

PEDRO DE VALENCIA: CHRISTIAN HUMANIST, BIBLICAL SCHOLAR AND SOCIAL CRITIC. ADVOCATE FOR GENTLE TREATMENT OF THE MORISCOS

POR

GRACE MAGNIER¹

Trinity College Dublin

ABSTRACT

Pedro de Valencia, Christian humanist and biblical scholar; the Inquisition used his expertise for the revision of the Index of 1607 (Rome). His biblical commentary on the *Acts of the Apostles* and the *Epistle to the Galatians* examined the conflict between Paul, Peter and James concerning the new Gentile converts. Should they be circumcised and follow the Law, rites and practices of Judaism? The Council of Jerusalem absolved the new converts from these heavy burdens. However, this new era was to be introduced gradually. Valencia seems to be identifying the Moriscos with the early Christian Gentile converts as they were marginalised by the Purity of Blood Statutes; instead they, like the Gentile converts, should be treated with patience, toleration and love.

KEY WORDS: Pedro de Valencia (1555-1620); biblical exegesis; Inquisition; indices of 1607 and 1612; Early Christian Church; conflict between Paul, Peter and James; circumcision and the Judaic law; toleration of Moriscos; Purity of Blood Statutes.

PEDRO DE VALENCIA: HUMANISTA CRISTIANO, EXÉGETA BÍBLICO Y CRÍTICO SOCIAL. DEFENSOR DE MÉTODOS SUAVES CON LOS MORISCOS

Resumen

Pedro de Valencia, humanista cristiano y exégeta bíblico, la Inquisición se sirvió de él como calificador cuando el Índice de 1607 (Roma) se revisaba. Su comentario sobre los *Actos de los Apóstoles* y la *Epístola a los Gálatas* examina el conflicto entre Pablo, Pedro y Santiago sobre los nuevos convertidos de la gentilidad. ¿Deberían circuncidarse y seguir las leyes y los ritos judaicos? El Concilio de Jerusalén quitó estos pesos de la cerviz de los nuevos convertidos. Sin embargo, esta nueva época había de introducirse paulatinamente. Valencia parece identificar a los Moriscos con los cristianos primitivos convertidos de la gentilidad. Esos se encontraban marginalizados por los estatutos de limpieza de sangre; en cambio, como con los convertidos de la gentilidad, había que tratarlos con paciencia, tolerancia y amor.

PALABRAS CLAVE: Pedro de Valencia (1555-1620); exégesis bíblica; Inquisición; índices de 1607 y 1612; conflicto de la Iglesia primitiva entre Pablo, Pedro y Santiago; circuncisión y las leyes judaicas; tolerancia de los moriscos; estatutos de limpieza de sangre.

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In March 1618, the Inquisition confiscated papers from Pedro de Valencia (1555-1620), the highly-esteemed *Cronista de Indias* and *Cronista del Reino* [of Castile] of Philip III. The documents concerned were most probably his critique of the parchment and lead books of Granada: *Sobre el pergamino y láminas de Granada*, written, ironically, at the behest of the Inquisitor General and Archbishop of Toledo,

Don Bernardo de Sandoval y Rojas, uncle of Philip III's favourite, the Duke of Lerma (Valencia 1999, 429). At the same time, it seized papers from others members of his *academia*, or discussion group, the most important being, probably, el *Segundo libelo*, or critique, written by Francisco de Gurmendi († 31 March 1621).² All further discussion on the

¹ grace.magnier@tcd.ie /
ORCID iD: <https://orcid.org/0000-0002-1690-9839>

² Gurmendi had grown up in the house of his uncle, Don Juan de Idiáquez (1540-1614) Chairman of the Council of the Military Orders, member of the Council of State and former secretary of Philip II. On

subject was prohibited. The instigator of this extreme action was Archbishop Pedro de Castro Cabeza de Vaca y Quiñones (1534-1623), Archbishop of Seville and formerly of Granada, who was totally convinced of the veracity of the Parchment and Lead Books of Granada.³ Castro derived his authority for this action from the papal briefs of Clement VIII, particularly that of 15 January 1596, which had forbidden any more debate on the *plomas de Granada* (Medina Conde Ms: 35r-35v).⁴ The current pope, Paul V, and the papal nuncio did not accept these briefs, and the pope, in August, told the Inquisitor General, Sandoval y Rojas, to abide by the judgement of Valencia on this issue.⁵

This conflict between Valencia the humanist and biblical scholar and the Inquisition does not reflect the usual cordial relations between both. He had a close relationship with Sandoval y Rojas who, on many occasions, sought his advice: some years later, after the *auto de fe* of Logroño (1611), Valencia, very upset, suggested to Sandoval y Rojas that he write some critiques on the trials; the Inquisitor General was happy to accept the offer and the scholar produced two works on the event: *Acerca de los quentos de las brujas y cosas tocantes a la magia* and *Suma de las relaciones de Logroño*. In both texts Valencia argues against implausible superstition with the scepticism whose academic form he had studied in his *Academica* (Valencia 1596). According to Manuel Serrano y Sanz, first editor of some of Valencia's works, the latter «logró que en adelante nadie fuese condenado a la hoguera por haber volado caballero en una escoba» (Serrano y Sanz 1906, 289).⁶

Pedro de Valencia was born in Zafra in 1555, son of Melchor de Valencia and Ana Vázquez. Research suggests strongly that he had *converso* ancestors (Croche de Acuña 1984). The anonymous biography describes him as a very intelligent child who was very interested in theology, from the time he spent in the Jesuit school in Córdoba: «Bolvióse su padre a Córdoba i allí, siendo de mui poca edad, oyó las artes en el colegio de la compañía i comenzó la theología, con grande admiración de su ingenio».⁷ An only son, his parents did not wish him to study theology so they sent him to Salamanca to read law. However he got permission to attend lectures on Sacred Scripture: «[Sus padres] le embiaron a Salamanca en donde las [leyes] estudió no perdiendo nunca la afición i inclinación a las sagradas letras porque

desde allí pidió algunas veces le dejassen oír theología» (Anon Ms 5781, 135r).⁸

Valencia had always loved reading: he had attended both the ducal school in Zafra, which became an *escuela de la doctrina* (School for Christian Doctrine),⁹ the *escuela de latinidad* of his relation Antonio Márquez, and the Jesuit school in Córdoba. The first and last were marked by the ethos of the charismatic preacher, writer and mystic Juan de Ávila known in his lifetime as Maestro Juan de Ávila, «predicador de la Andalucía» (preacher in Andalucía). Gaspar Morocho Gayo, late editor-in-chief of the excellent *Obras completas* (Complete Works) of Pedro de Valencia, believed that, in spite of the fact that, in Valencia's time, the college in Córdoba had been handed over to the Jesuits, Ávila's Christocentric philosophy would have pervaded the atmosphere of the college:

Valencia estudia cuando la Compañía no ha adoptado lo que algunos autores posteriores denominaron 'espíritu jesuítico.' Al contrario, los discípulos de Ávila, que eran los que regentaban aquel colegio, imbuían a sus alumnos en el desapego a los cargos públicos, en el amor por la vida retirada, y en la dedicación y estudio continuado de las letras sagradas y humanas (Valencia 1993, 24).¹⁰

When a student in Salamanca, Valencia was well known by all the booksellers. While there he met and came under the influence of the humanist Francisco Sánchez de las Brozas (1523-1600), *el Brocense*, with whom he studied Greek:

Ocupóse desde los primeros años a la lección de todos buenos autores y así era conocido entre los demás estudiantes i los libreros cuyas librerías él frecuentaba mucho. Conocían su afición a estos estudios así que, aviendo le venido a Cornelio Bonardo entre otros libros los poetas heroicos griegos, en un tomo que imprimió Henrico Stephano año de 1566, le dijo que se le comprasse, i él se agradó tanto de el libro que saliendo de allí encontrándose luego con el m[aestr]o Sánchez [El Brocense] le dijo que quisiera saber griego por comprar aquel libro &a' (Anon Ms 5781, 135r).¹¹

⁸ [His parents] sent him to Salamanca where he studied law but [he] never lost his affection for and attraction towards Sacred Scripture because while there he asked for permission to attend theology [lectures].

