim slaves might have converted in the hope of receiving better treatment. This was the case, for instance, of Muslims sentenced to death in Naples, who, hoping to delay their execution, simulated a spiritual struggle. Jesuits were well aware of this possibility and explicitly mentioned the need to be extremely cautious with such people.

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254 On early modern religious conversions in Rome, see Chiara Petrolini, Vincenzo Lavenia, and Sabina Pavone, *Sacre metamorfosi: Racconti di conversione tra Roma e il mondo in età moderna* (Rome: Viella, 2022).

255 The problem remained open in ecclesiastical law. In the second half of the seventeenth century, the famous canonist, Cardinal Giovanni Battista de Luca (1614–83), reiterated that a slave who converts remains a slave. Giovanni Battista de Luca, *Il Dottor Volgare, ossia il compendio di tutta la legge civile, canonica, feudale e municipale* (Rome: Corvo, 1673), 4:18–19.

256 See the Pragmatics of 1571 and 1657 quoted in Boccadamo, *Napoli e l'Islam*, 33–35.

257 González de Santalla, *Manuductio ad conversionem Mahumetanorum*, 2:295.

258 Mazur, "Combating," 30. See also Benjamin Z. Kedan, "Muslim Conversion in Canon Law," in *Proceedings of the Sixth International Congress of Medieval Canon Law, Berkeley, California, 28 July–2 August 1980*, ed. Stephan Kuttner and Kenneth Pennington (Vatican City: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, 1985), 321–32.

259 Serena di Nepi, *I confini della salvezza: Schiavitù, conversione e libertà nella Roma di età moderna* (Rome: Viella, 2022).

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Fourth, both in Spain and Naples, Jesuits sought to ensure that the slaves received a solid religious education. In Naples, Jesuits were worried about the frequent episodes of converted Muslims who went back "to their sect" because of their lack of education; for this reason, Jesuits started catechism sessions for converted slaves.[260] Thus, if it is not possible to detect the level of sincerity of the Muslims' conversions, it is clear from the sources that Jesuits were not naïve in judging conversions and that they often questioned their sincerity.

Jesuits were also well aware of the tacit agreement on the reciprocal treatment of Muslim slaves in Europe and that of Christian slaves in the Maghreb and feared repercussions against Christians in response to the abuses suffered by Muslim slaves. In this complex set of theological, moral, and political factors, one thing was clear to the Jesuits: converting Muslim slaves was a fascinating form of apostolate, and missions aimed at Muslims also attracted many Christians, who could in this way be confirmed in their faith.

6.5 *Other Indies*

In Naples and Spain, Muslim slaves had a special status. On the one hand, they were part of the social fabric of the cities where they lived. For this reason, Jesuit missions to Muslim slaves were an extension of popular missions and could also benefit Catholics of different social ranks.

On the other hand, Muslim slaves were extremely far from the Catholic Church. This distance led to a polemical view of Islam that reiterated classic medieval anti-Islamic arguments while also signaling a need for missionary accommodation. In the actual encounters, the special treatment of Muslim women, the desire to learn Arabic, and the attempt to find common ground with Muslims mirrored the Jesuit strategies of missions overseas. This attitude did not produce particularly successful results but suggests

> an undeniable change in the missionary approach to Muslims and to Islam from that of the texts produced by Catholic missionaries in the previous decades. What is actually new is the belief of the missionaries that they shared a common habitus with Muslims, defined by the use of reason and monotheism.[261]

260 In Naples in 1605, Jesuits founded the Oratorio degli schiavi Battezzati (Oratory for Baptized Slaves). ARSI, *Neap.* 72. XV-2, 8.

261 Bernard Heyberger, "Polemic Dialogues between Christians and Muslims in the Seventeenth Century," *Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient* 55 (2012): 495–516, here 514.

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While the emphasis on monotheism is key in the two fictional dialogues, both written by Jesuits involved in actual encounters with Muslim slaves, the emphasis on the use of reason can be found in the administration of baptisms. Between the lines, we can see a growing sensibility toward the freedom of the slaves and the religious instruction of the catechumens; Jesuits were learning from their own history and from their experience in the Indies.

In the missionary revival of the seventeenth century, Jesuits considered missions overseas as a fascinating opportunity, while popular missions in Europe, which they used to call "our Indies," were viewed as "a consolation to those who were left doing lesser tasks than an idealized apostolate in distant lands."[262] Missions to Muslim slaves represented a third category in between Europe and the Indies, a sort of "other Indies," where Jesuits could encounter, convert, and baptize infidels at home.

7 Polemics along the Frontier: Péter Pázmány and István Szántó

Having looked at the Jesuit approach toward Muslims in Western Europe, we now consider Jesuit engagement with Islam along the frontier between Ottoman and Habsburg territories. In this area, the military threat of the Ottomans was real and constant, and non-Catholic populations were in places the majority. Captives were ransomed from both sides of the frontier, with the occasional result that boys entered Jesuit schools after having been exposed to the Turkish language and culture.[263] Economic dislocation and the destruction of many monastic communities left the Catholic Church vulnerable.[264] Jesuits drawn into the mission of "reconquista" of the Danube Basin and beyond seldom focused exclusively on the religion of the Ottoman conquerors but were more concerned with winning souls from the burgeoning Lutheran, Calvinist, and Unitarian communities—most of whose members had originally been Catholic. Two Hungarian Jesuits, however, wrote in some detail about Islam and the Qur'an.

262 Prosperi, "Missionary," 179.

263 This ransom culture persisted until the end of the seventeenth century. At least one student at the Society's novitiate in Trenčin (a town occasionally under Ottoman attack) had been a ransomed captive. Paul Shore, *Narratives of Adversity: Jesuits in the Eastern Peripheries of the Habsburg Realms (1640–1773)* (Budapest: Central European University Press, 2012), 101.

264 The medieval Dominican province of Hungary ceased to exist in 1611.

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7.1 *Péter Pázmány*

During the first half of the seventeenth century, the outstanding Jesuit personality in this region was Péter Pázmány, an ethnic Hungarian from Nagyvárad (now Oradea), Transylvania, who had converted from Calvinism as a teenager and eventually became primate of Hungary.[265] Pázmány had little direct contact with Muslims, but in 1605 he produced a Hungarian-language work entitled *Az Mostan Tamat Vy Tvdomaniok Hamissaganak* (The true proof of the falsehood of the new teachings), which included a polemic against the Qur'an.[266] This work, dedicated to Pethe Márton (1552–1605), archbishop of Kalocsa, circulated widely among Hungarian speakers, even appearing in the library of Hungarian Lutherans in Wittenberg.[267] After an introduction condemning the Qur'an for going against the "intelligence of human nature" (*az embernek termeszet szerént valo okossagavalis ellenkeznek*),[268] Pázmány's starting point for engaging the Qur'an is the Latin paraphrase by Robert of Ketton (Kettonensis [*fl.* 1141–57]), edited and published by Bibliander,[269] which Pázmány then translates into Hungarian.

Pázmány's attack on the Qur'an, which he refers to, perhaps sarcastically, as the "science [or learning] of Muhammad" (*A Mahomet Tvdomania*)[270] has three components. First Muhammad's alleged moral inadequacies are highlighted. Pázmány draws on (erroneous) testimony from the *Magdeburg Centuries* regarding Muhammad's sexual incontinence, describing the Prophet as a "buja ember" (lascivious person) who even endorses the idea of humans having sex (literally "to sin") with animals ("Minden azzoni allattal vetkezhessec").[271] The Prophet's failings in this area make his pronouncements especially dangerous to other men. Such a critique is also an indictment of the Prophet's suitability as a

265 Péter Tusor, *Purpura Pannonica: Az esztergomi "bíborosi szék" kialakulásának elõzményei a 17. században* (Budapest: [Pázmány Péter Katolikus egyetem egyháztörténeti kutatócsoportja], 2005).

266 *Az Mostan Tamat Vj Tudomanyok Hamissaganak Tiiz Nilvan valo bizonisaga. es Reovid Intes A Teoreok Birodalomrvl es vallasrvl* (Graz: Widmanstad, 1605). A critical edition is *Az mostan támadt új tudományok hamisságának tíz nyilvánvaló bizonysága és rövid intés a török birodalomrul és vallásrul, 1605*, ed. Ajkay Alinka and Hargittay Emil (Budapest: Universitas, 2001), hereafter *Az Mostan*.

267 G. Klement Ildikó, "Külföldön tanuló magyarországi diákok olvasmányai a 18. század első felében," *Magyar Könyvszemle* 101, nos. 1–4 (1985): 210–24, here 213.

268 *Az Mostan*, fol. 108r.

269 *Machumetis saracenorum principis, eiusque successorum vitae, ac doctrina, ipseque Alcoran* (Basel: [Oporinus], [1543]). This paraphrase has significant omissions, as well as passages that are not easily matched to the original Arabic.

270 *Az Mostan*, 108r. This designation is in line with the trope that Muhammad is the "author" of the Qur'an.

271 *Az Mostan*, 108v.

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public figure generally, fitting well with a key aspect of the Society's program, which was the training of young men morally fit for public life.

Next, the Prophet's faulty recounting of events is documented. Pázmány is arguably correct in pointing out that the Qur'an has conflated the text of Judges 7:4–5 with the story of David's victory over Goliath in 1 Samuel 17. More potentially controversial is Pázmány's claim, echoed by Nau and others, that the Qur'an acknowledges that Christ is the Spirit and Word of God (*Soet Chriftus az Iftennec lelke, ighie*).[272] Pázmány concedes that the Qur'an, as he interprets it, is correct here, even if its followers do not see this. At first glance, this point seems to parallel the problem with the passage in the Lead Books regarding Jesus as Spirit, analyzed by de las Casas, with the difference that Pázmány, arguing in Hungarian, is at two removes from the original text and makes the opposite point. Pázmány ridicules the Qur'anic account of the splitting of the moon in Surah 64 (which, following Bibliander, he gives as 54), and to which he adds the detail that the moon was put back together, calling the story "csufos" (disgraceful).[273] The rejoining of the moon is not described in the Qur'an, nor is it mentioned in Bibliander, but it is described in *tafsir* (i.e., learned commentary on the Qur'an). This must therefore be an instance of Pázmány drawing on another, possibly hostile Christian source. Muhammad's failures as a record keeper are compounded by the fact that he was illiterate.[274] Using an approach redolent of Jesuit debate, Pázmány points out that the very contradictions found in the Qur'an are cited as proof that the book could not have been written by a mere human, but he argues instead that they show that the Qur'an could not have been composed by God.[275]

Pázmány the theologian has one more line of attack. He finds fault with theological positions expressed in the Qur'an. Citing "Azoar [i.e., Surah]. 19. medio," he believes that the Qur'an states that the soul of one praying leaves his or her body. The reference is probably to Q. 9:55, which in Bibliander's edition (at Q. 19) appears as "he can draw the souls out of unbelievers themselves" (*animas suas ipsis incredulis extrahet*), which is an accurate translation. Pázmány is more accurate when he claims that the Qur'an says that Allah and his angels pray *for* the Prophet (expressed by the Hungarian suffix -ert), citing Q. 43 "versus finem." Once again, Pázmány's citation is off by ten surahs (an artifact of Kettonensis/Bibliander), as the passage referenced is Q. 33:56. The verb

272 *Az Mostan*, 111r.

273 *Az Mostan*, 110r.

274 *Az Mostan*, 111v. Pázmány's marginalia references *Chronica saracenorum*, included in Bibliander's 1543 edition.

275 *Az Mostan*, 109v.

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in question is *yusallūna*, which can be translated as "to send blessings," but that has the triliteral root s-l-ṿ—several of whose derivations refer to prayer. According to Pázmány, the Qur'an comes close to espousing what would later be called indifferentism, asserting that each can be happy in their own religion, be it Christianity or Judaism.[276] Elsewhere, Pázmány has been badly misdirected by Kettonensis/Bibliander, whom he cites ("Azoara 47. in fine") with the claim that if God had had a son, he would also have had a daughter.[277] The Arabic at Q. 37:149 may be translated as "Ask your Lord if he has daughters," and at Q. 37:153 "Has [Allah] chosen daughters over sons?" Some of Pázmány's other points seem even weaker. He notes that the Qur'an claims that it does not contradict itself, and he states that this is clearly a lie but does not elaborate.

When citing the Qur'an, Pázmány occasionally betrays a dependence on intermediary languages besides the Latin of Kettonensis/Bibliander. "Mosqueatoc" (nominative plural in Hungarian, derived probably from Italian) is glossed as "mecsetetec," reflecting Ottoman Turkish influence.[278] He may also have relied on a translation or paraphrase of the Qur'an other than Kettonensis/Bibliander in his reference to "Azoara 71" (possibly 61:6).[279] As Pázmány is rendering the Qur'an in Hungarian at two removes from the original Arabic, he makes some unusual lexical choices.[280]

Written in Hungarian, Pázmány's screed was never intended for Muslim readers and is at several removes from the Arabic of the Qur'an. The Jesuit instead sought to appeal to Hungarian speakers who might have already left the Catholic Church, and to warn those Catholics attracted to anti-Trinitarian doctrines flourishing along the eastern reaches of Hungary and Transylvania. In fact, a few anti-Trinitarians used the Qur'an in support of their beliefs.[281] Of

276 *Az Mostan*, 109r.

277 *Az Mostan*, 108v.

278 *Az Mostan*, 112r.

279 *Az Mostan*, 110r.

