



**T.C.
BURSA ULUDAĞ ÜNİVERSİTESİ
SOSYAL BİLİMLER ENSTİTÜSÜ
FELSEFE VE DİN BİLİMLERİ ANABİLİM DALI
DİNLER TARİHİ BİLİM DALI**

**JESUIT MISSIONARY APPROACHES TO THE 'MUSLIM
INFIDELS' AND ITS IMPACT TODAY**

(YÜKSEK LİSANS TEZİ)

Bengi ALP

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**Danışman:
Doç. Dr. Bülent ŞENAY**

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YEMİN METNİ

Yüksek Lisans Tezi olarak sunduğum “**Jesuit Missionary Approaches to the ‘Muslim Infidels’ and its Impact Today**” başlıklı çalışmanın bilimsel araştırma, yazma ve etik kurallarına uygun olarak tarafımdan yazıldığına ve tezde yapılan bütün alıntıların kaynaklarının usulüne uygun olarak gösterildiğine, tezimde intihal ürünü cümle veya paragraflar bulunmadığına şerefim üzerine yemin ederim.

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Müslümanlara Yönelik Cizvit Misyonerliğinin Dünü ve Bugünü

Osmanlı'nın Avrupa'ya yaklaşması ve başarısız olan haçlı seferi ile rahipler ve misyonerler, ilahi kılıçla Osmanlı'ya, diğer ve Müslüman kafirlere karşı "ilahi kılıcı" kalplerine saplayarak onları yenmeye karar verdiler. İslam'a, Kuran'a ve geleneklerine karşı bir polemik eseri yazan rahip ve misyoner Juan de Segovia' dan başlayarak misyonlarını hiçbir zaman Avrupa dışına aktarmamış, ancak yaklaşımı ve 'ilahi kılıcını' ilerletme çalışmaları ile belki de diğer rahipleri ve misyonerleri etkilemiştir. Ignatius de Loyola ve onun Cizvit Tarikatı, 'evrensel' misyonları ve Avrupa dışındaki 'Müslüman kafirler' ile olan etkileşimleriyle biliniyordu. Her ne kadar Ignatius, misyonerlik amacıyla Avrupa sınırlarını hiçbir zaman terk etmemişse de, 17. yüzyıldaki Cizvit üyeleri bunu yavaş yavaş Hindistan, Japonya ve Mezopotamya gibi ülkelerde ikamet ederek seyahat ederek yaptılar. Bu tez, Müslümanlara yönelik Cizvit misyoner yaklaşımları ve onların Avrupa içinde ve dışında onlarla etkileşimleri hakkında daha ayrıntılı bir anlayış gösterecektir.

Anahtar Sözcükler: Misyonerlik – Cizvit Tarikatı – İlahi kılıç – Osmanlı imparatorluğu – Evrensel Misyonerlik – Müslüman kafirler – Polemik – Karşılaştırma dinler tarihi – Papa'nın askerleri – Kilise – Cizvit Anayasa – Müslüman istilas

ABSTRACT

Name and Surname : Bengi ALP
University : Bursa Uludağ University
Institution : Social Sciences Institution
Field : Philosophy and Religious Studies
Branch : History of Religions
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Supervisor/s : Doç. Dr. Bülent Şenay

Jesuit Missionary Approaches to the ‘Muslim Infidels’ and its Impact Today

With the approach of the Ottomans to Europe and the failed crusade, priests and missionaries decided to move forward against the Ottomans, the other and the Muslim infidels with the ‘divine sword’, defeating them by stabbing the ‘divine sword’ right through their hearts. Starting with the priest and missionary Juan de Segovia who happen to have written a polemic work against Islam, the Quran and its traditions, he never transferred his missions outside Europe but perhaps influenced other priests and missionaries with his approach and with his work to further his ‘divine sword’. Ignatius de Loyola and his Jesuit Order were known for their ‘universal’ missions and their interactivity with ‘Muslim infidels’ outside Europe. Although, Ignatius himself never left the borders of Europe for missionary purpose but his fellow 17th century Jesuit members did and they did so gradually by travelling and residing in countries like India, Japan and Mesopotamia. This thesis will show a more detailed insight on Jesuit missionary approaches to Muslims and their interactivity with them in and outside Europe.