⁹ During the time he attended the Count of Feria, Maestro Juan de Ávila set up this *escuela de la doctrina* in Zafra.

¹⁰ Valencia studied when the Jesuits had not yet adopted what some later writers called «a Jesuitical spirit». On the contrary, Ávila's disciples, who were those in charge of that school, imbued in their pupils indifference to public office, love for a tranquil life and dedication to and continuous study of sacred and humanistic literature. The translation into English here and elsewhere is by the author, unless stated otherwise. Cited in Magnier 2010, 176.

¹¹ From his earliest years he busied himself reading all the best authors and this was his reputation among the other students and the booksellers, whose bookshops he often frequented. They knew how interested he was in these studies so when Cornelius Bonnart received, among other books, the heroic Greek poets, in a volume printed by Henri Étienne in 1566, he [Bonnart] told him to buy it and he [Valencia] was so pleased that on leaving the shop and meeting later Master Sánchez he told him that he would like to learn Greek, because of buying that book etc. Cited in Magnier 2010, 176. El Brocense thought very highly of his pupil and claimed that he knew, as well as his own discipline, as much Hebrew as St Jerome and more Greek than Erasmus (Robles 1642, 16v).

the death of Idiáquez, Gurmendi had found and translated the first two of the Lead Books, as he had been appointed interpreter in Arabic to Philip III. His translations had provoked critical memorials from Archbishop Castro; the *Segundo libelo*, written at the request of the king, was Gurmendi's response (Magnier 2003, 412).

³ There is an extensive bibliography on these notorious forgeries that purported to be a long-lost continuation of the Acts of the Apostles. The two-volume monograph in *Al-Qanṭara* 2002 XXIII-XXIV, introduces some of the most important topics.

⁴ The relics forger, Cristóbal de Medina Conde, dates this event as 6 March 1618 in his manuscript archived in the Sacromonte.

⁵ Sandoval y Rojas asked Valencia to write a report on which the latter wrote his critique *Sobre el pergamino y láminas de Granada* (Magnier 1997-1998, 353-373).

⁶ ...brought it about that, from then on, nobody was burned at the stake for riding through the air on a broomstick.

⁷ His father returned to Córdoba and there, being very young, he studied arts in the Jesuit school and began theology [where] all were astonished at his intelligence.

These two quotations from the anonymous biography reveal a great deal about the character of Valencia. As well as his love of learning, they show his love of discussion and names many of the friends with whom he met in his *tertulia* in Zafra and with whom he corresponded: «Con éstos solía comunicarse, a las tardes, después de aver estudiado, salíase a pasear por el campo» (Ms 5781 f. 136v).¹² It is obvious from the manuscript that the author knew Valencia well and may have been his brother-in-law and later collaborator, Juan Moreno Ramírez, who with Valencia defended publically Arias Montano's *Paraphrasis Chaldaica* against the version advocated by the Franciscan, Fr. Andrés de León (1571-1642).¹³

PEDRO DE VALENCIA AND BENITO ARIAS MONTANO

During his time at Salamanca (1573-1575), Valencia had bought a copy of the *Psalms*, translated into Latin verse by Benito Arias Montano (1527-1598) and, according to his anonymous contemporary biographer, «Se aficionó a su autor» (Anon Ms 5781, 135r-136v).¹⁴ On the publication of the second edition of the Alcalá *Polyglot Bible*, the *Biblia Regia*, revised and edited by Arias Montano, a family friend, Don Sebastián Pérez, got a copy for Valencia and later introduced him to Arias Montano (1568-1573), who was a friend of his, at his country retreat in La Peña de Aracena, in Extremadura (Valencia 1993, 20).¹⁵ «Escribióle luego Ar. Montano desde la Peña i él fue luego allí. Introdújole luego Arias Montano en la lección de la sagrada escritura y la lengua hebrea' (Anon Ms 5781, 135v)». Arias Montano, then, taught Valencia biblical exegesis and biblical Hebrew, Chaldean, and Syriac at La Peña from April 1578 to September 1579 (Ibidem, 32). For the next twenty years, until the death of Arias Montano in 1598, Pedro de Valencia spent a great deal of his time in La Peña, acting as amanuensis to his mentor but also collaborating with him on various biblical texts. Thus, when the Spanish Index of Prohibited Books of 1612 was being prepared Valencia was eminently suitable to assist in its composition.

¹² He used to talk to these people and in the evening, after studying, he used to go for walks [with them?] in the country.

¹³ The men mentioned were: *Licenciado* Fernando Machado, *oidor de presente* in Chile, Don Alonso Ramírez de Prado, *fiscal de hacienda* and his son Don Lorenzo Ramírez de Prado; *Licenciado* Juan Francisco Machado, 'doctísimo theólogo' (very learned theologian); Juan Alonso Machado, a lawyer and brother of Fernando Machado; *licenciado* Marchena, governor of Feria; *licenciados* Rodríguez de Mesa, Diego Durán and Tomás Núñez Maldonado, canon lawyers. Other eminent friends who thought very highly of him are mentioned: a professor of Sacred Scripture in Salamanca (name illegible); Fray José de Sigüenza, Prior of El Escorial; Dr Francisco Terrones del Caño, preacher to Philip II, bishop of León; the *arcediano* of Seville, Luciano de Negrón; Dr. Simón de Tóval and Dr. Francisco Sánchez de Oropesa, eminent medical doctors; Fray Gregorio de Pedrosa, Fray Hortensio de Paravicino and Fray Francisco de Jesús, also preachers to the King and the royal princes; Gaspar de Córdoba, Diego de Mardones, and Luis de Aliaga, chaplains to Philip III; finally many of the most important men at court: Cardinal Bernardo de Sandoval y Rojas, Archbishop of Toledo and Primate of Spain; the Duke of Lerma; the Constable of Castile; the Count of Lemos, Don Juan de Idiáquez, and the Marquis de la Velada.

¹⁴ He developed a high opinion of their author.

¹⁵ Don Sebastián Pérez, later bishop of Osma, was from Montilla, where he had acted as tutor to the children of the House of Feria. He was probably a family friend of the Valencians. He was appointed first professor of theology at the new university of El Escorial (1574). Valencia may have attended his classes (Valencia 1993, 31).

THE ROMAN INDEX OF 1607 AND THE SPANISH ONE OF 1612

When the Roman Index of 1607 was published, fifty authors were censured, among whom was the teacher and mentor of Pedro de Valencia, the eminent biblical scholar and editor of the *Biblia Regia*, Benito Arias Montano, to whom the censor (Andrés Martín 2002, 203-203)¹⁶ dedicated seven and a half pages (Jones 1978, 121).¹⁷ Following the expurgation of sections of the *Biblia Regia*, the Council of the Spanish Inquisition sought *calificadores* through the local tribunals and thus circulated among scholars some of the texts that had come under suspicion. Pedro de Valencia's reputation as a biblical scholar was such that he was among the biblical exegetes that the Inquisition chose; it was well known that he had been a close friend and collaborator of Arias Montano (Ibidem, 124) and had negotiated with the Plantin-Moretus Press the posthumous publication of some of his last works (Valencia 1993, 24-25, 28-33).¹⁸ His defence of Arias Montano's works reduced the number of passages censored for the Spanish Index of 1612. His *Declaración de los lugares de Arias Montano que se censuran en el Expurgatorio romano* has been published by the Italian Daniele Dominichini (Valencia 1984). Given his close relationship with Arias Montano, he was best suited to elucidate and develop clearly the theological ideas of his teacher and mentor. As John A. Jones and Melquíades Andrés Martín detail in their articles, his methodology differed from that of the Inquisition: instead of judging an idea out of context, Valencia was careful to relate it to the full corpus of Arias Montano's work, with which he was so familiar having worked with him in La Peña de Aracena from 1578 until his mentor's death in 1598. Given that some of the passages being examined were on the controversial subjects of Original Sin and its effects and on justification, Valencia was careful to elaborate on what he knew to be the theological

¹⁶ The friar in charge of organising the list of books to be expurgated of certain passages was the Dominican Fray Gianmaria Guanzelli de Brisighella, Master of the Sacred Pontifical Palace. The actual work was delegated to another Dominican, Fray Tomás de Maluenda.