280 Bibliander translates "sundsin" at q. 44:53 ("Azoara 54" by his count) as "sericis" (*Az Mostan*, 109r); both words mean "silk." Pázmány's Hungarian is "barson" meaning "velvet," although silk was well known in Europe in his time. Much more problematic is Pázmány's rendering of "albugines candidissimae": "eöregh," which often means simply "old," although it can also be interpreted as "knowledgeable," "large," "valuable," or "useful." Pázmány's knowledge of Latin was excellent, so his Hungarian choice here is obscure (I am grateful to István Lanstyák and Éva Szőke for their insights here).

281 Jan Loop, "Introduction: The Qur'an in Europe; The European Qur'an," *Journal of Qur'anic Studies* 20, no. 3 (2018): 1–20, here 12. The Jesuit Piotr Skarga (1536–1612) published an attack on Socinians in 1612 entitled *Messias novorum Arianorum secundum Alcoranum* (The Messiah of the new Arians, according to the Qur'an), but we have been unable to locate a copy.

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additional concern was the non-sacramental theology of the Qur'an, which put it in direct opposition to Tridentine Catholicism—and close to some Protestant confessions. In Pázmány's view, this theology could lead to atheism as well. Thus the "falsehoods of the new teaching" (*Vj tudomanyok hamissaganak*) of the work's title can be as easily applied to Protestantism as to Islam.[282]

In building his case specifically against the Prophet, Pázmány drew on the baroque Jesuit tradition of defining an (always male) "other" who furthered the Society's narrative about itself. When Muhammad describes himself as relatively "unlettered,"[283] Pázmány "takes Muhammad at his word" to argue that the role assigned to the Prophet by Islam is exaggerated and misplaced. This line of attack is advanced when Pázmány quotes the Qur'an (in his own Hungarian rendering of the Latin of Kettonensis/Bibliander) to show that Muhammad was sent as a teacher, but not as one who compels belief: *Az Iften vgy küldeottte mint tanitot, nem mint kenßeriteot a hitre*, glossed as "Tu es doctor, non coactor" (You are a teacher, not a compeller).[284] The use of short passages from texts to win formal debates, while not unique to Jesuit praxis, is a characteristic of the approach outlined in the *Ratio studiorum* of 1559 and undoubtedly shaped how Jesuits engaged with Muslims.

While eschewing Islamic sources, the author has taken some pains to assemble Christian authorities for his arguments. Varsányi Orsolya notes that a Latin translation of a compendium of history composed by Ioannes Zonaras (*fl.* 1200–50), a Byzantine historian, is one of Pázmány's sources for the historical portion of his polemic, as is Niketas Choniates (*c.*1155–217).[285] The *Annales ecclesiastici* (Ecclesiastical annals) of Caesar Baronius (1538–1607) is another source Pázmány uses. Pázmány also claims to be citing "Caluin. Turci. Libr. 4."[286] Nicholas of Cusa's (1401–64) *Cribratio Alchoran* (The sieve of the Qur'an) often employed in anti-Qur'anic polemics, is also put to use by Pázmány. These attacks are seldom original and generally reprise points raised by earlier Christian polemicists.

Pázmány concludes his essay with references to notable heresies, among them Nicolaism and Manichaeism. A prayer follows, the only extended portion of the piece in Latin, which implores God to give arms and a shield

282 Frankl Vilmos, *Pázmány Péter és kora* (Budapest: Ráth Mór, 1868), 1:55.

283 Q. 7:157ff.

284 *Az Mostan*, 112^{v}.

285 Varsányi Orsolya, "Pázmány Péter: *A Mahomet Vallása Hamisságárul*," *Irodalomtörténeti közlemények* 112, nos. 5–6 (2008): 645–78, here 650; *Az Mostan tamat*, 113r. Choniates's history was published in a Latin translation in 1557.

286 *Az Mostan*, 108^{v}. The author is referring to *Calvino-turcismus* (1597), see here Part 5n193.

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"confirmatóq' viro, qui tibi placeat" (to the dependable man who pleases you) to regain his inheritance.[287] Pázmány has sought to warn, not to persuade.

7.2 *István Szántó*

A generation older than Pázmány and also an ethnic Hungarian, István Szántó (Stephanus Arator) was born in Devecser, close to the Ottoman frontier, fifteen years after the disastrous defeat of Hungarian arms at Mohács in 1526. According to one account, his mother, two sisters, and a brother were carried off into captivity by the Turks when he was a teenager. His Jesuit training took him first to the Habsburg capital, Vienna, and then at age twenty to Rome, where he studied at the newly created Collegium Germanicum and then became a *poenitentiarius* at St. Peter's Basilica, hearing the confessions of pilgrims in many different languages.[288] He remained in Rome until 1580, playing a key role in the establishment of the Collegium Hungaricum, which was soon merged with the Collegium Germanicum. Szántó spent years in missions in Transylvania, where he was one of the founders of a school in Cluj where Pázmány was later a student.[289] After the Society's expulsion from Transylvania, Szántó lived in Vienna and the mountains of what today is Slovakia, passing his last days in Olomouc, where he died in 1612. More renowned as an indefatigable missionary than as a scholar (although he did undertake a Hungarian translation of the Old Testament and other works that were lost when the cloister in which they were held was burned during the Bocskai rebellion), Szántó composed a *Confutatio Alcorani* (Refutation of the Qur'an), begun around 1597 and dated 1611 or 1610, that was not published until the late twentieth century.[290] Szántó was neither a student of Arabic nor an authority on the Qur'an and relied on a transcription and translation of portions of the Qur'an made by Juan Andrés, an Andalusian convert, who wrote an anti-Qur'anic polemic, *Confusión o*

287 *Az Mostan*, 113r.

288 Alexius Horányi, *Memoria Hungarorum et provincialium scriptis editis notorum* […] *pars 1* (Vienna: Impensis Antonii Loewii, 1775), 5.

289 Tamás Véghseő, *"Catholice reformare" Ágoston Benkovich O.S.P.P.E. missionario apostolico, vescovo di Várad (1631–1702)* (Budapest: Istituto delle Ricerche sulla Storia Ecclesiastica nell'Università Cattolica P. Pázmány-Istituto storico "Fraknói" presso l'Accademia d'Ungheria in Roma, 2007), 58.

290 István Szántó (Arator), *Confutatio Alcorani (1611)*, ed. István Dávid Lázár (Szeged: Scriptum, 1990), hereafter *Confutatio*. The work as we have it now is in Latin, although Szántó had begun the *Confuatio* in Hungarian as early as 1598. According to one account, the manuscript was written at the imperial court in Vienna. See also Dobrovits Mihály and Őze Sándor, "A Korán-cáfolat műfajaa közép-európai reformáció és katolikus reform eszmei fegyvertárában," https://www.uni-miskolc.hu/~egyhtort/cikkek/dobrovits-oze.htm (accessed November 17, 2022).

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confutación de la secta Mahomética y del Alcorán (Confusion or confutation of the Muhammadan sect and the Qur'an).[291] Szántó lists the surahs in an unusual order and provides names for those that sometimes differ from the ones that are more commonly used. He calls the surah after Surah 8 ("The Spoils of War"), "De Gladio."[292] The fifth *ayah* of Surah 9 is sometimes called "The Ayah of the Sword." The appearance of the word "secta" in Andrés's work is significant: Jesuits made a distinction between *sectae* such as Islam and *religiones* such as Buddhism, however false and misled.[293] Szántó's lack of even rudimentary knowledge of Arabic is revealed when he retells the story of Munkar and Nakīr—angels who interrogate the dead. Szántó identifies them as Munguir and Guanequir. The spelling of the second name retains the Arabic copula wa-, rendered as Gua- by Andrés. Szántó's transliteration of the Arabic has other unique features, among them the use of "x" to express the sound rendered in the modern edition of the *Confusión* by "ç," possibly indicating a connection to a Portuguese translation of this text.

Szántó has some awareness, either first- or second-hand, of hadiths. He writes "Legitur enim in libro Zuna de actis et factis Mahometis […]" (We read this is the book of Zuna concerning the deeds of Muhammad).[294] "Zuna" is very probably "Sunnah," the collection of hadiths compiled after Muhammad's death.[295] The rest of Szántó's sentence alludes to "Empeumpecer," the spelling of Abū Bakr (573–634 CE) in Bibliander's life of Muhammad, published with Kettonensis's rendering of the Qur'an.[296] Since the word "Zuna" does not appear in Bibliander, Szántó at the very least had knowledge of a summary, perhaps in Latin, of the contents of "Sunnah."

Szántó may have had access to a modest Arabic word list, or at least glosses on some terms. He offers the following translations: "Emale, id est musca, in Capite Elinesa, id est, Mulieres" (Emales, that is, the fly, in the chapter Elinesa,

291 On the *Confusión*, see also here Part 5n190. Szánto's quotations from Andrés do not always match the text as published in the twenty-first century (edited by María Isabel García-Monge). This may be because Szántó is referencing an Italian translation of *Confusión* then current: *Opera chiamata confusione* (Venice: Bartholomeo detto l'Imperadore, 1545). On this work, see Szpiech, "Preaching Paul to the Moriscos"; Jason Busic, "Polemic and Hybridity in Early Modern Spain: Juan Andrés's *Confusión o confutación de la secta Mahomética y del Alcorán*," *Journal for Early Modern Cultural Studies* 12, no. 1 (2012): 85–113.

292 *Confutatio*, 63.

293 See Mathias Tanner, *Societas Jesu Apostolorum imitatrix* (Prague: Typis Universitatis Carlo-Fernandeaæ, 1694), 338.

294 *Confutatio*, 74.

295 Thanks to Professor Robert Wisnovsky for this insight.

296 *Machumetis*, 167. This spelling also appears in [Ricoldus de Montecrucis], *Confutatio Alcorani seu legis Saracenorum* ([Basel: Keßler, *c.*1507]), unnumbered folio.

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that is, women) and "in Capite Empacra, id est, Juvenca" (in the chapter Empacra, that is, the cow).[297] Like many early Christian readers of the Qur'an, Szántó was baffled by the order of its surahs, calling it "confusionem plusquam Bablylonicam" (a more than Babylonian confusion).[298] The expectation that the Qur'an might be read as a straightforward chronicle, as is the case with many books of the Bible, contributed to the hostility felt by Christian readers. In addition, Szántó draws on the anti-Muslim oration of Byzantine emperor John VI Kantakouzenos (*c.*1292–1383, r.1347–54), which denounced the Qur'an as a work not of man, but of the devil.[299] We thus see that Szántó has access to some sort of library of anti-Muslim texts, or at least a compendium of citations from these texts.

Szántó also repeats a misinterpretation of an Arabic phrase transmitted through Greek, a language he would have studied. He quotes (in Latin translation, perhaps his own) from the *Compendium historiarum* (Compendium of histories) by the eleventh-century Byzantine historian Georgius Kedrenos. The declaration of faithful Muslims, "Allāhu akbar," is described by Kedrenos as "verba obscaena et profanissima praecationis eorum haec sunt: Alla, Alla, va Kubar [in Greek ου ακουβαρ] id est, Deus, Deus Va maior scilicet Luna, Kubar magna sancta Venus" (The obscene and most profane words of their prayer are "Alla, Alla, va Kubar," which means the moon, Kubar meaning "Great Venus"). In fact, Kobar was believed to be a name for a moon goddess.[300] Szántó does not hesitate to indict the Qur'an for promoting sodomy, an argument he shares with the Jesuit Ignazio Lomellini (*c.*1560–1645), who translated the Qur'an into Latin in 1622, using Q. 2:223 as his evidence.[301] In other places, Szántó may have miscopied the text of Andrés.

Like Lomellini, Szántó makes use of Maimonides (1138–1204), whom he calls "Rabbi Moyses,"[302] in his arguments claiming that the origins of the notion of

297 *Confutatio*, 69; 73; 70.

298 *Confutatio*, 63. A few decades later, a Jesuit in the Levant would have a different assessment of the Qur'an: "I have read and examined the Qur'an; in all places it is difficult, with a style poetic, concise, compact, and almost never repeating the same thing, but by using various turns of phrase." P. Jean Amieu, to another unknown Jesuit, Aleppo, August 16, 1641, in Auguste Carayon, ed., *Relations inédites des missions de la Compagnie de Jésus à Constantinople et dans le Levant au XVIII^e siècle* (Poitiers: Oudin, 1864), 155. Authors' translation.

299 *Confutatio*, 69; Siren Çelik, *Manuel II Palaiologos (1350–1425): A Byzantine Emperor in a Time of Tumult* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2021), 141.

300 G. [Gernot] Rotter, "Der veneris dies im vorislamischen Mekka, eine neue Deutung des Namens 'Europa' u. eine Erklärung für kobar = Venus," *Der Islam* 70 (1993): 112–32.

301 On Lomellini, see here, Part 9.

302 *Confutatio*, 67.