Key Words: Missionary – Jesuit Order – Divine sword – Ottoman Empire – Universal Mission – Muslim infidels – polemic – comparative study of religion – Pope’s soldiers – Church – Jesuit Constitution – Muslim invasion

FOREWORD

Missions in Europe and outside its borders are still very much prevalent in Europe and in other parts of this world. Missionary activities in non – Christian countries are as common as missionary activities in Europe. Missions and interfaith dialogues took place in the history of conversion by its pioneers and they took their form throughout the centuries and are still carried out in today’s academic world. Europe’s ‘fear of the other’ demonstrated itself during the approach of the Ottoman Empire, carrying its tradition that did not fit western narrative. This is still prevalent in today’s 21st century Europe starting with the first guest workers in the 70s/80s from Turkey and now with the refugees seeking refuge in Europe that are predominantly from Muslim countries. Surveys convey that a certain amount of Europeans believe that Muslim refugees jeopardize western constitutions, values and systems with their traditions that are believed to be ‘backward’ and ‘not modern enough’ to be part of the western culture. During my occupation as a refugee social worker in Germany, where I helped new coming refugees with asylum paperwork, housing, school and other personal needs, I experienced many different and interesting things. It seems that converting Muslim refugees to Christianity sometimes is not even necessary anymore but that refugees themselves either accept the Christian faith automatically in order to receive protection from the government claiming to be politically followed by Muslim leaders, or some of them are indeed pseudo Christians using this advantage to seek protection but stil perform Islam secretly. Pseudo Christians were common in Muslim Iberia where Christians evicted Muslims from their homes during the *Reconquista* where Iberian Muslims’ fate was either conversion or execution. However, some could not leave their belongings and possessings but feared for their lives. So, the ultimate solution was living among the other as pseudos and continue performing their religion secretly. There are but some parallels between the past and present with minor differences.

Conversion itself is one phenomenon that I had the privilege to experience myself on numerous occasions. It is indeed something common in the 21st century where European individuals convert, whether Muslim or not, to Islam or Christianity.

However, the history of conversion is another phenomenon for itself. Missions in the 16th and 17th century were perhaps tools used for political reasons rather than divine reasons as were polemic works that came within. But history may repeat itself not as evidently as it did in the 16th and 17th century but missions and conversion may perhaps be still political tools in present day. Today, European far – right groups may not even believe a conversion to be the *ultimato ratio* in order to protect western constitutions but rather believe to deport every non – Christian individual to maintain western values. This thesis will provide information about the history of conversion, missionary approaches to Muslims, its effectiveness and how it impacted and shaped today’s western society.

Bengi ALP

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ABBREVIATIONS

DGDS	De Gladio Divini Spiritus
MCM	Manuductio ad Conversionem Mahumethanorum
AHSI	Archivum historicum Societatis Iesu
RS	Ratio Studiorum
SE	Spiritual Exercises
JArch	Jesuit Archives
SJ	Society Jesus
Cf.	compare
ADPSJ	Archiv der Deutschen Provinz der Jesuiten
SG	Superior General
GATE	Gregorian Archive Text Editing
APUG	Historical Archives of the Pontifical Gregorian University

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INTRODUCTION

“All words are defined relative to conceptual frames. When you hear a word, its frame is activated in your brain.”¹