¹⁷ The works of Arias Montano expurgated in the 1607 Index were: *Commentaria in Duodecim Prophetas* (Antwerp 1571); *Elucidationes in Quatuor Evangelia Quibus Apostolorum Scripta, Eisdem in S. Johannis Apostoli et Evangelistae Apocalypsim Significationes* (Antwerp, 1588); *Liber Generationis et Regenerationis, sive Historia Generis humani, Operis Magni Prima Pars, Id Est, Anima* (Antwerp 1593); *Commentaria in Isaiae Prophetiae Sermones* (Antwerp 1599). In the 1612 Index only the *Commentaria in Duodecim Prophetas* [...] and the *Commentaria in Isaiae* [...] were expurgated: All books were printed and published by Christopher Plantin.

¹⁸ Gaspar Morocho Gayo considers that Valencia may have collaborated with Arias Montano in the following works: 1583: *De Optimo Imperio sive in librum Josue Comentarium*; 1588: *Comentario sobre el Apocalipsis*; 1589: Valencia prepared an edition of Benedicti Ariae Montani Hispalensis, *Poemata in quatuor tomos distincta* (Antwerp: C. Plantin, 1589). Valencia was no mere amanuensis: in one of his letters to Padre José de Sigüenza of El Escorial he states: 1594: «He comenzado por su [Arias Montano] mandato *Elucidaciones sobre todas sus poesías, i voi muy poco a poco*» («I have begun, on his command, *Elucidations on all his Poems*, and I am going along slowly»). «*El Argumento de los testimonios apostólicos*, que v. P. echa de menos es para con estas *Elucidaciones*» («The theme of the *apostolic testimonies* is for these *Elucidations*»). In another letter to Padre Sigüenza, in 1595, he tells him that the *Comentarios sobre Isaías* is at press in Flanders. Morocho Gayo lists the many patrons whose financial aid was sought by Valencia to publish the posthumous works of his mentor.

nuances of the work of Arias Montano. As Melquíades Andrés Martín states: «No trata de defender lo indefendible, sino de presentarlo con sencillez en su contexto»¹⁹ (Andrés Martín 2002, 209). Jones considers that, in the critique Arias Montano is absolved from theological error; «However, what he does appear guilty of is a certain measure of ambiguity, for which he was perhaps too severely penalised by the Roman censors...» (Jones 1978, 134).

POLYGRAPHIC PHILOLOGY

Montano, based his biblical exegesis on a literal translation from the earliest sources, setting it in the context of the geographical and socio-historical background. Both men also used writings from Classical antiquity, including the *Hermetica*, as an interpretative tool. Gaspar Morocho Gayo coined the term «polygraphic philology» to describe this method of biblical exegesis. The Hebrew scholars of Alcalá de Henares, who had been responsible for the *Polyglot Bible* (1520),²⁰ developed this form of biblical hermeneutics from the Platonic Academy in Florence of Marsilio Ficino (1433-1499), Pico de la Mirandola (1463-1494) and Egidio de Viterbo (1469-1532). They believed that vestiges of early revelation were to be found in Greek, Roman, Egyptian and Babylonian poets. Cipriano de la Huerca had studied under Dionisio Vázquez, first professor of Biblical Studies in Alcalá and a disciple of Viterbo and he then taught Arias Montano. Foregoing the Latin Vulgate, he used literal translations of critical versions of the original Hebrew and Greek biblical texts which had been made possible by the *Polyglot Bible*. This form of interpretation was characterised by a rigorous grammatical analysis of the biblical languages and used a wide range of writings from antiquity, including the esoteric hermetic texts used by Marsilio Ficino and the *Kabbala* consulted by Pico de la Mirandola. Morocho Gayo considers that the seventeen treatises of the *Corpus hermeticum* were well known in sixteenth-century Spain through the influence of the Alcalá scholars: (Morocho Gayo 2000, 814-818, 853). Cipriano de la Huerca stated: «Ningún libro sobra quien entiende en el oficio que yo entiendo» (Ascensio 1986, 36).²¹ The Salamanca Hebrew scholar, Martín Martínez de Cantalpiedra, remarked: «Todas las artes y ciencias son necesarias para entender la sagrada escritura [...] [la] aritmética, la gramática, la historia y filosofía» (Morocho Gayo 1996, 189).²²

Valencia describes his style and his indebtedness to Arias Montano in his essay *Discurso sobre materias del Consejo de Estado dirigido a una persona que le pidió dictamen*.²³

¹⁹ He does not try to defend the indefensible but simply to present it in its context.

²⁰ The first two volumes had been printed in 1514 and the last in 1517 by Guillermo Brócar. Once the approbation of Pope Leo X had been given on 22 March 1520 the Bible went on sale (Andrés Martín 1976-1977, 67).

²¹ No book is superfluous for him who would fully master my profession.

²² All arts and science are necessary to understand Sacred Scripture [...], arithmetic, grammar history and philosophy.

²³ *Discourse on matters in the Council of State addressed to someone who requested his opinion*: «...la sencillez y llaneza del decir, sin ostentación de ingenio ni lección, desmentirá algo la sospecha de que quiero hacer muestra para pretensión, y juntamente la haré [para mostrar?] de cuan provechosa sea la sección de los libros que dejó

PEDRO DE VALENCIA, JUAN MORENO RAMÍREZ AND THE *PARAPHRASIS CHALDAICA*

Aided by his brother-in-law, Juan Moreno Ramírez, Valencia used his exegetical expertise to defend Arias Montano's version of the *Paraphrasis Chaldaica* against that offered to Philip III by the Franciscan Fray Andrés de León.²⁴ Like other texts from the *targumim*, the *Paraphrasis* was not a text for scholars but written in Aramaic at a time when the original Hebrew was no longer used as an oral language. As an accomplished Orientalist, Arias Montano could improve on the translations of Santes Pagino (ca 1470-1536) by a more accurate analysis of Hebrew grammar and syntax (Arias Montano 2006, XXXVIII).²⁵ However he did not try to «improve» incomprehensible or ambiguous passages, unlike Andrés de León, who both ignored the original Chaldean source, using a later Syriac manuscript, and changed passages in arbitrary fashion (Jones 1986, 339-348).²⁶ Valencia and Moreno Rodríguez, in their *Advertencias (Observations)* on the printing of the *Paraphrasis*, stressed how important it was not to tamper with an original text and criticised the changes made by Andrés de León (Valencia Ms 582, 4r).

In the *Advertencias* there is a very graphic illustration of «polygraphic philology». The context is the drowning of the Pharaoh and the Egyptians in the Red Sea (Ex 14,9-31). Andrés de León described this as allegory; Valencia and Moreno Rodríguez indicate that this is not an adequate explanation, as the Bible refers to a specific geographic feature and this cannot be ignored:

Lo que el Padre Andrés de León muda tiene muchos inconvenientes: Quién [sic] son estos subsanantes que fueron condenados a sumersión en el Mar Último, porque el Mar Último para los Hebreos, o era el Mediterráneo o el Océano y así vendrá a dezir esta versión que éstos se ahogaron en el mar Océano que será lo mismo que en el Bermejo, pues es parte dél y eso es lo que dize la *Paráfrasis*; o en el Mediterráneo,

impresos y escritos Arias Montano, mi señor [...] porque todo lo demás que aquí referiré de las Escrituras sera traído y aplicado conforme a sus interpretaciones y consideraciones» (Valencia Ms 11160, 29r). (The simplicity and directness of my style, without ostentation of wit or erudition, will belie the suspicion that I am seeking adulation and, in writing this dissertation, I will show the advantages of reading the books written and published by Arias Montano, my master [...] because all my references from scripture will be abstracted and applied in accordance with his interpretations and reflections). Cited in Magnier 2010, 182. This manuscript has now been edited in the edition of Valencia's letters. Valencia 2019, 430-470.