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the "density (*crasities*) of the moon" are found in in the Talmud. His status as an ex-Jesuit notwithstanding, the polymath Guillaume Postel is also regarded as a worthy source on Islam.[303]

Like many other Christian polemicists, Szántó denounces the promises found in the Qur'an of a paradise—which he calls "the concocted paradise of the Turks" (*fictum paradisum Turcarum*)—inhabited by a miraculously beautiful type of woman, whom Szántó calls a "Paradisiaca."[304] Taking the description of beautiful women at Q. 56:22 *et passim*, Szántó focuses on their breasts and bellies (which are not explicitly referenced in the Qur'an): "Breasts greater than many mountains, a belly wider than the sea" (*mamillae multis montibus grandiores, venter latior mari*).[305]

Szántó probably did not create this image entirely on his own; the extremes to which he carries his metaphors ("eyes larger than Mount Olympus and the Carpathians") is nonetheless striking. He also employs a kind of logic reminiscent of his Jesuit formation, finding the oaths at the beginning of some surahs ("by the olive, by the fig") theologically indefensible, since, he claims, one can swear only by something greater than oneself, and if an olive tree is greater than God, then such a god "non est verus" (is not true). Pázmány makes a similar point.

A flavor of *ad hominem* attacks lingers around Szántó's commentaries, as when he describes the Prophet snoring ("sterteret") one night when a multitude of "daemones" appeared to him.[306] At other points, Szántó employs "natural reason" in his arguments, an argument also made by de las Casas, asserting, "lex ista [the Qur'an] falsa est et contra rationem naturalem, quia prohibet bibere vinum ad vitandam ebrietatem [...]" (This law [the Qur'an] is against natural reason because it prohibits the drinking of wine in order to avoid drunkenness).[307] Szántó even sees some of the moral positions in the Qur'an (as he understands them) as excessively strict, as when gambling is entirely forbidden. Like Pázmány, he sees a connection between Islam and atheism.[308] Szántó further claims that Muslims believe that they can break treaties with impunity, as long as they give food and garments to ten poor people,

303 *Confutatio*, 76. On Postel, see also here, Parts 1 and 5.

304 *Confutatio*, 118 (Commentary on Surah 29). Szántó calls this Surah "Scala Mahometis," although there is no Surah with this name in Arabic. A thirteenth-century Latin translation of the *Kitab al-Miraj* was known as *Liber Scalae Machometi*.

305 *Confutatio*, 67.

306 *Confutatio*, 116 (Commentary on Surah 29).

307 *Confutatio*, 70. Elsewhere, Szántó calls the Qur'an "spurcissima et carnalis lex Mahometi" (the most impure and carnal law of Muhammad).

308 "Ex heresi in atheismum et Turcismum prolabi." *Confutatio*, 108.

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noting (without providing details) that Ottoman treaties with Hungarians were broken in this way.[309]

In his attacks on the character of the Prophet, Szántó repeats tropes dating from the Middle Ages and also echoes views expressed by his Jesuit predecessors, such as Peter Canisius (1521–97), who wrote of the "fetid source of the Qurʾan."[310] Yet Szántó takes a serious look at some of the facts associated with the Qurʾan, concluding that Muhammad was not Antichrist (although Szántó considered the Prophet the "Praecursor Antichristi"), and he acknowledges positive aspects of Muslim cultures such as cleanliness and the quality of their military forces. However, like Pázmány, Szántó does not focus on the Qurʾan as an Arabic-language document. Since Szántó dedicated his work to Franz Cardinal Dietrichstein, bishop of Olomouc (1570–1636), this work was most likely intended for Catholic clergy in the region, and perhaps especially for Jesuits in training, few of whom would have occasion to discuss the contents of the Qurʾan with Muslims.

While it is very doubtful that Pázmány had any significant encounters with Muslims, it is least possible that Szántó did while in Transylvania, where Jesuits occasionally met Muslims.[311] Yet ultimately, Szántó's engagement with the Qurʾan is, like Pázmány's, far removed from the actual practice of Islam. In one instance, Szántó in his retelling a story in the Qurʾan goes beyond its literal text. Two angels, Hārūt and Mārūt, committed numerous sins, including fornication, and Szántó observes that "they sought to have intercourse with the one who was drunk, which he consented to on the condition that one [of the angels] should take him to heaven, and the other should bring him back from there" (*inebriati autem illi de coitu requisierunt, quae consensit ea conditione, ut alter illorum in caelum deduceret, et alter inde reduceret*).[312] Szántó's much longer, more ambitious work is aimed at a wider audience than Pázmány's. Evidently, Szántó hoped to publish it, as the name of an Olomouc printer appears in the manuscript, but the expulsion of the Jesuits from the city, the plague, and the occupation and destruction of Olomouc by the Swedes during

309 *Confutatio*, 108. This teaching does not appear in Azoara xv of Kettonensis/Bibliander, but q. 5:89 states that the "expiation for a broken oath is to feed ten poor people in the same way you normally feed your own family, or to clothe them […]" (authors' translation).

310 *De Maria virgine incomparabili, et dei genitrice sacrosancta* […] *auctore Petro Canisio* (Ingolstadt: David Sartorius, 1577), 325.

311 A Jesuit document from 1656 even reports the conversion of a Turkish *czausz* or emissary. Paul Shore, "*Fragmentum annuarium Collegii Societatis Iesu Claudiopolitani*: The Account of a Jesuit Mission in Transylvania, 1659–1662," *Reformation and Renaissance Review* 8, no. 1 (2006): 83–106, here 94.

312 *Confutatio*, 70. Pázmány also references this story. *Az mostan tamat*, 110ᵛ.

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the Thirty Years' War (1618–48) all worked against this, and the *Confutatio* remained obscure, never cited by subsequent Jesuit writers on Islam.

The writings of these two Jesuits reflect a "pre-modern" Western Christian understanding of the Qur'an and are best understood in the context of the coming crisis facing both Catholicism and, more broadly, Europe in the early seventeenth century. By the time Szántó had completed his manuscript, Western Christendom had been riven by inter-confessional conflict for more than eighty years; positions had hardened, and polemicists from many sides of the conflict denounced whoever their opponent was as "the Turk." Jesuits such as Roberto de' Nobili (1577–1656) are famous for their engagement with non-Christian cultures on a profound level, but despite his relative proximity to a Muslim superpower, Pázmány never even considered consulting hadiths or commentaries on the Qur'an by Muslim scholars—although, as we have seen, Szántó at least had some awareness of their existence. This is in part because of the difficulty of Arabic and also due to the mediating presence of Turkish, a language of much more immediate practical concern to Jesuits on the frontier.[313] At the same time, inter-confessional hostility across Christian Europe was not merely a distraction but often a defining factor in the way European Jesuit missions proceeded.

The seventeenth century was a golden age for Jesuit linguistic undertakings, but the goals of Pázmány and Szántó were different from those of the Jesuit missionary linguists who studied Huron, Vietnamese, or Mandarin. In the latter cases, Jesuits took Latin (and in a few cases, French) documents and translated them into local vernaculars in order to spread the church's message. By contrast, Pázmány wrote in his native tongue and Szántó in the language of the church about a document that neither they nor virtually any of their readers knew except through translations or polemical retelling. These two Jesuits did not write for those who knew the Qur'an well, but for those with concerns about their own faith. Both Pázmány and Szántó undertook their work during a period of deep disruption and insecurity in what had previously been known as Christendom, which sheds light on their approaches to the Qur'an.

However, confessional conflict does not completely explain the lack of serious attention given to the Qur'an by Jesuits on the eastern frontier between the Habsburg and Ottoman realms. Lack of well-developed libraries, tensions

313 There is evidence that Jesuits in religious debates with Muslims in Europe used the occasional Turkish word to argue their points. In 1653, for example, in the Ottoman-controlled city of Pécs in southern Hungary, there was an encounter between Jesuits and Muslims in which a Jesuit described Christ as "Becambor," which may be a corruption of a Turkish word for messenger: "Becambor, id est Christum" (ARSI, *Austria* 141, Lit. An. Prov. Aust. 1653, fol. 91r). Thanks to Hayrettin Yücesoy for his insights here.

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between Jesuits of different ethnic groups within the Austrian province, and the lack of champions for serious study of the relevant languages may also have played a part. And Islam was also, in some sense, "too close" to Christianity and therefore presented particular challenges—and dangers—to any Christian studying its holy book. Yet ultimately the works of these two Jesuits say more about anxieties regarding the future of Catholicism in Central and Eastern Europe than they do about the Qur'an. Both Jesuits use Latin as the gateway through which the meaning of the Qur'an had to pass. The resulting loss of any connection to the original Arabic, and to the significance of the text for those who read it in Arabic, cannot be overstated.

8 Two Jesuit Outposts and the Islamic World: Constantinople and Malta

As part of our journey throughout early modern Europe, we now look at the presence of Jesuits and their exchanges with the Muslim world in two Mediterranean outposts whose circumstances suggest the possibilities and challenges the Society faced: Constantinople and Malta.

8.1 *Constantinople*[314]

A bull from Julius III (1487–1555, r.1550–55) granted the Jesuits permission to establish colleges in Constantinople, Jerusalem, and Cyprus,[315] but although no action was taken for decades, the Ottoman capital was not forgotten. With a population of about seven hundred thousand in 1600, making it perhaps the largest city in Europe, Constantinople appealed to the Society's interest in urban centers and in cultural crossroads. Jesuits finally arrived in Constantinople from France in 1583 (according to some sources, 1582), during the reign of Sultan Murad III (1546–95, r.1574–95).[316] That same year, Jesuits took charge of the former Benedictine Church of Saint Benoit in Galata, across the Golden

314 Some secondary sources refer to this city during the early modern period as Istanbul, and some Jesuits used the term Stanbul. See the letter of François de Canillac, Galata, October 30, 1610, in *Relations inédites des missions de la Compagnie de Jésus à Constantinople et dans le Levant au XVII^e siècle*, ed. Auguste Crayon (Poitiers: H. Oudin, 1864), 26. However, we shall use the name by which it was more generally known at the time.

315 Gilbert, *Les jésuites et la Terre Sainte*, 65.

316 Cornel Zwierlein, *Imperial Unknowns: The French and British in the Mediterranean, 1650–1750* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2016), 174; Gabriel de Mun, "L'introduction des jésuites à Constantinople sous le règne d'Achmet I^er, 1603–1617," *Revue des questions historiques* 74 (1903): 163–72.

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Horn from central Constantinople. The fathers were strictly enjoined not to attempt the conversion of "Turks," "Greeks," "Jews," slaves, apostates, and heretics, although clearly these instructions were not always followed.[317] The Jesuits also established a school on the site.[318] Among the members of this mission was the Ragusan Marin Temperica (or Temparica [1534–91/98]), who before joining the Society in 1582 had been a merchant in the Balkans, where he had learned Turkish.[319] Temperica served as one of the first chaplains to the Jesuit community.[320] He also prepared a memorandum that stressed the similarities among Slavic languages and played a key role in the development of "Illyrican" (i.e., Serbo-Croatian) dictionaries and grammars that might aid in the conversion of Orthodox. Temperica remained in Constantinople until 1585, when ill health compelled him to return to Rome.[321]

The project failed when five Jesuits of the mission died of the plague. Giulio Mancinelli (1537–1618), founder of the Constantinople mission, had already fled, a less than entirely admirable decision from the standpoint of the Society. In 1609, the Jesuits returned, counting among their number two lay brothers, but two of these men died the following year. Among the Jesuits of this second mission was François Bouton (1578–1628), known for his knowledge of the languages of the Ottoman Empire and who produced an unpublished Latin–Syriac dictionary.[322]

At first, the mission seemed to make some headway, gaining an audience with the grand vizier, Murat Paşa (in office 1605–11), which began quite coolly but ended with the Ottoman official approving their residency.[323] Constantinople

317 Adina Ruiu, "Missionaries and French Subjects: The Jesuits in the Ottoman Empire," in *A Companion to the Early Modern Catholic Global Missions*, ed. Ronnie Po-Chia Hsia (Leiden: Brill, 2018), 181–204, here 191.

318 Vincenzo Ruggieri, "Constantinopoli vista da P. Giulo Mancinelli S. J. (1583–85)," *Revue des études byzantines* 60 (2002): 113–31. Although the *Ratio* prescribed instruction in Latin, this school's languages of instruction were Italian and Greek.

319 John V.A. Fine, *When Ethnicity Did Not Matter in the Balkans: A Study of Identity in Pre-nationalistic Croatia, Dalmatia, and Slavonia in the Medieval and Early Modern Periods* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2006), 236; Antal Molnár, "Ragusa and the Beginnings of the Balkan Missions," *Dubrovnik Annals* 25 (2021): 89–112, here 100.

320 Marijan Stojković and Marko Samardžija, *Hrvatske jezične i pravopisne dvojbe* (Zagreb: Pregamena, 2005), 109.

321 Mijo Korade and Dejan Pernjak, "Hrvatski isusovački misionari i pokušaji unije s pravoslavnima od 16. do. 19. stoljeća," *Cris* 17 (2015): 40–56, here 43.

322 Jean Marie Prat, *Recherches historiques et critiques sur la Compagnie de Jésus en France: Du temps du P. Coton*, 5 vols. (Lyon: Briday, 1876), 3:695; Augustin De Backer and Alois De Backer, *Bibliothèque des écrivains de la Compagnie de Jésus ou, notices biographiques* [...] *Première série* (Liège: Grandmont-Donders, 1853), 126.

323 Charles Frazee, *Catholics and Sultans: The Church and the Ottoman Empire 1453–1923* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983), 82.