²⁴ Fray Andrés de León, on 20 May 1615, offered his version to the King. The *Paraphrasis* belongs to the *targumim*, a genre of traditional Hebrew biblical studies. They were not intended to produce a reliable text for scholars but to be used for the instruction of the common people. The text would be read first in Hebrew in the synagogue, then it would be translated into Aramaic, with explanations given from time to time. However, these translations and interpretations were written down much later. The *targumim* were very important for textual criticism as they were rooted in Jewish culture (Arias Montano 2006, XXI-XXII).

²⁵ Santes Pagnino taught Greek and Hebrew in Rome. With the aid of Pope Leo X, he published a Latin bible, translated from the Hebrew (Lyon: Antoine de Ry, 1528).

²⁶ J. A. Jones has published the text of the decision of the University of Alcalá of 23 September 1618, which forbade Andrés de León from having his amended version of the *Paraphrasis* printed. He also prints the *censuras* of nine academics, five of whom supported the prohibition and four opposed it.

y entonces habrá de mostrar el Padre Andrés de León qué submersión fue ésta, porque no basta referirla a alegorías, sino que se a de dar historia que haya sucedido, pues se señala el lugar en que se dize que sucedió (Valencia 2014, 596-597).²⁷

Valencia and Moreno Ramírez finish their observations with a summary of their critique:

La paraphrasis tiene fábulas, supersticiones y errores, y que se debe leer con cuidado pero que es muy útil su lección en la forma para los usos que queda dicho. Y ninguno destos autores ha dicho que se hubiese de prohibir ni expurgar y mucho menos mudarse el sentido, pues nunca tal manera de expurgación se a usado ni juzgado se puede usar (Ibidem, 654).²⁸

We have now established the credentials of Valencia as a biblical scholar; for the remainder of this essay we shall analyse a biblical commentary in which he sees similarities between his own society and that of the Early Church.

PARA DECLARACIÓN DE UNA GRAN PARTE DE LA ESTORIA APOSTÓLICA EN LOS ACTOS, Y EN LA ÉPISTOLA AD GALATAS, ADVERTENCIAS DE PEDRO DE VALENCIA, VARÓN DOCTÍSIMO Y EN TODO GÉNERO DE LETRAS MUY EMINENTE

Pedro de Valencia wrote an extensive commentary on the *Epistle to the Galatians* and the *Acts of the Apostles*. Although he finished it shortly after his appointments as *cronista de Indias* and *cronista del reino* (May 1607), he had been writing it for some time, as he mentions it in a letter of 20 October 1604 to Fray José de Sigüenza, Prior of El Escorial (Antolín 1897, 440). The text is dedicated to the Inquisitor General and Cardinal of Toledo, Don Bernardo de Sandoval y Rojas, who held sacred scripture *tertulias* (discussion groups); the commentary was offered for use at one of these, as is detailed in a letter to the Cardinal which is found on the first page of the manuscript (Valencia 2014, 354).

The commentary has as its central theme the discussions in the Early Church between Peter, Paul and James on the organisation of the Church at the time when it had begun to open up to the Gentiles (Ibidem, 298-299). It discusses in detail this issue in the context of the vision of Peter at Joppa and the conversion of Cornelius (Acts 10), the voyage of Paul and Barnabas to Antioch, where the disciples were first called Christians (Acts 11,26) and the first Council of Jerusalem (Acts 15). Christianity had initially been preached to the Jews, who continued to practise the Judaic laws on diet, the Sabbath,

²⁷ What Fr. Andrés de León changes poses many problems: who were these unfortunates who were condemned to immersion in the Last Sea, because the Last Sea for the Jews was either the Mediterranean or the Ocean, and thus this version will say that these men were drowned in the Ocean, which is the same as the Red Sea, as it forms part of it, and that is what the *Pharaphrasis* says. Thus, Fr Andrés de León would have to show what immersion this was, because it is not enough to refer to allegories, but to tell the story of what may have happened, because the place in which it is said to have happened is pointed out. Cited in Magnier 2010, 226.

²⁸ ...the *Paraphrasis* contains tall tales, superstitions and mistakes, and it must be read with care but reading it in this form is very useful for the uses we have mentioned. And none of these authors said that it should be prohibited or expurgated and much less that the meaning should be changed, because that type of expurgation has never been used nor considered permissible.

purification, the Temple, the Tabernacle and the priesthood and to take for granted that all would be circumcised.²⁹ After the Council, Peter, Paul and James decided that the Gentile converts would no longer require circumcision nor would they need to follow all the Judaic laws (Acts 15; Gal 2,1-10).³⁰ However, not all followers of Jesus accepted this ruling. Valencia calls these recalcitrant Jewish converts «flacos (weak) judaizantes» (f. 88v) and at other times «flacos en la fe» (ff. 15v, 42r) or «flacos de la circumcisión» (f. 40v), «flacos del judaísmo» (f. 525), «flacos hermanos» (f. 83r) or just «flacos» (ff. 30v; 58v); they were to be treated with tolerance and «caridad» (love) and the new ruling was not to be enforced on them (f. 59v) (Ibidem, 329-331). Old Testament *ciencia*, or knowledge of and obedience to the law, would in Christianity be replaced by *caridad* or love: «...entre las cosas que Dios por Cristo les había dado, era una señaladísima libertad del yugo de la Ley [...] y, la prudencia del mismo Espíritu les enseñaba cuándo había de proceder según la ciencia y cuándo según la caridad» (Valencia 2014, 407).³¹

Pedro de Valencia, in writing this long study, may be intending to compare the problems discussed in the biblical passage with those of his own time and in particular with the position of the Moriscos in 17th century Spanish society. The editor of manuscript MS 464, María del Prado Ortiz Sánchez, sees a parallel between the opening up of the early Church to the Gentiles and the Spanish Hapsburgs' perception of their «misión divina» to lead a universal Catholic Church (Ibidem, 301).³² Essentially, though, Valencia is analysing in its founding texts the central tenets of Christianity, those of faith and love and the universality and equality of all those baptised. As I will describe later, converts to Judaism were not given the same status as those who had been born into Judaism; in Christianity, however, the sacrament of Baptism gives equal rights and status to all followers of Christ.

THE EPISTLE TO THE GALATIANS AND THE UNIVERSALITY OF THE CHURCH

The universality of the Church and its egalitarian nature was a frequent theme in the writings of eminent fifteenth and sixteenth-century *conversos*. Don Alonso de Cartagena (1384-1456), bishop of Burgos and son of the eminent *converso* scholar Pablo de Santa María, formerly the Rabbi Salemoh Ha-Levi, Don Hernando de Talavera (1428-1502), first Archbishop of Granada, and Maestro Juan de Ávila (ca 1499/1500-1569) all refer to this epistle of Paul and argue that all Christians are made equal by the waters of baptism. In his *Defensorium Unitatis Christianae*, written to argue against the *Sententia Estatuto*, or Purity of Blood Statute, promulgated in Toledo in 1449, Alonso de Cartagena wrote:

²⁹ Circumcision was the outward symbol by which those of the Jewish faith were recognised (Valencia 2014, 498).

³⁰ New converts were to abide by the Laws of Noah: they should avoid idols, fornication and blood (Acts 15,20), as the souls of animals were believed to abide in blood: (Ibidem, 370-374).

³¹ ...among the things which Christ had given them was a very special freedom from the yoke of the Law [...] the prudence of the [Holy] Spirit itself showed them when to act in accordance with the law and when in accordance with love.

³² Elsewhere I argue that Spain perceived herself to have a predominant role in Christendom in the early seventeenth century (Magnier 2010, 49-118).