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also quickly began to serve as a crossroads for Jesuits seeking contacts with lands to the east: the fathers met the prince of Mingrelia, a Georgian principality, during his visit to the capital, for example.[324] Jesuits also witnessed the entry of the ambassador of the shah of Persia in 1612 and noted the willingness of some Christians during these celebrations to offer to convert to Islam.[325]

But other undertakings did not go as well: Jesuit proselytizing efforts among the Jewish population backfired. After an intervention by Bula Iqshati (dates unknown), a Jewish woman who had cured the sultan of either smallpox or syphilis, Jesuits were accused of the forced conversion of several Jewish children, along with less probable charges, such as conspiring with Russian Cossacks. Shortly after these charges were made, in 1609, five priests were summoned before the divan (high council) and arrested. The French ambassador eventually obtained their release, but the Jesuits spent two months behind bars, and relations with the Porte remained strained.[326] The plague returned, claiming Father Bouton, who reportedly contracted the disease from victims he was nursing.[327]

For Muslim officials, Jesuits stood out as a separate category of Christian clergy, as demonstrated by a capitulation with the Habsburgs of 1616, which refers to "priests, monks, and Jesuits."[328] This may be due to some distinctive aspect of the Jesuit habit, but it may also be a consequence of the Society's "way of proceeding" and the reputation that Jesuits gained as a result.

Despite the alleged spiritual dangers that the city presented to Christians, the fathers appreciated the cultural aspects of Constantinople: in 1612, François de Canillac (1574–1629) wrote of the "speaking bells" of Santa Sophia.[329] Mancinelli, the founder of the first mission, produced a report, *De missione patrum Societatis Iesu Constantinopolim a Gregorio XIII anno 1583 usque ad*

324 Henri Fouqueray, S.J., *Histoire de la Compagnie de Jésus en France, des origines à la suppression (1528–1762), tome 3* (Paris: A. Picard et fils, 1922), 615. Auguste Carayon, ed., *Documents inédits concernant la Compagnie de Jésus: Relations inedités des missions de la Compagnie de Jésus à Constantinople et dans le Levant au XVIII^e siècle* (Poitiers: Henri Oudin, 1864), 67.

325 Undated (1612?) letter of François de Callinac, S.J., in Carayon, *Documents inédits*, 80.

326 Elli Kohen, *History of the Turkish Jews and Sephardim: Memories of a Past Golden Age* (Lanham, MD: University Press of America, 2007), 119; Nil Özlem Pektaş, "The First Greek Printing Press in Constantinople (1625–1628)" (PhD diss., Royal Holloway and Bedford College, University of London, 2014), 117.

327 Jean-Pascal Gay, "Finding Martyrs at Home? Jesuit Attempts at Redefining Martyrdom in the Seventeenth Century and Their Censure," *Journal of Jesuit Studies* 9, no. 1 (2022): 15–35, here 18.

328 Vanessa R. De Obaldía, "A Legal and Historical Study of Latin Catholic Church Properties in Istanbul from the Ottoman Conquest of 1453 until 1740" (PhD diss., Université de Aix-Marseilles, 2018), 44.

329 Carayon, *Documents inédits*, 73.

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annum 1586 (Concerning the mission of the fathers of the Society of Jesus to Constantinople [sent] by Gregory XII, from 1583 to 1586), which provides details about mosques and the attitudes of local Muslims toward the Christian religion.[330] This Jesuit also produced drawings of Constantinople, including Topkapı Palace.[331]

The Society's presence in the Ottoman capital was repeatedly interrupted, as in 1628, when the Jesuits were expelled for their involvement in a struggle around Kyrill Loukaris (also spelled Lucaris [1572–1638])[332] and perhaps for proselytizing as well, but Jesuits could justifiably claim to have had an impact on aspects of life there. Jacques Cachod (1657–1726), a native of Fribourg, Switzerland, converted Ilona Zrinyi (1643–1703), the widow of Imre Thököly (1657–1705),[333] while the French fathers François Braconnier (1656–1716) and Claude Duban (1668–1735) used the city as a staging point for missions farther afield. Braconnier, like Pierre Besnier (1648–1705), was also a collector of rare manuscripts on behalf of the French king.[334] In addition to priests, lay brothers were often among the members of the community.

Jesuits employed their usual repertoire of approaches to engage the Christian populace of the Ottoman capital while keeping an eye on the reactions of generally unsympathetic Ottoman authorities. In 1623, Jesuits staged a

330 Elmira Vassileva, "Ottoman Istanbul from the Perspective of the Catholic Missionaries in the Post-Tridentine Period (End of 16th–17th Centuries)," in *Osmanli Istanbulu IV*, ed. Feridun Mustafa Emecen, Ali Akyıldız, and Emrah Safa Gürkan (Istanbul: İstanbul 29 Mayıs Üniversitesi; İstanbul Büyükşehir Belediyesi, 2016), 289–312, here 298. Mancinelli was also a missionary to the Csángós, a Hungarian-speaking population in Moldova, then under Ottoman rule.

331 Robert John Clines, "Fighting Enemies and Finding Friends: The Cosmopolitan Pragmatism of Jesuit Residences in the Ottoman Levant," *Renaissance Studies* 31, no. 1 (2015): 66–86, here 75.

332 Nil Palabıyık, "A Public Debate on Cyril of Alexandria's Views on the Procession of the Holy Spirit in Seventeenth-Century Constantinople: The Jesuit Reaction to Nicodemos Metaxas's Greek Editions," *International Journal of the Classical Tradition* 27, no. 3 (2020): 427–48, here 431.

333 Nicolaus Nilles, *Symbolae ad illustrandam historiam Ecclesiae Orientalis* (Innsbruck: Feliciani Rauch, 1885), 98. Zrinyi was the mother of Francis II Rákóczi (1676–1735).

334 Besnier (d.1705) had written a *Projet de la réünion des langues*, which at the time of his death was believed to be unfinished. Such a project was an example of the pre-1773 Society's search for equivalencies among cultural products. *Mercure Galant*, May 1706 [tome 5], 171. However, Besnier's essay in fact was published in 1674 and has been described as a "classic of early [linguistic] comparativism." Lia Formigari, *Language and Experience in 17th-Century British Philosophy* (Amsterdam: John Benjamins 1988), 115. Besnier groups Turkish under a "Scythian" rubric; he may have completed his work before traveling to Constantinople. Pierre Besnier, *La reunion des langues, ou l'art de les apprendre toutes par une seule* (Liège: Nicolas le Baraguoin, 1674), 17.

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Greek-language play, knowing that drama was forbidden to Muslim residents. The author of this piece, Domenicus Mauritius (1580?–1665), had arrived in Constantinople in 1612 from Chios and was both a Jesuit and for some time the only native speaker of modern Greek (as opposed to classical Greek, which some of the fathers knew) in the Constantinople community.[335] There is also the rare reported instance of a *coadjutor temporalis* employed to teach Greek-speaking students the Latin alphabet, perhaps a sign of how thinly stretched the mission's personnel were.[336]

Since Jesuits often served as intermediaries between Orthodox or Latins (who were not part of the *millet* system) and Ottoman authorities, they were vulnerable to harsh treatment. Father Denis Guillier (d.1649) was not spared abuse at the hands of the janissaries, who imprisoned and beat him.[337]

Meanwhile, the threat of plague was a constant companion to the mission,[338] as was the danger of a conflagration (Constantinople burned in 1639 and 1660 and Galata in 1639 and 1696).[339] Both Muslim converts to Christianity and those who sought to convert them were in considerable danger in the capital. Jesuits did benefit from the protection of Philippe de Harlay, the count of Césy (1582–1652), Louis XIII's (1601–43, r.1610–43) ambassador to Constantinople from 1619 to 1640.[340] Jesuit records report that "Turks" were present at a Eucharistic celebration held at a Jesuit church in 1660,[341] but details about

335 Walter Puchner, *Greek Theatre between Antiquity and Independence: A History of Reinvention from the Third Century B.C. to 1830* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2017), 203. Mauritius was later imprisoned in Cyprus but was eventually rescued and spent the last thirty-five years of his life as the abbot of the monastery of St. Antonios on Chios. Walter Puchner, *Die Literaturen Südosteuropas 15. bis frühes 20. Jahrhundert: Ein Vergleich* (Vienna: Böhlau, 2015), 120n140.

336 Eric Dursteler, "Education and Identity in Constantinople's Latin Rite Community, *c.*1600," *Renaissance Studies* 18, no. 2 (2004): 287–303, here 301.

337 Élesban de Guilhermy, *Ménologe de la compagnie de Jésus: Assistance de France* (Paris: M. Schneider, 1892), 1:60. Guillier interceded on behalf of at least one Orthodox youth who was the "victim of calumnies" and had spent two years as a galley slave. We gain only a glimpse of the relations between Ottoman authorities, the Greek-speaking Orthodox community, and the Jesuit community in Guillier's letter to Cardinal Bellarmino dated February 28, 1617. *Lettres de Jersey* (Wetteren: Jules de Meester, 1924), 461–62.

338 Adina Ruiu, "Conflicting Visions of the Jesuit Missions to the Ottoman Empire, 1609–1628," *Journal of Jesuit Studies* 1, no. 2 (2014): 260–80, here 266.

339 Vanessa R. de Obaldía, "A Shared Space and Shared Functions: From a Latin Catholic Church to an Islamic Vakıf in Ottoman Galata," *Endowment Studies* 2 (2018): 133–62, here 139.

340 Henri Fouqueray, "La mission de France a Constantinople durant l'ambassade de M. de Césy," *Études* 113 (1907): 70–101 and 384–405, here 401.

341 Laura Elisabeth Binz, "Latin Missionaries and Catholics in Constantinople 1650–1760: Between Local Religious Culture and Confessional Determination" (PhD diss., European

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further interactions with Muslims are lacking. Jesuit reports from this period stress the success of their mission among the Orthodox residents (one assumes there had been progress made in speaking modern Greek) while prudently saying little about efforts to convert Muslims. A curious footnote to these early years of the Society in Constantinople is the report (perhaps false) that the fathers were lending money at usurious rates to "Jews, Greeks, and Armenians" while paying those who had deposited the money with them only modest interest.[342]

The first century of the Jesuit presence in Constantinople thus has a distinctly French character. The city also figured in the negotiations of French Jesuits at other Muslim courts: in 1652, François Rigordi (1609–79) and Aimé Chézaud (1604–64) told Mohammad Beg (1615?–65), the *nazer* (the highest official in the shah's household) at the Safavid court, that Louis XIV (1638–1715, r.1643–1715) would send a large army to conquer Istanbul.[343] But from the 1660s onward the military successes of the House of Austria against the Ottomans added a potent new element to the mix. There was also the case of the Polish Jesuits who arrived in 1653 and demanded to use the residence of San Sebastian as their own residence. Despite support from the Polish representative to the Porte, the request was denied.[344]

In 1665, a Habsburg embassy secured a religious *nişan* (literally "engagement"), a formal document that provided privileges and protections for Catholic clerics throughout Ottoman domains. In it, the Jesuits (*yezuyiti*) are named explicitly.[345] A member of this embassy, the Jesuit Paul Tafarner (Tafferner

University Institute, 2013), 65. A century later, François Tarillon (1666–1735) exported that catechisms were taught there in Turkish. In addition, classes were offered to "marabutes, ou vierges arméniennes consacrées à Dieu" (*marabutes* [a term that in other contexts means "religious teacher"], or Armenian virgins consacrated to God). This term, however, is more often applied to Muslim ascetics. Letter of François Tarillon to the count of Pontchartrain, Paris, March 4, 1714, in *Actes des apôtres modernes ou missions catholiques: Des voyages* (Paris: Au Bureau, 1832), 2:123–220, here 126, 127.

342 *Très-graves accusations contre les jésuites tirées d'un ouvrage imprimé au Louvre en 1617* (Rome: n.p., 1761), 38. One source credits Simon-Nicolas-Henri Linguet (1736–94) as the author.

343 Rudi Matthee, "Poverty and Perseverance: The Jesuit Mission of Isfahan and Shamakhi in Late Safavid Iran," *Al-qantara* 36, no. 2 (2015): 463–501, here 470.

344 Mattia Ceracchi, "La comunità latino-cattolica di Istanbul nella prima età ottomana (1453–1696): Spazi sacri, luoghi di culto," *Eurostudium* 38 (2016): 1–160, here 108, referencing François Alphonse Belin, *Histoire de la latinité de Constantinople* (Paris: Alphonse Picard et fils, 1894), 330.

345 Radu Dipratu, *Regulating Non-Muslim Communities in the Seventeenth-Century Ottoman Empire: Catholics and Capitulations* (Abingdon: Routledge, 2021), 169.

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[1608–77]), pointedly used the ancient name for the city, Bizanz, and denounced its Ottoman overlords as the "desecrators and destroyers of all churches."[346]

Despite all precautions, the Jesuit mission in Constantinople was frequently at the mercy of whomever the grand vizir of the moment happened to be. Father Jacques Gachoud (1657–1726) wrote of Damad Ali (1667–1716), who took up the post in 1703, that he was "the sworn enemy of mankind […]. To escape his fury, I had to hide for eight months, between four walls, deprived of any human society. I was guilty in his eyes, because I had been represented to him as the refuge of slaves and the consolation of Christians […]."[347] In 1664, Robert Saulger (1637–1709) reported how the fathers had managed to conduct services within the baths of the sultan himself, although, significantly, no Muslims seem to have been present:

> We go every Sunday to the great bath of the sultan, which is where he holds his slaves, who number up to two thousand. Every nation is to be seen there, in particular, the French. I saw Parisians, Bretons, and Normans. We go there to hear confessions, to preach, and to celebrate High Mass.[348]

The Society refrained from building new churches in Constantinople, even though it had permission to do so, recognizing that such a move might rouse anger in the Muslim population.[349] It is therefore clear that the Jesuit mission took into account not only the attitudes of Ottoman officials but also the broader cultural climate in the metropolis.

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346 Cited in Reika Ebert, "Re-creating Constantinople: The Imperial Gaze of Seventeenth-Century Hapsburg Travel Writers upon the City at the Bosphorus," *Pacific Coast Philology* 38 (2003): 116–31, here 116.

347 Cited in Joseph Jordan, "Le P. Jacques Gachoud, jésuite fribourgeois (1657–1726)," *Zeitschrift für schweizerische Kirchengeschichte* 55 (1961): 288–308, here 288 (authors' translation). A portrait of Father Gachoud survives, showing the Jesuit wearing a fur-trimmed hat topped with red satin.

348 Authors' translation. "Nous allons, tous les dimanches, au grand bagne du grand Seigneur, qui est le lieu où il tient ses esclaves, qui montent au nombre de 2,000. L'on y voit de touttes sortes de nations, mais particulierement des françois. J'yay veu des parisiens, des Bretons et des normands. Nous y allons pour y confesser, precher et y chanter la grande messe" (letter of P. Robert Saulger, Constantinople, March 20, 1664, in Carayon, *Documents inédits*, 99–100). Saulger was also a historian of the Fifth Crusade. *Sommervogel*, 7:656–58.

349 Frazee, *Catholics and Sultans*, 79–80. Thanks to Vanessa Obaldía for calling attention to this point. Dipratu, however, suggests that the "permission" to build churches might have been merely an interpolation in the Latin version of the Turkish *'ahdname* of 1615. Dipratu, *Regulating Non-Muslim Communities*, 186.

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The eighteenth century proved to be a quieter one than its predecessor, at least until the 1760s. After a severe epidemic in 1707, which carried off close to one-third of Constantinople's population,[350] the waves of plague gradually abated, although Cachod, who was known as *le père des esclaves* (the father of the slaves), succumbed to the disease in 1719.[351]

The first waves of Jesuits to arrive in Constantinople often failed to develop any expertise in the Turkish language.[352] An outstanding exception to this pattern was Franciscus à Mesgnien Meninski (1623–98), the chief translator to the Polish embassy. Meninski's teacher of Turkish in Constantinople was Ali Ufki or Albertus Bobovius (Wojciech Bobowski [1610–65]), a Polish convert to Islam who translated the Bible into Ottoman Turkish.[353] One mysterious figure who probably also knew Turkish is the Jesuit, described as of "Ottoman origin," reported in a letter of Pier Battista Mauri (d.1720), patriarchal vicar, to the cardinals of Propaganda Fide in 1721.[354] However, in 1730 the Alsatian Jesuit Jean-Baptiste Holderman (1694–1730), who had trained French interpreters at the Collège Louis-le-Grand in Paris, published a Turkish grammar, produced in Constantinople by the famous press established in 1726 by Zaid Aga Effendi (dates unknown), son of the Turkish ambassador to France, and Ibrahim Müteferrika (1674–1745).[355] The book, printed from type executed in France, was intended for French translators and interpreters; two hundred copies were also sent to Paris for pupils of Jesuit schools. Holderman's text was

350 Letter of François Tarillon to the count of Pontchartrain, Paris, March 4, 1714, in *Actes des apôtres*, 168.

351 Jacques-Augustin-Marie Crétineau-Joly, *Histoire religieuse, politique et littéraire de la Compagnie de Jésus* (Paris: Jacques Lecoffre, 1859), 5:4. Born in Switzerland in 1657, Cachod had been sent to Constantinople at the request of Cardinal Leopold Kollonich (1631–1707) to care for captives and galley slaves. After a career that included a mission to Armenia, Cachod died a "victim caritatis" caring for plague victims. See *DHCJ*, 1:595; T.W. [Thomas William] M. Marshall, *Christian Missions* (London: Burns & Lambert, 1862), 2:466.

352 Born in Lorraine, Meninski had accompanied the French ambassador to Constantinople in 1653. His *magnum opus*, *Thesaurus linguarum orientalium* was published in 1680. See Tülay Artan, "Imaginary Voyages, Imagined Ottomans: A Gentleman Impostor, the Köprülüs, and Seventeenth-century French Oriental Romances," in *Dimensions of Transformation in the Ottoman Empire from the Late Medieval Age to Modernity*, ed. Seyfi Kenan and Selçuk Akşin Somel (Leiden: Brill, 2021), 54–96, here 61.

353 Elżbieta Święcicka, ed., *Dictionary of Italian–Turkish Language* (*1641*) *by Giovanni Molino* (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2010), 135n410.

354 This Jesuit is probably one of the three mentioned by Mauri who could preach in Turkish. Binz, "Latin Missionaries and Catholics in Constantinople," 55.

355 Jean Baptiste D. Holderman, *Grammaire turque, ou méthode courte et facile pour apprendre la langue* (Constantinople: Müteferrika, 1730).

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the first work to provide Latin equivalents to Arabic letters.[356] Holderman's project, which used Latin terminology and grammatical structure, exemplifies the shift in direction of the Society's enterprises in the eighteenth century away from aggressive proselytizing and toward scholarly or scientific products that might be employed to achieve conversions but were also contributions to general knowledge, transcending confessional boundaries.[357] During the next twelve years, the Müteferrika press produced seventeen titles, among them a Turkish translation of the *Chronicon peregrinantis* (The chronicle of a pilgrim) of Judasz Tadeusz Krusinski (1675–1756), the Jesuit procurator in Isfahan.[358]

For some Jesuits in other parts of the Ottoman Empire, Constantinople seemed like a much more desirable place to work—and perhaps some Jesuits also hoped to achieve martyrdom. Giovanni Battista Eliano (1530–89), a Jesuit laboring in Lebanon, complained in 1578 that his superior, Tommaso Raggio (1531–99), could not wait to preach in Constantinople, although it does not seem that he ever got there.[359] This city could also function as a distant "Babylon" of captivity in narratives told of Jesuit sacrifice: Father Dominicus Langó (1635–97) was even carried as a prisoner from Hungary to the capital, from whence he was later liberated.[360] Ultimately, the Jesuit presence in Ottoman lands remained tenuous: missions to Trebizond and other territories to the east of Constantinople bore little fruit, and this lack of success also affected the Jesuit mission to the capital, which appears less frequently in the Society's records.[361]

Ruđer Bošković (1711–87), the famed Croatian scientist, spent several months in Constantinople in 1761–62, where he had hoped to conduct astronomical observations, and during which time he was recovering from an infection to

356 Vefa Erginbaş, "Enlightenment in the Ottoman Context: İbrahim Müteferrika and His Intellectual Landscape," in *Historical Aspects of Printing and Publishing in Languages of the Middle East*, ed. Geoffrey Roper (Leiden: Brill, 2014), 55–100, here 69.

357 Dialogues that Holdermann provided were criticized for being "very inaccurate," although they proved useful to later scholars. Geoffrey Lewis, "English Writers on the Turkish Language, 1670–1832," *Journal of Ottoman Studies* 7–8 (1988): 83–96, here 95.

358 *Tarih-i seyyah der Geyan-ı zuhur-ı Agvaniyan ve sebeb-i inhidam-ı bina-i devlet-i şahan-ı Sefeviyan* (Istanbul: Dar üt-Tıbaat ül-Mamure, 1729); Andrew J. Newman, *Safavid Iran: Rebirth of a Persian Empire* (New York: I.B. Tauris, 2009), 147.

359 Robert John Clines, *A Jewish Jesuit in the Eastern Mediterranean: Early Modern Conversion, Mission, and the Construction of Identity* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2020), 109.

360 *Elogia defunctorum IV*, MS 1, Ab 140, p. 94, Eötvös Loránd Tudományegyetem Egyetemi Levéltára, Budapest.

361 Philippe Lusier, "Présence des jésuites en Turquie au XIX^{e} et au XX^{e} siècle," *Mélanges de l'école française de Rome* 110, no. 2 (1998): 783–94, here 784–85.

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his leg.[362] Bošković, who often showed more sympathy for the ways of Muslims than for those of Eastern Christians, admired the Turkish gardens and palaces of the city, but found the paper images of the saints in the homes of the Greek Orthodox he visited to be "badly done, and hideous as well" (*mauvaises et aussi hideuses*).[363]

News that the French court had dissolved the Society reached Constantinople shortly before June 3, 1764. Notably, a letter of that date, written by the Jesuits "of the Levant," seeking merciful treatment from the French ambassador, makes no mention of Constantinople.[364] Perhaps there were no longer Jesuits resident in that city. In the aftermath of *Dominus ac Redemptor noster*, the papal breve of July 21, 1773 that suppressed the Society, a former Jesuit made a significant contribution to our understanding of Ottoman intellectual life. Giovanni Battista Toderini (1728–99) formerly a professor in Italian universities, traveled with an ambassador of Venice to Constantinople in 1781 and soon thereafter published an account of Turkish literature and music, including descriptions of libraries in Constantinople, the first work of its kind produced by a western, Christian scholar.[365]

The pre-suppression Jesuit presence in Constantinople thus defies easy categorization: over almost two centuries, it varied in terms of national origin, scale, and visibility, as well as in the purpose of the mission itself. At one point, the Society's activities were being directed by the brand-new Propaganda Fide. Jesuits even participated in a papal legation at the Sublime Porte during the turbulent years of the early eighteenth century. Unlike the Society's missions to Beijing and the court of Akbar, Jesuits in Constantinople for a long time steered clear of overt engagement with the dominant culture, let alone posing, as Matteo Ricci (1552–1610) had, as scholars well versed in that culture. This was in part because of the Porte's view of Western Europe as a threat, and because of the great danger faced by apostates from Islam. But the Society's commitment to working for the reunion of Orthodox Christians with Rome was also a factor: the conversion of even a portion of the Ottoman Empire to Catholicism seemed a distant dream, while the series of Greek Catholic churches that had appeared after 1595 held out the possibility that Orthodox Christians under Ottoman rule might join them. Yet in Constantinople Jesuits made relatively

362 Larry Wolff, *Inventing Eastern Europe: The Map of Civilization on the Mind of the Enlightenment* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1994), 172.

363 Ruđer Bošković, *Journal d'un voyage de Constantinople en Pologne* [...] *par le R.P. Joseph* [sic] *Boscowich* (Lausanne: Grasset, 1772), 13.

364 *Documents inédits pour servir à l'histoire du christianisme en orient* (*XVI^e–XIX^e siècle*), ed. Antoine Rabbath (Paris: Picard, 1910), 2:590–91.

365 Giovanni Battista Toderini, *Letteratura turchesca, dell'abate Giambatista* [sic] *Toderini* (Venice: Storti, 1787).

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little headway on this front, either. The significance of the Society's mission to the Ottoman capital for Christian–Muslims relations is found in the curiosity and alertness with which Jesuits such as Mancinelli had approached the city, willing, despite the pervasive anti-Muslim polemics generated within the Society, to appreciate what they encountered. That this approach did not bear lasting fruit says much about the later baroque culture of the Society, where concern over purity of blood and theological quarrels remained distractions.

8.2 *Malta and Beyond*

Malta was also an outpost of the Society where contact with Muslims took place. For the entire pre-suppression period, the island was ruled by the Order of Saint John as a vassal state of the Kingdom of Sicily. As with Constantinople, there were very early plans for the Jesuits to come to Malta, but these were delayed for almost twenty years.[366] The Jesuits arrived in Malta in 1592 at the request of the pope to open a college with the right of conferring academic degrees. The Collegium Melitense taught Arabic, reflecting the widespread view that native speakers of Maltese were especially well placed to learn this cognate Semitic language.[367] Yet Jesuit efforts to use the Maltese language as a stepping stone for engagement with Arabic-speaking populations elsewhere did not include the translation of the Qur'an into any European language, perhaps because the Qur'an was on the Index librorum prohibitorum.[368] It was hoped that once trained as missionaries, Maltese graduates of the college could be sent *in partes infidelium* (in the regions of the infidels) to preach the Gospel. Closer to home, the majority of the slave population of Malta was Muslim and could be readily proselytized. The neighboring island of Pantelleria was also the object of a Jesuit mission in 1611, which utilized the similarities of the Pantellerian and Maltese dialects.[369] These more immediate tasks eventually became the most important part of the Jesuit mission on Malta.

366 Ignatius himself had made efforts to launch a collegium in Malta as early as 1554. Carmel Cassar, "Malta and the Study of Arabic in the Sixteenth to the Nineteenth Centuries," *Turkish Historical Review* 2 (2011): 125–54, here 130–31.

367 Cassar, "Collegium Melitense," 449. In the early decades of the Society, there was considerable confusion regarding the differences among Semitic languages: the *Constitutions* asserted, "among Moors or Turks, Arabic or Aramaic would be the convenient [language of proselytizing]." *Constitutions*, const. 449 (authors' translation).

368 The Qur'an, in Bibliander's edition, first appeared on the Index of 1559. Alexander Bevilacqua, *The Republic of Arabic Letters: Islam and the European Enlightenment* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2018), 236.

369 Muslims continued to inhabit Pantelleria until the late fifteenth century, and the Jesuit mission may have encountered vestiges of this belief system. Julie Taylor, *Muslims in Medieval Italy: The Colony at Lucera* (Lanham, MD: Lexington Books, 2005), 78.