Esta unidad [...] se rompería muy obviamente si nosotros admitiéramos, de cualquier modo que fuera, unas diferencias de origen judío, o gentil o pagano. Por eso el Apóstol de una manera un tanto peculiar nos dice al explicar esto: *en Cristo Jesús ni la circuncisión es nada, ni el prepucio, sino la nueva criatura* (Gal 6,15).³³

A little further on, Cartagena refers to a verse of the epistle which extols the importance of charity or love: «Por consiguiente, la diferencia del antiguo rito queda abolida y únicamente hay que fijarse en la fe: *en Cristo Jesús ni vale la circuncisión ni vale el prepucio, sino la fe actuada por la caridad*» (Gal 5,6) (Cartagena 1989, 264-265).³⁴

Hernando de Talavera wrote his *Católica impugnación* (Talavera 1487, Seville) to combat the arguments of a *judai-zante* (backsliding Jewish convert) who continued to practise elements of Judaism and who believed that this gave him greater status. Talavera quite rejects such a division in Christianity:

Continúa su malicia este malvado fariseo, diviso del todo y apartado de nuestro Señor, haciendo dos pueblos a los que, como ya es dicho, Jesucristo hizo uno, y tan uno, que quiso, como dice el santo Apóstol, que no hobiese distinción alguna de griego a judío, de circuncisión a prepucio, de extraño a doméstico, el día que todos son bautizados (Talavera 1961, 230).³⁵

This passage is also cited by Valencia in his *Declaración*: «...que para entrar en la Iglesia y ser cristianos ni era menester que el gentil se hiciese judío ni que el judío se hiciese gentil, sino que cada uno entrase como se hallase al tiempo del llamamiento del Evangelio» (Valencia 2014, 506).³⁶

PEDRO DE VALENCIA AND MAESTRO JUAN DE ÁVILA

Pedro de Valencia may have met Maestro Juan de Ávila when, as a child, he accompanied his father and family to Montilla, where Juan de Ávila lived from 1555 to 1569 in the household of the House of Feria. In his *Lessons on the Epistle to the Galatians*, given in Córdoba between 1536 and 1537, Ávila had stressed Christ as the fulfilment of the law, which had thus been superseded. When glossing on *Galatians* 3:25: «*Ubi*

venit fides, iam non sumus sub pedagogo» he states: «Venida la edad perfecta, todos aquellos ejercicios de niños habían de cesar» (Juan de Ávila IV, 75).³⁷ Like Paul, Ávila stressed the primordial importance of «caridad» or love in *The Epistles to the Galatians*: «La caridad dondequiera que está [sic], produce grandes y excelentes frutos. No se contenta con tener el amor ocultado, sino que da muestras de él con sus obras [...] Éstas son obras y efectos de fe viva, de fe con espíritu, de fe abra-sada y encendida con fuego de caridad» (Ibidem, 61).³⁸

In chapter 6, verse 1, of his *Lessons* Juan de Ávila stresses the gentleness and tolerance with which Paul corrects the sinner who has turned over a new leaf: «Con éstos usa el Apóstol [Paul] de gran mansedumbre; a éstos exhorta con grande blandura» (Ibidem, 113).³⁹ This gentleness and tolerance of Paul when reprimanding sinners, extolled by Maestro Ávila, is one that occurs frequently in Pedro de Valencia's *Declaración* where, as mentioned above, he uses the adjective «flaco» (weak) to describe those who cling to the Judaic rites and to circumcision, when the advent of Christianity has rendered them no longer necessary.

FROM JUDAISM TO CHRISTIANITY: CIENCIA⁴⁰ TO CARIDAD

When writing about the transition from Judaism to Christianity, Pedro de Valencia reinforces his argument by going back to the original Hebrew. Discussing whether the Judaic laws were to last forever, he argues that some were to be practised by the Jews until the time was ripe: «... la antigua ley [...] que le fue impuesta no a todo el linaje de los hombres sino solo al de Israel, y éste no para siempre sino *usque ad tempo correctionis*» (Valencia 2014, 363).⁴¹ He then develops this notion of a correct time span:

La primera, y más literal, está en la declaración de la palabra *aeternum* o *sempiternum* que en estos lugares significa lo que en hebreo *Gholam* [...] y es voz que se deduce del verbo *Gholam*, que significa «escondarse» o «encubrirse», y de aquí *Gholam* significa propiamente el tiempo de la duración perfecta de una cosa, hasta que habiendo cumplido el efecto para que fue criada o hecha, se acaba y esconde y desaparece.⁴²

³³ This unity would very obviously be broken if we admitted, in any way at all, differences of origin [whether it be] Jewish, Gentile or pagan. For this reason the Apostle, in a rather strange way, tells us as he explains this: «*In Christ Jesus neither circumcision nor the foreskin are important but the new creature*».

³⁴ Consequently, the difference of the old rite is abolished and you must only focus on faith: *In Christ Jesus, neither circumcision nor the foreskin are important, but faith inspired by love*. Cited in Magnier 2010, 275-276. María Laura Giordano has written a very detailed analysis of Cartagena's *Defensorium*. She shows how, citing from St. Paul, Cartagena deconstructs the concept of *limpieza de sangre* as it undermines Christian unity. Giordano 2018, 226-251.

³⁵ This accursed Pharisee continues his malice, cut off from everything and separated from Our Lord, making two peoples of those whom, as we have already said, Jesus Christ made one, and so unified that he desired, as the holy Apostle [St. Paul] says that there would be no distinction between Greeks and Jews, those circumcised and those with a foreskin, between foreigners and our own people, on the day in which all are baptized. Cited in Magnier 2002, 678.

³⁶ 'To join the Church and become Christians it was not necessary for the Gentile to become a Jew nor for the Jew to become a Gentile, but each one should join according to how he was when he heard the call of the Gospel.

³⁷ *After the faith is come, we are no longer under a pedagoge*: (Douay Bible 1582, 215) When the perfect age has come, all those children's exercises were to end. Cited in Magnier (2010, 256).

³⁸ Love, wherever it is, produces great and excellent fruit. It is not content to hide love, but shows signs of it in its works [...] These are the work and the effect of living faith, of spiritual faith, of faith burning and enflamed with the fire of love.

³⁹ 'With these the Apostle [St. Paul] shows great gentleness; he encourages these with great tenderness'. Quotations from Juan de Ávila cited in Magnier 2010, 257-258.

⁴⁰ As defined on p. 5, *ciencia* was knowledge of and obedience to the Judaic laws.

⁴¹ The old law [...] was not imposed on all men but only on the people of Israel, and not for ever on these but just «Until the time of correction».

⁴² 'The first and most literal [...] is in the translation of the word *aeternum* (eternal) or *sempiternum* (everlasting) which in this context is what *Gholam* means in Hebrew [...] and it is a meaning deduced from the verb *Gholam*, which means «to hide» or «to conceal oneself», and from this *Gholam* correctly means the time of the perfect duration of something, until [such a time as] having fulfilled the purpose for which it was created or made, it comes to an end, lies hidden away and disappears' (Magnier 2010, 267). *Gholam* is possibly a transliteration of *ólám*, whose root means «to be hidden or concealed».

This notion of fruition and of fulfilment is continued in a metaphor from husbandry: «...queda inútil, vana, y ya no de uso, como el siglo de las yerbas es hasta dar simiente de que tornasen a propagar, en habiéndola dado han cumplido su *Gholam* y así luego se secan, caen, y esconden» (Ibidem, 366).⁴³ Christ was the fulfilment of the Law; obedience would be replaced by love. The Law was concerned with external observances such as circumcision; with the coming of Christianity, circumcision would be internal and concern the spirit: «...la ley y su observación es eterna y la cumplen interiormente todos los miembros de Cristo —unos en espíritu y verdad— y son en lo interior circuncidados» (Ibidem, 368).⁴⁴

Valencia uses similar language when he quotes Paul as he preached to the «flacos de la circuncisión» in Antioch: «Ellos que son siervos de su ley y de su letra, no tienen el fuego del Espíritu Sancto ni otro hierro que los selle por de Dios que él de la circuncisión externa» (Ibidem, 468).⁴⁵ Valencia glosses the following passage from the *Epistle to the Philippians*: «Ad Philippenses 3,3. *Et nos non sumus circumcisio, qui in Spiritu servimus Deo*» (Valencia 2014, 359). Douay Bible (1582, 225):⁴⁶ «Nosotros, los verdaderos apóstoles, somos la circuncisión verdadera, que tenemos circuncidados de vicios el corazón, y servimos y ministramos al Señor, no con sacrificios y ceremonias externas, sino con espíritu» (Ibidem, 522).⁴⁷

Valencia stresses this superiority of the spirit over external ritual in all his writings. In his critique *Sobre el pergamino y láminas de Granada (Concerning the Parchment and Lead Books of Granada)* he criticises the lack of critical analysis of the so-called relics. The whole hill of Valparaíso, now renamed Sacromonte, «se cubrió de cruces» (was covered with crosses) and wishful thinking replaced a critical examination of the discoveries. Public emotion was expressed through processions, some of which were elaborate social occasions. People began to see lights all along the hill also. Such an emphasis on external ritual is a form of demonic temptation that leads people away from the true worship of God to replace that with «exterioridades y culto de los labios» (external actions and lip service) (Valencia 2006, 8-9, 49).