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One of the most notable Jesuits associated with the Malta mission was the Maronite Pietro Metoscita (1569–1625). Metoscita arrived in Malta in late 1614 en route to the Levant and returned after traveling as far as "Babylon."[370] He had been denied the opportunity to join the Society's mission in Constantinople, ostensibly because he was not a good enough preacher, although internal politics may also have played a role. Metoscita later wrote a grammar of the Arabic language that uses both Arabic and Latin terminology and transliterations of Arabic phrases.

Although he lingered in Malta no longer than Metoscita, Athanasius Kircher (1602–80) deserves mention in any survey of Jesuit encounters with Islam. Kircher's interests were staggeringly broad: he collected Arabic manuscripts and corresponded with a princely convert (or prospective convert) from Islam who requested a treatise in Arabic against the Qur'an.[371] Kircher, whose role on Malta was confessor to the Landgrave Friedrich of Hesse-Darmstadt (1616–82), claims that while on Malta in 1637–38 he built a machine called the "Specula Melitensis Encyclica" (The mirror of the Maltese rotary machine), a multi-purpose device that charted horoscopes, made calendar calculations, and, most mystifyingly, condensed elements of cabalistic knowledge into a single cube.[372] The Maltese connection to this apparatus was further developed when Kircher published a description of his invention that credited the prior general of the Order of St. John, Salvatore Imbroll (d.1655), a native of the island, as a co-inventor.[373]

When Kircher visited the cave dwellers of Ghar il-Kbir (The Great Cave) (a name that he records in Arabic), he found that they were Catholics and that they attended Mass in "Arabic" in neighboring villages. Kircher wrote that the language of the troglodytes was "purely the Arabic tongue, without any admixture of Italian or other languages" (*linguâ Arabicâ purâ sine ulla italicae linguae alteriusve mixtura*).[374] In 1639, a year after Kircher departed Malta, the Society was expelled from the territory.[375]

370 *Institutiones linguae Arabicae ex diuersis Arabum monumentis collectae* [...] *Auctore Metro Metoscita* (Rome: Apud Stephanum Paulinum, 1624).

371 John Edward Fletcher, *A Study of the Life and Works of Athanasius Kircher, "Germanus Incredibilis,"* ed. Elizabeth Fletcher (Leiden: Brill, 2011), illustration 2.

372 Emanuel Buttigieg, "Knights, Jesuits, Carnival, and the Inquisition in Seventeenth-Century Malta," *Historical Journal* 55, no. 3 (2012): 571–96, here 572.

373 Athanasius Kircher, *Specula Melitensis encyclica, hoc est, syntagma novum instrumentorum physico-mathematicorum* (Naples: Typis Secundini Roncogliolo, 1638). Curiously, Kircher, always fond of diagrams to explain his points, provides no illustrations of his invention.

374 Athanasius Kircher, *Mundus subterraneus, in XII libros digestus* [...] (Amsterdam: Joannem Janssonium, 1665), 4, 98.

375 Joe Zammit-Ciantar, "The Expulsion of the Jesuits from Malta in 1639," *Symposia Melitensia* 1 (2004): 1–30.

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Kircher's employment of Arabic type in his account of Ghar il-Kbir had a long pedigree in the Society, which had undertaken a serious approach to the replication of the Arabic language in type as early as 1564, when Eliano was entrusted with the task of acquiring Oriental types for the typography of the Roman College.[376] Kircher's engagement with Arabic and specifically with Qur'anic Arabic continued this use of Arabic typefaces, culminating in the section of his book *Oedipus Aegyptiacus* on the "Saracen Cabala."[377] Kircher reiterates the story that the monk Sergius, contemporary of Muhammad, assisted in the creation of the Qur'an.[378] This connection was also made by Jesuit Arabist Ignazio Lomellini, whom we shall meet in Part 9. Kircher played an important role in the world of Arabist scholarship, even if his strengths in this area were not great. In 1645, he was on the team of experts that assessed the authenticity of the Lead Books.

Another Jesuit who spent time both in Constantinople and on Malta was Jérôme Queyrot (Quiritio [?–1655]), who was transferred to the Ottoman capital in 1621.[379] Queyrot went on to Nazareth and then Aleppo, where he founded a school in 1629. Of probably greater influence was the Spanish Jesuit Emmanuele Sanz (1646–1719), who served as a missionary in Malta for many years and served as a confessor to the knights there. Sanz produced a handbook for the conversion of Muslim slaves, and his analysis of Islam was an added reminder to Catholics who lived on the border between two worlds of their identity, continually threatened by internal and external dangers posed by the falsity of the "evil sect of the Alcoran."[380]

Malta's function in the Jesuit network of outposts was important, but its situation was frequently unstable. The Society could send men the stature of

376 Aurélien Girard, "Teaching and Learning Arabic in Early Modern Rome: Shaping a Missionary Language," in Loop, Hamilton, and Burnett, *Teaching and Learning of Arabic*, 189–212, here 194. This type has been described as "transitional" and was the only Arabic type in use in Europe between the printing of the Qur'an in 1537–38 and Robert Granjon's (1513–89/90) Arabic type of 1580. Emanuela Conidi, "Arabic Types in Europe and the Middle East, 1514–1924: Challenges in the Adaptation of the Arabic Script from Written to Printed Form" (PhD diss., University of Reading, 2018), 284.

377 Athanasius Kircher, *Oedipus Aegyptiacus* [...] *Pars prima* (Rome: Ex Typographia Vitalis Mascardi, 1653), 362. Kircher's command of Arabic seems somewhat doubtful, as he begins his discussion attributing the origin of the word "Saracen" (which is derived from the Arabic word for "east") to the Arabic word سارق, meaning thief.

378 Sergius Bahira figures in stories by early Christian critics of the Qur'an who claimed that Muhammad received religious instruction from this heretical personality. Muhammad Hafeez ur Rehman and Hafiz Muhammad Sajjad, "Christian Account of the Story of Baḥīra (Sergius the Monk): Analysis of Aruguments [*sic*]," *Peshawar Islamicus* 9, no. 1 (2018): 37–54.

379 Cassar, "Collegium Melitense," 454. Queyrot could preach in French, Greek, Italian, and Arabic. Dursteler, "Education and Identity," 299.

380 See here Part 5 and Colombo, "'La setta malvaggia dell'alcorano.'"

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Kircher on brief assignments on the island and might also make plans to carry its missions beyond Malta, but the politics surrounding the knights and relations with the church hierarchy on the Italian mainland hampered the development of the mission. Once the idea of using Malta as a departure point for missions to North Africa had lost much of its appeal, the island's importance for the Society receded. When the Society was expelled in 1768, the twenty-eight Jesuits who remained were deported.[381]

9 Two Jesuit Scholars and Arabic Studies: Ignazio Lomellini and Tomás de León

As shown by the case of Kircher, Jesuit interactions with the Muslim world were not limited to polemical literature and missionary activity. Since its beginnings, the Society of Jesus, like many other Catholic religious orders, endeavored to study the Arabic language, the Qur'an, and Muslims' religious habits. Their efforts were part of a broader movement that developed in early modern Europe. None of the Jesuits reached the same levels of accuracy and erudition in Islamic studies of some members of other religious orders, such as the Cleric Regular Minor Filippo Guadagnoli (1596–1656) or the Cleric Regular of the Mother of God Ludovico Marracci (1612–1700). However, the multiplicity of the pioneering Jesuit projects to teach Arabic, translate and publish books with Arabic typefaces, and study and translate the Qur'an is impressive and deserves to be studied in more depth.[382]

This Part examines the work of two Jesuit scholars in Arabic studies: the Italian Jesuit Ignazio Lomellini and the Spanish Jesuit Tomás de León.

9.1 *Ignazio Lomellini: One Jesuit's Engagement with the Qur'an*

While in many ways an outlier, the Latin translation of and commentary on the Qur'an by the Jesuit Ignazio Lomellini sheds light on the broader features of Jesuit encounters with Islam.[383] Born in about 1560 in Genoa to the high nobility, Lomellini entered the Society in 1588 and had an unremarkable career as a Jesuit, spent mostly in Rome, and, as far as is known, he never traveled to a Muslim-majority or Arabic-speaking region. In 1622, he completed

381 *DHCJ*, 3:2488–90, here 2490.

382 Poggi, "Arabismo gesuita nei secoli XVI–XVIII," 339–72.

383 For a masterful overview of earlier Qur'anic translations, see Thomas Burman, *Reading the Qur'ān in Latin Christendom, 1140–1560* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2007).

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a manuscript that includes a Latin Qur'an translation, a transcription of the Arabic text, and extensive commentaries and marginalia.[384] This work, dedicated to Cardinal Alessandro Orsini (1592–1626), was never published, and the sole surviving autograph manuscript still seems some distance from a fair copy. The Arabic transcription, however, is notably free from errors.

Lomellini's translation, despite some egregious errors, is ultimately quite accurate, and his commentaries are of particular value for the insights that they provide into the thought and modes of expression of Lomellini's Jesuit contemporaries when considering Islam. We do not know exactly for whom these commentaries were intended, although the audience clearly would not have been Muslim. Lomellini included citations from classical Pagan authors such as Horace (65–8 BCE), as well as from patristic writers—he was apparently appealing to an educated audience, much as Jesuit school playwrights flattered their audiences with references to classical mythology and history. The translator seems unaware or unwilling to use hadiths or commentaries by Muslim scholars in his project.

Lomellini's efforts to translate the names of animals and plants are not among the most successful aspects of this document. When confronted with سِدْرَة, the lote or blackthorn tree mentioned at 53:18, he can only offer a series of guesses: "apud anacanthum seu tabaccu' vel mala' punica'" The first term, literally "without spines," does not appear in standard late Latin reference works; tobacco is not native to the eastern hemisphere, although it was well known in Lomellini's day. The *malum punicum* (Carthaginian apple) is the pomegranate attested by Pliny (23/24–79 CE). Most remarkably, Lomellini does not know the Arabic translation for elephant, merely transliterating the Arabic.

One of the most impressive aspects of Lomellini's undertaking is the translator's approach to the "Disjointed Letters" (*ḥurūf muqaṭṭaʿāt*) that appear at the beginning of many surahs. Many translators, including the renowned Ludovico Marracci, make no attempt to explain them, but Lomellini understands them to be abbreviations for attributes of Allah (which, significantly, he always translates "deus"). At the beginning of Surah 42, Lomellini interprets the letters ع س ق as "Benign, glorious, wise, hearing an enduring" (*benignus gloriosus sapiens audiens et persistens*), apparently deriving the meaning from Arabic words starting with each of these letters.[385] On another occasion, Lomellini understands the attributes of God in the *ḥurūf muqaṭṭaʿāt* to be

384 The full title and shelf mark of the work are *Animadversiones, notae ac disputationes in pestilentem Alcoranum* (MS A-IV-4) Biblioteca Universitaria Genova (hereafter *Animadversiones*).

385 *Animadversiones*, fol. 281ᵛ.

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articulated by God himself. While not an endorsement of the portrayal of Allah in the Qur'an, Lomellini's willingness to articulate the Muslim understanding of God in terms so positive and compatible with the Christian understanding is notable.[386]

On the other hand, the translator seems unaware or indifferent to the gaps between European Christian culture and Islamic societies. In Surah 18 is a reference to Dhul-Qarnayn ("He of the Two Horns"), a character probably based on Alexander the Great (356–323 BCE). Lomellini takes in terms entirely dependent on Western European cultural referents that associate a horned male with the disgrace of cuckoldry. That Lomellini does not know or care that this connection is not found in Muslim societies is a clear signal as to whom his comments are intended.

Occasionally, there are hints as to Lomellini's sources. His transcription of 1:6 (which he combines with that of 1:7) concludes with "amen," which does not appear in standard texts of the Qur'an but is sometimes pronounced when Muslims offer Surah 1 as a prayer. He transcribes آمين with a kasra below the meem and translates it as *amen*.[387] Lomellini's informant, if he had one, may have been a formerly practicing Muslim but not necessarily a scholar.

Justifiably proud of his own erudition, Lomellini occasionally notes his recourse to sources in Aramaic, and even to writings in Syriac.[388] He also makes use of Greek sources, but the bulk of his references are from the Vulgate and patristic authors. Thomas Aquinas (1224/25–74), who had accused the Prophet of seducing his followers with promises of carnal pleasure, is another frequently cited authority. Avicenna (980–1037) also makes an appearance.

After being part of the collection of the renowned Orientalist Silvestre de Sacy (1758–1838) (who inserted a description in French of the manuscript into the codex), the Lomellini manuscript languished unnoticed in an Italian library until the middle of the twentieth century, when it caught the attention of the Arabist Giorgio Levi della Vida (1886–1967). Lomellini's translation did not influence any subsequent translations, and the Jesuit's years of work on it are not even mentioned in the Society's records. Yet this document is of considerable value for the "snapshot" it provides of a translation in progress and raises fascinating questions about the number and quality of Qur'anic manuscripts available at that time in Rome: Lomellini had access to four. Lomellini's

386 In this connection, the position of Lomellini's Jesuit contemporary, Ignacio de Las Casas, is notable: the latter asserted that it was a dangerous practice to use Islamic terms for Christian concepts. García-Arenal and Rodríguez Mediano, *Orient in Spain*, 40–41.

387 *Animadversiones*, fol. 9r.

388 *Animadversiones*, fol. 299v.

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analogizing from Hebrew to Arabic when confronted with Qur'anic terms he does not know is also evidence of the strategies used by Jesuits as they sought to build on the knowledge already at hand to interpret and understand new data. His project also hints at an intellectual environment vitally concerned with theological disputes but isolated from Islam as a way of life, where the theories of Pythagoras (*c.*570–*c.*495 BCE) are of greater interest than events in Arabian history.

Pythagoras in fact seems of particular interest to Lomellini, as does Aristotle (384–322 BCE). The translator also strives to connect Plato's teachings with ideas found in the Hebrew scriptures: Lomellini's choice of sources to bolster his commentaries also includes more recent personalities. Among these is Andrés.[389] The translator also makes use of the Andalusian scholar Averroes (1126–98), Latin translations of whose writings had been quoted by Jesuit teachers.

A distinctive feature of Lomellini's manuscript is his employment of Rabbinical sources to bolster his refutations of the Qur'an. Among these are the Targum Yerushalmi, later known as the Targum Pseudo-Yonathan, published sometime before the fourteenth century, which begins with the words "in wisdom." Lomellini utilized Talmudic literature as well, as his marginalia reveal.[390] Again in marginalia, we find a reference to the tenth tractate of Seder V (Kodashim) of the Mishnah, written by Rabbeinu Yechiel Ben Yekuthiel (*fl. c.*1300), one of the Rishonimi. Among the topics it addresses are dress codes and the construction of the temple.

The marginalia in this manuscript fall into three occasionally overlapping categories: theological points, lexical/linguistic details, and references to as yet unidentified works in Arabic and Latin. One Arabic-language work that Lomellini references is *Al-qāmūs a-muḥīṭ* (The surrounding ocean, which he spells "Camuts"), a dictionary compiled in the fourteenth century by Muhammad bin Yaqub Al-Fayruzabadi, copies of which were then in the Vatican Library. In addition, marginalia suggest that the translator may have had access to a few Arabic texts such as *Mukhtaṣar tā'rīkh al-bashar* (Brief history of man) by Abū al-Fidā (1273–1331). Another hint of an Arabic source used by Lomellini appears in his translation of Surah 46:20 (recte 46:21), where he transliterates "بالأحقافِ" in *Alehheqaphi* adding *vel in collibus arenosis* (or in the sandy hills).[391] This noun appears only here and as the title of Surah 46, and its

389 On Juan Andrés, see here Part 5n190 and Part 7n291.

390 For example, marginalia at fol. 222^{v}, "Desuper est autori[?] argumentum hoc ex Talmud p. Folio 116" (Earlier, the author is drawing his argument from the Talmud, p., fol. 116).

391 *Animadversiones*, fol. 289^{v}.

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root ح ق ف is associated with the base of a mountain and with curved sand dunes, but not with the Arabic noun for sand, رمال, suggesting that the translator consulted some non-Qur'anic source referencing this event.

In the marginalia, Lomellini provides a very early rough "concordance" of Qur'anic passages, although his associative processes are not always clear. An as yet unexplained feature of Lomellini's transcription, and thus of his translation, is the sometimes wide divergence between the number of *āyāt* (verses) he identifies in a surah and the number generally accepted today. In the case of Surah 56, the Cairo edition of 1924 has ninety-six *āyāt*; Lomellini divides it into fifty-one.

If Lomellini's translation aims at fidelity, and his marginal notes to himself demonstrate wide learning,[392] his commentaries reveal an *ad hominem* rejection of the Prophet and his message: in commentary to Surah 18, we are given a vision of Muhammad in hell.[393] Lomellini is prepared to believe the worst possible interpretation of more obscure passages, and even stretched plausibility with some of his interpretations of Qur'anic passages. At 2:131 (*recte* 2:127), Lomellini writes in the commentary "the noun قَوَاعِدَ in this text signifies buttocks" and goes on to denounce this "ridiculous" passage.[394] But other translators virtually unanimously understand the Arabic to mean "foundation of a building."

In his marginalia, Lomellini repeatedly references the work of Guadagnoli, a member of the Minor Regular Clerics, who would later produce an Arabic translation of the Bible.[395] According to della Vida, Lomellini acted as censor of Guadagnoli's *Considerationes ad Mahometanos* (Considerations [offered] to Muslims [Rome: Propaganda Fide, 1649]).[396]

In Lomellini's critique of the Qur'an, as expressed in the commentaries, we gain a glimpse into the academic culture of the Society of Jesus. The translator focuses much more on the Prophet (whom he calls an "author") than on Islam as a religious or ethical system. He may have used this approach because he had little first-hand knowledge of Islam as practiced and because his intended

392 Yet there is also evidence that Lomellini took a word-for-word approach on many occasions. Instructions in the *Ratio* for the teaching of biblical Hebrew, for instance, place primary emphasis on the accurate interpretation of the "original words of Holy Writ"; grammar is accorded a secondary role. Allan P. Farrell, trans., *The Jesuit* Ratio studiorum *of 1599* (Washington, DC: Conference of Major Superiors of Jesuits, 1970), 32–33.

393 *Animadversiones*, fol. 220v.

394 *Animadversiones*, fol. 39r.

395 For the contributions of this order to the study of Middle Eastern languages, see Girard, "Teaching and Learning," 195–96.

396 Levi della Vida, *Aneddoti e svaghi arabi e non arabi* (Milan: Riccardo Ricciardi, 1959), 205n35. The writers have been unable to verify this claim.

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audience was in a similar position. In seeking to show that Muhammad was either uneducated or of low social class, the translator echoes the agonistic setting of the Jesuit classroom, where boys would engage in linguistic combat before an audience of their peers. Thus, we find in the commentary on Surah 26:1–8, "Haec Alcorani signa, nota lippis et tonsoribus";[397] the phrase is from Horace, *Satires* 1, 7 (although as a proverb it may predate him) and literally means "known to the bleary eyed and the barbers." Although Lomellini apparently did not advertise his translation project, his intended audience may well have included his fellow Jesuits, as well as cultured members of Orsini's circle.

Lomellini's manuscript makes only one reference to its author interacting with a Muslim. He reports that in 1598, a "certain Turk" in Genoa asked him about the Christian faith.[398] Lomellini's answer, as he reports it, draws on natural law, and we do not learn if the Muslim was persuaded. The episode suggests the frequently formulaic quality of Jesuit proselytizing efforts, as well as the highly opportunistic ways in which they occurred.

While ultimately very little is known about Lomellini's motives for embarking on a project that took years to complete, we should keep in mind the institutional culture that produced the Society's self-presentation in the *Imago primi saeculi* (Image of the first century).[399] In this celebratory volume, Jesuit mastery of languages was linked to a complex emblematic program expressing the motto "Unus non sufficit orbis" (one world is not enough). Jesuit study of even a "ridiculous" work such as the Qurʾan was both an exercise in discipline and a demonstration of mastery of a language, and, by implication, of the cultures that used the language. Lomellini's translation and commentaries form one side of an imagined debate with his interlocutor, the Prophet Muhammad. And while the subject under consideration is theological, there is also the flavor of male-to-male verbal combat evident in so many other Jesuit engagements of the time. Thus, several influences are present in Lomellini's ambitious undertaking: as the example of Kircher's attempted translation of the Nestorian stele demonstrates, a sincere effort by a Jesuit to translate a text does not exclude the influence of doctrinal polemic.[400]

We may draw several conclusions from Lomellini's undertaking. First, the Jesuit culture of translation in the seventeenth century had developed to the

397 *Animadversiones*, fol. 245^{v}. The phrase also appears in the commentary to Surah 2:119 (*Animadversiones*, fol. 35^{v}).

398 Commentary on 2:62.

399 *Imago primi saeculi Societatis Iesu* (Antwerp: Ex officina Plantiniana Balthasaris Moreti, 1640).

400 Timothy Billings, "Jesuit Fish in Chinese Nets: Athanasius Kircher and the Translation of the Nestorian Tablet," *Representations* 87, no. 1 (2004): 1–42.

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point where a solitary scholar, when provided with sufficient "cover" by a patron or patrons, could produce a lengthy and serious translation from a difficult language for which there were few supporting written resources.[401] Second, while the use of Latin grammar when applied to translating non-European languages such as Arabic was a limiting and even distorting influence, Latin as a language into which these languages were translated was still a vital and effective means of communication in the seventeenth century. Although it was never published, Lomellini's commentary conveys a range of reactions to the Qur'an in supple and effective polemical language. His intended readers would have known Latin poets such as Horace and Vergil (70–19 BCE) well enough to recognize his use of them in his commentaries. Finally, the translation itself suggests how the Society, while renowned for its literary networks and coordinated projects, was also made up of solitary men working on linguistic products without the support or even knowledge of their superiors. The dead end in which Lomellini's manuscript ultimately landed is testimony to the key role of patrons such as Orsini: when such patrons vanished, the project was often in jeopardy.

9.2 *Serious Searcher for Remote Knowledge: Tomás de León*

The career of Tomás de León (Dillon) presents a very different picture from that of Lomellini.[402] Born in Ireland of what were described as "very noble parents," he was educated in Spain, joined the Society at the age of fourteen, and taught in colleges in Seville (where he was a professor of logic) and Granada. At some later point, he was also in Rome. Although frequently employed as a legal expert, León was especially famed for his linguistic abilities, having mastered Hebrew and Arabic in addition to the classical languages prescribed by the *Ratio*.[403] In an age of polymaths, León could justly lay claim to the title, being distinguished in mathematics, astrology, alchemy, and medicine.[404] He also made a foray into the field of numismatics, writing a treatise arguing that ceremonial coins given by Spanish bridegrooms to their brides were in fact of

401 For the background of this idea, see Peter Burke, "The Jesuits and the Art of Translation in Early Modern Europe," in *The Jesuits II: Cultures, Sciences, and the Arts, 1540–1773*, ed. John W. O'Malley et al. (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2005), 24–32.

402 *Sommervogel*, 4:1697.

403 García-Arenal and Rodríguez Mediano, *Orient in Spain*, 310.

404 De León left a manuscript on alchemy now in the Repositorio Institucional de la Universidad de Granada. He was also interested in Arabic magic.

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Hebrew origin.[405] Kircher made use of León's research in the former's *Oedipus Aegyptiacus*.[406] The holder of a chair in the Colegio de San Pablo in Granada, and also of appointments in Seville and Cádiz, León's extensive surviving correspondence paints a picture of a well-connected academic who counted among his students at least one Arab *ṭālib* (student). León was even able to draw on a *Nomenclador copto-arabico* (Coptic–Arabic word list) in his efforts to interpret the name *cacit Almitran*.[407] Yet in Granada this passion for Arabic was an oddity; few agreed with León that Arabic-language sources should be used when writing a history of Spain. The Jesuit took on other positions with political consequences. He rejected the legend that St. Hierotheus, a protégé of the Apostle Paul, had been the first bishop of Segovia.[408] Less controversial was León's skepticism regarding an inscription on a "magic seal" that León had sent Kircher and that had perhaps originated in Palestine. This object had been owned by a nobleman interested in arcane studies, and Miguel de Luna (*c.*1550–1619), a Morisco physician who was also involved in the interpretation of the parchment of the Torre Turpiana, had set about translating it, maintaining that the inscription was in Arabic. León's verdict was that the characters were "ancient Punic, corrupted by the Goths."[409] There was also an idol whose inscription had been interpreted as Arabic, but that León concluded was a fraud.

As we have seen in Part 3, the Lead Books of Sacromonte, first discovered between 1595 and 1606, had been shipped to Rome in 1645, where they were studied for decades.[410] Charged in 1683 with defending their authenticity, and paid the considerable sum of one hundred ducats annually, León gladly took up the commission and continued to study the books until his death. León was a good enough scholar to recognize that the books were a fraud, yet as

405 De León was mistaken, as the origin of this custom more probably originated in Christian espousal rites.

406 Fernando Rodríguez Mediano, "Fragmentos de Orientalismo Español de s. XVII," *Hispania* 66, no. 222 (2007): 243–75, here 273.

407 De León to Martin Vasquez Siruela, Granada, October 18, 1653, in *Bibliotheca Hispana vetus, sive Hispanorum* […] *auctore D. Nicolao Antonio* (Rome: Ex Typographia Antonii de Rubeis, 1696), 358–61, here 358.

408 Gregorio Mayans y Siscar, "Concordia y discordia cultural hispano-europea: Ilustración e Historia. Sobre los orígenes del criticismo histórico en España," Biblioteca Valenciana Digital https://bivaldi.gva.es/es/corpus/unidad.do?p&posicion=1&idCorpus=20000&idUnidad=56623 (accessed November 18, 2022).

409 Kircher nonetheless accepted the seal as genuine. *Oedipus Aegyptiacus*, 4:481.

410 A final decision on their authenticity was not given until 1682. García-Arenal, "Religious Identity of the Arabic Language," 498.