THE CONVERSION OF CORNELIUS AND THE VISION OF JOPPA (ACTS 10)

A key text in the evolution of belief in the universality of Christianity was the conversion of the centurion Cornelius,

I am indebted to Professor Carmel McCarthy of the Department of Middle Eastern Languages, The National University of Ireland, Dublin, for this information.

⁴³ ...it becomes ineffective, futile and no longer of any use as [happens] in the life cycle of plants [they grow] until they bear the seeds with which they will re-propagate; when this happens they have fulfilled their *Gholam* and thus will then dry up, fall down and be hidden away.

⁴⁴ ...the law and its observance is eternal and all Christ's followers observe it internally —some in spirit and truth— and they are circumscribed in their hearts.

⁴⁵ Those who are servants of their laws and literature do not have the fire of the Holy Spirit nor any branding iron to seal them as belonging to God, except that of external circumcision.

⁴⁶ For we are not the circumcision, who serve God in spirit.

⁴⁷ We, the true apostles, are the true circumcision as our hearts have been circumscribed from vice, and we serve and minister to the Lord, not with sacrifices or external ceremonies but with spirit.

who feared God but had not become a proselyte, as required by prospective converts to Judaism. After his vision of the angel, Cornelius sent for Peter. At about the same time, Peter is described as having a vision of a large sheet coming down from Heaven filled with all manner of living creatures, including many prohibited for consumption by Judaism (Acts 10,9-16). Instructed to «kill and eat» he at first declined, declaring that he had never eaten any impure food. The voice reprimanded him for calling impure any food purified by God (idem, 15). This happened three times after which Peter, in pensive mood, was told that some men sent by Cornelius wished to meet him. The outcome was that he went to and entered Cornelius' house, no longer believing that as a non-Jew he and his house were impure. He then proclaimed the idea so common in the *converso* writers we have studied: «Ahora reconozco que no hay en Dios aceptación de personas»⁴⁸ (Acts 10,34).

Pedro de Valencia concludes that, in this passage, God gave his spirit to Cornelius and his family in the same way as he had to circumscribed Jews; he did not consider the latter to be pure and the former impure: «no diferenció ni distinguió Dios entre nosotros y ellos ni tuvo a nosotros por vasos puros para su espíritu por la observación de la Ley ni a esos otros por impuros, porque no la guardaban».⁴⁹ He continues: «los preparó y purificó con la fe, y no con la circuncisión y ceremonias»⁵⁰ (Valencia 2014, 446). In a later chapter Valencia comes back to the problem posed by the «flacos en la fe»: in spite of the decision at the Council of Jerusalem that circumcision was not required by Gentile converts and Peter's acceptance that the old laws on pure and impure food no longer applied these new rules should be applied with discretion and love:

Que no usasen de la ciencia con que sabían y estaban ciertos que les era lícito comer de todas comidas, ni de la libertad que tenían por Cristo de todas las antiguas ceremonias con escándalo y destrucción de los flacos en la fe que aún no tenían semejante ciencia y conocimiento, sino que gobernasen y moderasen con caridad el uso de aquella ciencia para edificación y confirmación de los pequeños y aún no firmes... (ibidem, 479).⁵¹

In Acts 21,18-26, James and Peter allowed followers to conform externally with the «flacos» and carry out the same ceremonies no longer required by Christians in order not to give scandal:

Santiago y Pablo [...] sobrellevando la flaqueza de los que eran todavía celadores de la ley, les permitían con divina dispensación y se conformaban con caridad

⁴⁸ Now I recognise that God has no favourites (*Revised New Jerusalem Bible*).

⁴⁹ God did not differentiate or distinguish between us and them nor did he hold us to be pure vessels for his spirit, through the observation of the Law, nor hold them to be impure, because they did not follow it.

⁵⁰ He prepared and purified them with faith, and not with circumcision and ceremonies.

⁵¹ They should not use the knowledge of the law and the certainty that it was lawful for them to eat all foods, nor the freedom they had through Christ from all the ancient ceremonies to give scandal to and destroy those weak in faith who did not yet have that conviction and knowledge but that they should with love control and use with discretion that knowledge for the edification and confirmation [in their faith] of the little ones who were not yet strong.

con ellos en lo exterior, para que, sin perjuicio de la verdad de Cristo, guardasen la ley todos los convertidos del judaísmo, sin violar la fe del Evangelio, como también la guardaban los mismos Apóstoles en todo lo público, evitando el escándalo de los flacos de su nación (Valencia 2014, 471).⁵²

LOS 'FLACOS EN LA FE' AND THE MORISSCOS

Pedro de Valencia's *Tratado acerca de los moriscos* was written at the behest of Philip's III's chaplain, Fray Diego de Mardones O.P. (1528-1624). In it he examines 'el problema morisco' in detail, looking at various possible solutions. He does not accept mass expulsion, as it is unjust and un-Christian, pointing out that the Moriscos, unlike the orthodox Jews in 1492, were baptised Christians (Valencia 1999, 102, 107). In the first section, *In excissio (Concerning Destruction)*, in which he rejects the very extreme suggestion that all be put to the sword as in a just war, he accepts that many are crypto-Muslims. However, he rejects the idea that they be tried and imprisoned by the Inquisition. Instead, in language which echoes that used in the *Declaración*, when discussing the «flacos de la fe», he urges that they be treated with tolerance and love:

Como el ánimo y la intención de la Iglesia, como de madre benigna y amorosa de la salud de las almas y [que] endereza su proceder a edificación y no a destrucción, usa y ha usado siempre *ir sobrellevando los hijos pequeños y flacos* [my emphasis], mayormente cuando las flaquezas son generales de naciones o pueblos enteros, que, como confiesen y profesan la fe católica, no los quiere apretar ni convencerlos por hechos exteriores [...]. De esta manera la caridad excelentísima y prudentísima de los Santos Apóstoles, por divina dispensación y economía del Espíritu Santo, disimuló mucho tiempo en la Iglesia con *los flacos convertidos del judaísmo* [my emphasis] (Ibidem, 98-99).⁵³

In the *Declaración* Valencia reminds us how Paul, in the *Epistle to the Romans*, 14, gave details of the patience, toleration and love that is to be given to the «flaco»:

Al flaco no enteramente enseñado ni confirmado en la fe [my emphasis], sino que está como convaleciente de la enfermedad gravísima de la infidelidad pasada, recogido, dadle la mano, sobrellevadlo, no queráis que

vaya a vuestro paso, no lo apresuréis, no lo impeláis ni repujéis, disputando con él... (Valencia 2014, 489).⁵⁴

The toleration advocated by Peter and Paul in the scriptures is reciprocated by Pedro de Valencia in his *Tratado*, when advising on how to win the Moriscos over to a more sincere practice of Christianity:

Conviene pues que, esparcidos los moriscos, se trate de su verdadera conversión con amor y caridad, que vean ellos que los queremos bien, para que se fíen de nosotros y nos crean, que, en pareciendo por las obras y no por las palabras solas, que estén bien informados y seguros en la fe, no sean apartados ni distinguidos ni con el apartarlos ni para forzarlos para oír misa y doctrina, ni con carga de tributos especiales... (Valencia 1999, 123).⁵⁵

The parity of esteem for Moriscos and *cristianos viejos* advocated here is one that is central to both the fifteenth and sixteenth-century *conversos* discussed above, to Pedro de Valencia in his *Tratado* and also to Peter, Paul and James, when they gave equal status to Gentiles in the Early Church.