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García-Arenal and Mediano observe, "he was committed to the Sacromonte cause."[411] An expert on other Semitic languages such as Syriac, León authored an Arabic–Castilian dictionary and a commentary on the Hebrew and Arabic languages, both of which survive in manuscript form.[412]

Lomellini and León present different faces of Orientalism than the one associated with their contemporaries Thomas Erpenius (1584–1624), Giovanni Battista Raimondi (1536–1614), and William Bedwell (1561–1632).[413] Lomellini's solitary undertaking, which shows virtually no influence from contemporary Arabists, and had no influence on later Arabists, represents one aspect of this Orientalism, one that generally looks backward and relies on biblical languages for comparison and analogy with Arabic.[414] León, directly engaged with one of the most important controversies of his day, considered himself to be a part of a "Catholic Republic of Letters"[415] and maintained an extensive correspondence with the Marquis de Mondéjar (1628–1708), one of the leaders of the reform of Spanish historiography. León was also aware of the Arabic studies of Johann Heinrich Hottinger (1620–67) and Wilhelm Schickard (1592–1635) but did not correspond with the former.[416] Yet this Jesuit was continually drawn away from Orientalist studies by his responsibilities as a sought-after scholar of theology and law, much as some of his Jesuit contemporaries were distracted from writing by teaching, preaching, and other duties. In León's studies and cultivation of relationships with others who shared his interests, we sense more than dispassionate intellectual curiosity; there is also the attraction to arcane knowledge and its remote origins, a passion he shared with Kircher but not with many others with whom he had face-to-face relationships. In fact,

411 García-Arenal and Rodríguez Mediano, *Orient in Spain*, 620. The fact that Tirso González, soon to be elected superior general of the Society, believed in the authenticity of the books, may be relevant here.

412 Darío Cabanelas, "Vocabulario arábigo castellano y arábigo–latino inédito," *Miscelánea de estudios Árabes y Hebraicos* 27–28 (1978–79): 209–14.

413 See Bernard Heyberger's delineation of Orientalism in the early modern period: "L'Orient et l'islam dans l'érudition européenne du XVII[e] siècle," *Dix-septième siècle* 3, no. 268 (2015): 495–508.

414 The one known reference to Lomellini's study of Arabic in the correspondence of his contemporaries has been identified by Chiara Petrolini, to whom this writer is indebted: in 1627, Sebastiano Fortiguerra (dates unknown) wrote to Sebastian Tengnagel (1573–1636) for information about an "indiculam librorum, quos ex Oriente possidet P. Lomellinus" (index of books from the East, which Father Lomellini possesses). This index has not yet been located.

415 While de León may not have coined the term, he used it in his own correspondence. García-Arenal and Rodríguez Mediano, *Orient in Spain*, 323n44.

416 Rodríguez Mediano, "Fragmentos de orientalismo español," 271.

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León the Arabist was far less engaged with the Arabic texts of his adopted home, Spain, than with materials and questions arising from the Near East.

Wherever he could, León sought to defend Arabic as a legitimate vehicle of the Christian message. He acknowledged Juan Hispalense (*fl.* 1133–53), a bishop of Seville, who had translated the Bible into Arabic.[417] In a letter to Antonio de Araoz (1515–73), León rejected the charge that Arabs were "barbarians" and claimed that the real barbarism occurred when Averroes was badly translated, and when Aristotle was translated first into Arabic, and then from Arabic into Latin.[418]

León's close association with and apparent respect for people of demonstrably non-Christian ancestry seems to set him in the camp of those who regarded personal merit and accomplishment as more important than blood, a not insignificant position for a Jesuit to take during the controversy over *limpieza de sangre*. The horror that de las Casas expressed when encountering Islamic symbolism or theology is absent from León's correspondence. León did write a declaration in 1686 on behalf of the engraver Francisco Heylan (*c.*1584–1635), whose ancestry and purity of blood he praises.[419] León's motivation here, however, may have less to do with belief in "purity of blood" than with the desire to rescue an acquaintance from prejudice. Ultimately, there is more evidence that León's intellectual curiosity trumped his personal or even theological biases. In this respect, he is a more modern figure than Lomellini, whose commentaries reveal a backward gaze toward polemic traditions that within the next century would seem inadequate in addressing the Qur'an. Both Jesuits shared an appreciation of rabbinical literature, although León utilized his Hebrew skills within a scholarly milieu largely free of theological polemic.[420] Together, these two scholars suggest the breadth of the Jesuit response to Islam in the seventeenth century, as well as its limitations.

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417 "Juan Hispalense (siglo IX)," Promotora Española de Lingüística (Proel), n.d., http://www.proel.org/index.php?pagina=traductores/hispalense (accessed November 18, 2022).

418 Cited in Fernando Rodríguez Mediano, "Al-Andalus y la lengua árabe en la España de los siglos de oro," 20n27, https://books.openedition.org/cvz/1369?lang=en#bodyftn24 (accessed November 18, 2022).

419 Cited in Ana María Pérez Galdeano, "Francisco Heylan: Revisión biográfica del calcógrafo e impresor flamenco asentado en Andalucía," *Anales de historia del arte* 24 (2014): 107–33, here 111.

420 Daniel Soukup, "Melchior Hanel (1627–1689) and His Latin Translation of Mishlei Shu'alim in the Context of the Respublica Litteraria," in *Berechiah ben Natronai ha-Naqdan's Works and Their Reception*, ed. Tamás Visi, Tovi Bibring, and Daniel Soukup (Turnhout: Brepols, 2019), 207–21, here 207.

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10 Conclusion: Underground River

The more scholarship on the missions of the Society of Jesus increases, the more the meager measurable results of Jesuit missionary efforts among Muslims in comparison to other fields emerge. In the proceedings of the Jesuits' 1983 Islamic apostolate meeting in Lebanon, one can read the following passage:

> If, since its origins, the Society of Jesus has been less involved with Islam than other religious orders, both in the distant past (comparing Jesuits with Franciscans and Dominicans) and in the more recent past (comparing Jesuits with the White Fathers), we must acknowledge that the "Islamic area" has always been rather marginal in the horizon of the Society. [...] What remains, then, of the Society's missionary endeavor in the Islamic world, when compared with the missions in China, Paraguay, or in Europe towards the Protestants? In the Society, we do not have a solid tradition of relationships with Islam.[421]

While this statement is true if one looks at the results, it seems to undermine the relevance of the relationship with Islam for the identity of the Society of Jesus.

The Jesuit approach toward Islam and Muslims in early modern Europe was often marked by an attitude of strong negativity that was inherited from historical developments: as European Christians, Jesuits were immersed in a long tradition of apologetics and polemics that made them supporters of war against "the Turks." At the same time, they were also open to various forms of adaptation when they had face-to-face encounters with Muslims and were often intrigued by opportunities to study Arabic and Islamic culture.

This double-sided approach varied over time and in different geographical areas, as the case studies considered in these pages show, and it was partly shared by members of other religious orders. For Jesuits, however, this ambivalent attitude had a particularly important value and became a distinctive signature of their approach.

Let's go back to the episode of Ignatius's encounter with the Moor we mentioned at the beginning of this book. It became famous within the Society and was recounted many times, including in Ignatius's biographies and iconographies (such as the 1609 illustrated biography completed in furtherance

421 Louis Pouzet, "Motivations et contributions des jésuites dans les études islamiques," in *Meeting of Jesuits in Islamic Studies: Proceedings and Paper, Sayyidat al-Bi'r, Lebanon, 15–19 June 1983* (Rome: n.p., 1983), 157–69, here 161.

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of Ignatius's cause for beatification), and in sacred dramas about the Society of Jesus.[422]

Even in recent times, references to Ignatius and his desire to convert Muslims can be found in the Society's more recent history. On August 15, 1937, more than four hundred years after the gathering of the first companions, Superior General Włodzimierz Ledóchowski (1866–1942, in office 1915–42) wrote a letter to all the provincials about the Jesuit apostolate in the Muslim world.[423]

Ledóchowski, who had a particular interest in the history of the Society, introduced his letter with a long excursus on Ignatius's approach toward Islam. Beginning with the title "On the Conversion of the Muhammadans," the letter's language does not differ very much from the language used four centuries before by Ignatius:[424]

> This was the first thought of our Holy Father St. Ignatius from the very moment when he felt himself inflamed with apostolic zeal in the retreat at Manresa, namely, to give himself to the conversion of the Mohammedans. For as we all know, when he left Manresa in 1523 to set out for Palestine, he had already decided to spend the rest of his life in the Holy Land and to labor, as far as he could, for the salvation of the infidels, which to him meant the Mohammedans. […] Though this hope was not realized by our Holy Father and his first companions, as first conceived, it never became entirely foreign to their intentions. […] [Ignatius] even thought of founding colleges for this purpose in Sicily and Malta where future missionaries could devote themselves to the study of the Arabic language; if the Society had permitted it, he would very gladly have given the last days of his life to this peaceful and apostolic mission. It was not his fault that the result did not come up to his great expectations.[425]

422 See Pedro de Ribadeneyra, *Vita beati patris Ignatii Loyolae Societatis Iesu fundatoris* (Rome: n.p., 1609), and the modem edition: John W. O'Malley and James P.M. Walsh, eds., *Constructing a Saint through Images: The 1609 Illustrated Biography of Ignatius of Loyola* (Philadelphia: St. Joseph's University Press, 2008).

423 Ledóchowski founded the Institutum Historicum Societatis Iesu and the journal *Archivum historicum Societatis Iesu*, in addition to promoting research and publication on the Society's history. See Giuliano Cassiani Indoni, *P. Wlodimiro Ledochowski: XXVI generale della Compagnia di Gesù, 1866–1942* (Rome: La Civiltà Cattolica, 1945).

424 English translation in Włodzimierz Ledóchowski, "On the Conversion of the Mohammedans. A Letter Addressed to All the Provincials (August 15, 1937)," in *Selected Writings of Father Ledóchowski* (Chicago: American Assistancy of the Society of Jesus, 1945), 718–24.

425 Ledóchowski, "On the Conversion," 718–19.

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Traces of Ignatius's personal experience and desires for his order can be found in the foundational document of the Society, the Formula of the Institute (1539). This document asserted that Jesuits were available to go anywhere—"among the Turks or other unbelievers, even those who live in the region called the Indies, or among any heretics whatever, or schismatics, or any of the faithful."[426] It is interesting to note that "Turks," a word used to define Muslims in general, is listed first in this passage. The rest of the list moves from the farthest "other" to the nearest, from unbelievers in the Indies to faithful Christians in Europe.

Perhaps the Jesuit approach toward Islam can be explained by using the concepts of "far" and "near." Paradoxically, the "farther" away a population was, the greater was its attraction for the Jesuits, and the easier it became for them to imagine the possibility of conversion, as was the case with the Indies, the distant lands that nourished the imaginations of generations of Jesuits. In contrast, non-Catholic people much "closer to home"—such as Lutherans and Calvinists, but also Jews—were often considered a danger to the Catholic Church; they were stubborn heretics and difficult to convert, and the relationship with them was often marked by a warlike approach.

In this geography of souls, what was the place of Muslims? They had a particular role: sometimes they were perceived as near, geographically speaking, so near that they represented a potential danger for the faith.[427] This made it necessary to fight against the approaching "Muhammadan hydra," as Islam was described in the introduction to Tirso González's *Handbook*, to protect the church. At other times, the same Muslims were perceived as being far away in terms of language, habits, and culture, as the Formula of the Institute seems to suggest, and they represented the "other" *par excellence*. With them, it was possible to communicate through the learning of Arabic, the celebration of some aspects of Muslim religiosity, the collaboration of Morisco Jesuits, and some forms of adaptation, as demonstrated by missionary practice and the unexpected example offered by Nadal's defense of Ignatius's *Exercises*. Toward the end of the seventeenth century, Jesuit supposed accommodation toward Islam was also acknowledged by their adversaries, who used it against them.[428]

426 *Regimini militantis ecclesiae*, 3. See Augusto Coemans, *Introducción al estudio de la fórmula del Instituto S.I.* (Rome: Centrum Ignatianum Spiritualis, 1974).

427 Talal Asad, "Muslims and European Identity: Can Europe Represent Islam?," in *Cultural Encounters: Representing "Otherness,"* ed. Elizabeth Hallam and Brian V. Street (London: Routledge, 2000), 11–27.

428 A harsh debate occurred, for instance, in 1694, when the Venetians occupied the Aegean island of Chios and found three hundred Muslim women who claimed to be Catholic but still lived according to the Muslim tradition. An anonymous pamphlet—in fact authored by the Dominican theologian Jacques-Hyacinthe Serry (1659–1738)—accused the Jesuit

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This idea of "far-and-near" has been highlighted by recent scholarship that has referred to Muslims in Europe as "proximate others" or "familiar strangers."[429] For the many Jesuits who dreamed of spending their lives in distant lands, as the thousands of applications to the Indies (the *litterae indipetae*) show, the missions to European cities and countryside were often conceived as being secondary in importance. Preaching to Muslims in Europe, however, was for many of them almost like going to the Indies without crossing the sea.

The conversion of Muslims, because of their special status, was a strong desire of many Jesuit missionaries, and the idea of going "even among Turks" was perceived, within the Society, as much more than a remote possibility. Going on a mission to "the Turks" was a programmatic declaration of the universal horizon of the Society, the result of the indelible trace left by Ignatius's attraction toward the Muslim world. This attraction continued to flow, like a silent underground river, throughout the long history of the Society of Jesus.

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missionaries of Chios of "tolerating" the Islamic beliefs of the women, showing how delicate the boundaries of accommodation were and spurring a theological debate similar to those that developed in the same period in Jesuit missions in China and Malabar. See *Le Mahométisme toléré par les jésuites dans l'isle de Chio* (n.p.: n.p., 1711).

429 Daniel A. Madigan, "Global Visions in Contestation: Jesuits and Muslims in the Age of Empires," in *The Jesuits and Globalization: Historical Legacies and Contemporary Challenges*, ed. Thomas Banchoff and José Casanova (Washington, DC: Georgetown University Press, 2016), 69–91; Valensi, *Ces étrangers familiers*.

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