DIOS NO ES ACEPTADOR DE PERSONAS (ACTS 10,34)

In the *Declaración* Pedro de Valencia indicates that the social discrimination that had existed in the Old Testament came to an end in the New. Those who were not born into the Jewish faith would always have a lesser status than those who had. Converts to the Law of Noah were called *advenas habitationis* (strangers of the house); they could not inherit land nor could they become priests, as this honour was reserved for the tribe of Levi (Valencia 2014, 381-382). Christ brought to an end this inequality:

Pero para los tiempos dichosos del Nuevo Testamento y la perfecta unidad de la Iglesia en Cristo nuestro Señor, estaba profetizado que no habría esta distinción, sino que los *advenas habitationis* cesarían del todo, y se acabarían y no se admitirían por ser la Iglesia Católica universal madre de todos los creyentes, fuera de la cual no puede haber salud.⁵⁶

Those who truly converted to Christianity would have equal status with those already believers; faith and virtue and not birth alone would determine status:

⁵² [James and Paul ...] bearing the weakness of those who were still zealous observers of the law, with divine dispensation, lovingly conformed externally with all the Jewish converts, so that, without prejudicing the truth of Christ, they allowed them to keep the law, without violating their faith in the Gospel, as the Apostles themselves, when in public, observed it also, avoiding giving scandal to their compatriots'. This point is made again later: believers should be careful not to give scandal by their own behaviour, showing toleration for those who still hold on to their Judaic practices (Ibidem, 471, 487-488).

⁵³ As the aim and intention of the Church, as a kind hearted mother who cares for the health of our souls and who uses her power for edification rather than destruction, and has always helped along little, weak children, particularly when the weakness is widespread and affects whole communities who, as they confess and profess the Catholic faith, she does not wish to oppress or convince them by external means [...] in this way the great love and prudence of the Holy Apostles, by divine dispensation and, by means of the Holy Spirit, disimulated for a long time in the Church with the weak converts from Judaism. Cited in part in Magnier 2010, 269-270.

⁵⁴ To the weak [convert] not fully instructed or confirmed in his faith, who is convalescing from the very grave illness of his former infidelity, take him up, give him your hand, help him along, do not expect him to go at your pace, do not hurry him along, do not drive or push him, arguing with him. Cited in Magnier 2010, 270.

⁵⁵ It is fitting then that, once the Moriscos have been scattered [throughout Spain], it will be a question of their true conversion by love and charity, in order that they see we truly love them so that they trust us and believe us that, showing by deeds and not words alone, they may be well informed and secure in their faith, that they may not be pointed out or distinguished, either by setting them apart or forcing them to go to mass or to attend doctrine classes or to burden them with special taxes. Cited in Magnier 2010, 271.

⁵⁶ But for the blessed times of the New Testament and the perfect unity of the Church in Christ Our Lord, it was prophesied that this distinction would not exist, but that the *advenas habitationis* would entirely cease and come to an end and would no longer be accepted because the Catholic Church is the universal mother of all believers, outside which there can be no [spiritual] wellbeing.

Y los que verdaderamente se convirtiesen al cristianismo, de cualquier nación y profesión de religión que antes fuesen, serían admitidos a igual nombre, honra y provecho, sin distinción ni diferencia como ciudadanos e hijos legítimos, y les cabría suerte y herencia en lo bueno y mejor conforme a su fe y obras virtuosas (Idem, 382).⁵⁷

This ideal from the Early Church is not being implemented in seventeenth-century Spain, where the Moriscos are spurned and segregated:

Y así es de entender que [los moriscos] llevaran con impaciencia y coraje el agravio que juzgan que se hace en privarlos de su tierra y en no tratarlos con igualdad de honra y estimación con los demás ciudadanos y naturales. Porque, ellos, en la forma que ahora están, no se tienen por ciudadanos, no participando en las honras y oficios públicos y siendo tenidos en reputación tan inferior, notados con infamia y apartados en las iglesias y cofradías y en otras congregaciones y lugares (Valencia 1999, 81).⁵⁸

Valencia makes this point again in the *Declaración* in the context of the conversion of Cornelius:

Dios no es aceptador de personas ni diferencia a los hombres para su gracia o desgracia, por de esta o aquella nación, de este o aquel linaje o familia, sino que en todas las gentes y naciones, los que le temen, reverencian y obedecen, como este Cornelio, le son agradables, aunque sean padres infieles, e idólotras, y no sean judíos ni circuncidados (Valencia 2014, 424).⁵⁹

For perceptive readers of the *Declaración* many of the nouns used in the previous passage must have seemed highly relevant to their own society, obsessed as it was with family, lineage and of course the *limpieza de sangre* (Purity of Blood) statutes. Pedro de Valencia does not criticise directly this legislation which created a class of citizens excluded from membership of the religious orders, the universities and positions within the state bureaucracy.⁶⁰ However, one of the measures that he advocates in his *Tratado* for the assimilation of the Moriscos in fact implies their ending: the section which he calls *Permístión* (*Mixture*) advocates mixed marriages between *cristianos viejos* (Old Christians) and the

Moriscos, who were *cristianos nuevos* (New Christians), all of whom had been baptised in the sixteenth century. One of his strongest arguments comes from Roman history: Romulus, after conquering the Albanians and the Sabines, made them Roman citizens and they became assimilated into society. This policy continued and became the basis for the power and prosperity of Rome (Valencia 1999, 120-121).⁶¹

Valencia says that he has taken the title *Permístión* from Séneca, *De ira*, 2, 34, 4, and it means complete mixture (Valencia 1999, 122-123). Should such a policy be implemented between Moriscos and *cristianos viejos*, the children born of such unions would be treated with respect: «Conviene que [...] los que fueren naciendo de matrimonio de cristianos viejos y moriscos, no sean tratados ni tenidos por moriscos, que a los unos y ni a los otros no los afrentemos ni despreciemos» (Idem, 123).⁶² High office in the state should be open to all; when some are excluded from such opportunities it can lead to civil unrest, as Diodorus Siculus recounted in the case of the Thurians, a Greek colony in Italy (Idem, 124). Valencia's final conclusion is a radical one: history has shown the foolishness of having divisions in society. If they are rejected and all people have equal status, as advocated by Paul in Galatians 3, 27-29, then society will become unified and the present type of caste system will end:

Conviene, pues, no que los moriscos sean iguales en los oficios y honras del Reino con los cristianos viejos, sino que los moriscos se acaben y solamente queden y haya en el Reino cristianos viejos; que sea toda la república de gente de un nombre y de un ánimo, sin division, para que no haya disención (Idem, 124).⁶³

Aware of the prejudices of his contemporaries, Valencia denies any inferiority among the Moriscos. If the present lack of respect were to be removed, the only differences would be the reputations, habits and education of individuals; intermarriage has already taken place without harmful consequences: «Así que, como quite lo nominal, que es la infamia, no temamos que se "inficione" la sangre de los españoles con la mezcla de la de los moros, que muchos la tienen de antigüedad y no les daña...» (Idem, 124).⁶⁴

⁵⁷ Those who truly converted to Christianity, from whatever nation or religion they professed previously, would be granted the same name, reputation or advantage, without difference or distinction, as citizens and legitimate children, and they would be entitled to good fortune and inheritance of life's good things, in accordance with their faith and virtuous deeds.

⁵⁸ ...thus we should understand that [the Moriscos] must be angry and impatient with the affront that they consider that they are suffering by being deprived of their lands and not giving them the same respect and esteem as the other citizens and native inhabitants. As they, because of how they are now treated, do not consider themselves to be citizens as they do not participate in positions of honour and public office, as their reputation is held to be so inferior, they are considered shameful and set apart in churches, confraternities and in other congregations and venues.

⁵⁹ God has no favourites nor does he differentiate between men for good or ill, through belonging to this or that nation, to this or that lineage or family, but that in all people and nations those who fear, revere and obey him, like this Cornelius, are pleasing to him, even if they have infidel and idolatrous parents and are not Jewish or circumcised.

⁶⁰ See Albert Sicroff 1960.

⁶¹ The historian Josephus also supported this policy in his satire against Apion: «por eso lo acertaron ellos mejor en mezclar y confundir el nombre y el linaje, de manera que fuesen innumerables sin diferencia ni distinción de los antiguos o de los nuevos ciudadanos» (...thus they achieved this better by mixing up and confusing the name and lineage so that they were innumerable, with no distinction between the old and the new citizens).

⁶² It is appropriate that [...] those to be born of marriages between Old Christians and Moriscos should not be treated or taken as Moriscos, and that we should not dishonour or treat them with disrespect.

⁶³ It is fitting, then, not that the Moriscos have the same entitlements as the Old Christians with regard to social positions within the state but that the Moriscos come to an end and that there only remain in the state Old Christians; and that the people of the whole state have the same name and be of one mind, without division, so that dissension does not arise. Cited in Magnier 2010, 284.

⁶⁴ (Thus, if you take away the name from which the bad reputation derives, let us not fear that the blood of Spaniards will be infected by that of the Moors; many have it from time immemorial and it does not harm them). Valencia's unprejudiced judgement of the Moriscos is well known: he considers them to be Spaniards as they have lived in the Iberian Peninsula for nine hundred years and they are also physically similar to their Old Christian compatriots (Valencia 1999, 81).

Valencia's ideal of the unity that would follow from mixed marriages, inspired by his reading of the scriptures of the Early Church, had been attempted, unsuccessfully, by others (Valencia 1999, 58; Benítez Sánchez-Blanco y Ciscar Pallarés 1979, 297). Perhaps his uniqueness lay in the emphasis on leading by example (see above p. 18) and on pedagogical methods that took into account the background and mindset of the student. As an experienced teacher himself, he could see the futility of compulsion, sarcasm and rote learning; instruction should also be tailored to the needs of each individual (Valencia 1999, 116).

CONCLUSIONS: PEDRO DE VALENCIA AND THE SUPREMACY OF LOVE

In both the *Declaración* and the *Tratado* Pedro de Valencia stresses the primordial importance of «caridad» or love. Christ was the fulfilment of the Law of Moses with all its obligations and rules; he would replace it with the law of the spirit, a type of spiritual circumcision:

Asentada y manifiesta verdad es en toda la Cristiana Iglesia que Cristo Nuestro Señor cumplió la Antigua Ley con todas sus ceremonias, sombras, misterios, significaciones y observancias exteriores, y quiso [quitó?] el yugo gravísimo y obligación a la guarda de ella⁶⁵ de las cerviceras de todas las naciones, igualmente judíos y gentiles... (Valencia 2014, 407).⁶⁶

A little further down Valencia stresses this point: «Dios es espíritu y es perfecto, y quiere —y siempre quiso— que sean tales los que le han de servir y adorar, espirituales y perfectos [...] que sean verdaderamente circuncidados de corazón, como está escrito» (Idem, 407).⁶⁷

In the section of this essay on the Moriscos there is a quotation in which Valencia compares the neophyte Christians to children, who are helped along by the Church as a mother would: «[la Iglesia ...] usa y ha usado siempre ir sobrellevando los hijos pequeños y flacos» (p. 8. n. 53); in the *Declaración* «la caridad» is given a similar role: «la caridad [...] enseña a levantar, edificar y confirmar a los más pequeños y flacos y darles la mano para que no caigan y pasen adelante»⁶⁸ (Ibidem, 480). The similarity of imagery between the two documents makes it probable that Pedro de Valencia viewed the Moriscos as Peter, Paul and James saw the Gentiles: Christianity did not distinguish between converts in the Church, be they Jews or Gentiles; equally Valencia stresses that the New Christian Moriscos should

have the same status as the Old Christians. To communicate this acceptance and love to them he makes many suggestions: *cristianos viejos* should pray that the Moriscos will have a change of heart and become truly converted; there should also be public prayer and penance, «*in ieiunio & fletu & planctu*» («in fasting, lamentation and beating of the breast»), as was carried out in the Early Church; the pope should be asked to grant a jubilee year that would require prayers, almsgiving and fasting (Valencia 1999, 116-117).⁶⁹

PEDRO DE VALENCIA, LA *PHILOSOPHIA CHRISTI* AND THE *LECCIÓN CRISTIANA*

What were the core values of Pedro de Valencia that inspired him to write his biblical commentaries and his socio-economic and political tracts? As mentioned before (5), Gaspar Morocho Gayo considers that his time in schools marked by the ethos of Juan de Ávila gave him a love of sacred scripture and classical texts, indifference to social position and love of a tranquil life (Valencia 1993, 124). The sixteenth century was a golden age for biblical studies in Spain, as the *Alcalá* and *Biblia Regia* polyglot bibles gave scholars access to the scriptures in the original Hebrew, Greek and Latin in the former to which were added Syriac and Aramaic in the latter. From the time he was a young man Pedro de Valencia had been attracted toward theology and biblical studies. He was profoundly influenced by his relationship with Benito Arias Montano. The *Philosophia Christi*, with its belief in the centrality of the scriptures to spirituality was echoed in Arias Montano's *Dictatum christianum*, which Pedro de Valencia translated as *Lección Cristiana*.⁷⁰ The virtues of charity, penance and fear of God are the core themes of the work, used by Valencia in the school in Zafrá.⁷¹ M. Andrés Martín considers that the toleration of other Christian denominations and the restoration of Christian unity was the motivation for the *Dictatum*, written during Arias Montano's time in Antwerp, as editor of the *Biblia Regia* (Andrés Martín 1998, 9-23). This scholar is among those who believed that the primary influences on Arias Montano were the fifteenth-century *converso* scholars, including those involved in the *Alcalá Polyglot Bible* (1515-1522) (Valencia 2002, 52-54). M. del Prado Ortiz Sánchez, editor of the *Declaración*, considers that Pedro de Valencia went to the founding texts of Christianity as a support for his own faith (Valencia 2014, 16, 343). The insistence of Paul that faith should be accompanied by good

⁶⁵ In the context of the passage «quitó», meaning «to remove» with as direct object «el yugo gravísimo», «the very heavy yoke» seems more logical that «quiso», «he desired», and may be a mistake made by the scribe.

⁶⁶ «In all the Christian Church it is a well-established and manifest truth that Christ Our Lord was the fulfilment of the Old Law with all its ceremonies, shadows, mysteries, meanings and external observances and removed the very heavy yoke and the obligation to observe it from the necks of all nations, both Jews and Gentiles».

⁶⁷ God is a spirit and is perfect and wants —and always wanted— that those who are to serve and adore him should be the same, spiritual and perfect [...] that their hearts should be truly circumcised, as is written...

⁶⁸ love [...] teaches how to lift up, to edify and confirm [in their faith] the smallest and weakest and give them her hand so that they do not fall and may then go forward.

⁶⁹ Cited in Magnier 2010, 295.

⁷⁰ J. L. Paradinas, in the *Introductory Study* to the *Lección cristiana*, details the influence of Juan de Ávila on the *Dictatum*. He had set up schools and colleges in many parts of Andalucía, including an *escuela de la doctrina* in Zafrá (Valencia 2002, 64-65). In translating the Latin text, Valencia is complying with the wish of Erasmus that the scriptures be available in the vernacular, as the book contains many extracts.

⁷¹ Spanish scholars insist that the reform movement had begun in fifteenth-century Spain. The School of Burgos with its *converso* scholars, that included Alonso de Cartagena, also studied scripture in the original Greek and Hebrew. The application of the image of «mystical body» to the Church pre-dated its use by Erasmus; it was used in the fifteenth century to include all those who had been baptised, during the controversy which arose following implementation of the Purity of Blood Statute (Valencia 2002, 24-30).

deeds is reflected in the socio-economic writings of Pedro de Valencia in which he tries to influence the king on agrarian, monetary and social policy.⁷² It is in this context that I see his *Tratado acerca de los moriscos* and believe that he wished them to be treated with the same respect as the Apostles had treated the Gentile converts.

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⁷² These are the most important treatises: *Discurso o memorial sobre el precio del pan* (1605); *Discurso de Pedro de Valencia acerca de la moneda de vellón* (1605); *Discurso sobre el acrecentamiento de la labor de la tierra* (1607); *Discurso contra la ociosidad* (1608); *Consideraciones acerca de enfermedades y salud del Reino* (ca 1618). Valencia directed his writings at the King, whom he approached through his chaplains.

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