In his famous book *The ALL NEW Don't Think of an Elephant!: Know Your Values and Frame the Debate*, George Lakoff², a cognitive scientist and the father of *framing*, explains how the human brain is shaped by “cognitive consciousness and unconsciousness” and how framing and reframing contribute to social change. With his theory of “framing” he explains that the uprising of certain politicians is connecting to the careful choosing of the language and how to address certain topics in their political campaigns. During a debate, candidates activate each other's frames by pointing out certain issues and this “frame activating” also works for those who follow the debate or a specific conversation between two or more participants. Lakoff already gives an example with the title of the book “Don't think of an Elephant”. When someone says, “Don't think of an Elephant”, an individual automatically and unconsciously thinks of an elephant. Lakoff's theory of framing is a tool that can also be applied to other phenomena, i.e. polemics, missions and demagoguery. In the twenty-first century, politicians, especially from right-wing parties started to activate a specific frame in their political campaigns to build a “common sense” between them and their voters. They use a specific communication and language in order to be successful and it requires constant repetition of that language in order to frame a topic and its audience. Moreover, news broadcasts use the technique of framing. An example for this is how the media – as well as politicians – have framed Islam and other religious minorities. 9/11 has been framed in such a way that the majority may not think about the tragic incident of the two twin towers and the lives that were lost but rather of Islam and terrorism. With the refugee crisis in Europe, right-wing political parties have activated the frame of the *other* ‘invading’ Europe, jeopardizing European values, taking advantage of the welfare state

¹ George Lakoff, *Don't Think of an Elephant!: Know Your Values and Frame the Debate : the Essential Guide for Progressives* (Chelsea Green Publishing Company, 2004), 16.

² George Lakoff is known for his research in cognitive sciences, linguistic and philosophy. He contributed his research in American politics to explain the complex phenomena on why Republicans control the Senate, the House, and the White House.

and spreading fear. Consequently, this framing led to the increase of xenophobia and racism towards any individual who physically appears as a Muslim or Arab to some extent. Now, to what extent is the concept of framing connected to the study of religion? In Europe and other western contexts, religion has been framed into the discourse of cultural heritage, especially when it comes to other religions outside Christianity. While Catholicism shaped Europe to a unified identity in history, migrant religions and new religious movements are framed into the discourse of cultural heritage. In his book *111 Questions on Islam*, the Egyptian Jesuit and professor of Islamic studies, Samir Khalil Samir, S.J., argues that the reason why Muslim refugees in Europe face daily discrimination is their cultural heritage, i.e. Muslim refugees from the middle east need to adapt to European/Christian values in order to be fully accepted by the society. He asserts that not only do Muslim refugees bring along their religion but the culture that comes within the religion itself.³ Thereupon, western scholars and politicians apply the framing of culture when speaking about the refugee crisis and Islam and try to establish an ultimate explanation on why Islamic values do not fit the European or *western narrative*.

1.The Origins of this Research

During my studies abroad at the University of Winnipeg in Canada, I came across Indigenous people, living in the outskirts of Canada (Reservations). In my course work, I completed courses in cultural studies specifically in Indigenous cultural studies. The first book I read about Indigenous people was Thomas Kings's *The Inconvenient Indian* where he vastly emphasizes on residential schools run by Catholics where priests and nuns forcibly baptized Indigenous children, changing their traditional names to English names, prohibiting them to speak their native tongue and forcing the doctrine upon them. That is when I first learned about missions in North America where Indigenous people shared the same fate of Iberian Muslims after the Reconquista – baptism or execution. In a course work of religious studies during my MA at the University of Uludag, I came across the Society of Jesus for the first time where my interest in further research widened. There is a link between all the missions in different

³ Khalil Samir et al., *111 Questions on Islam: Samir Khalil Samir, S.J. on Islam and the West : a Series of Interviews Conducted by Giorgio Paolucci and Camille Eid* (Ignatius Press, 2008).

places and different times. Conversion happen in our daily lives unlike the ones in the past. While today's European constitutions and laws allow all people of different faiths and religious movement to perform their religion freely and give them the right to build places of worship, these laws were not present nor were any rights given to people of other faiths in Europe to enjoy freedom of religion in medieval times. Living in a multicultural and conservative country, this research gave me the opportunity to understand certain aspects, e.g. refugee policy. With the continuing growth of Muslim population through Syrian, Afghan, Iraqi, Iranian and African refugees, a continuing fear of the 'other' increases among natives and more oppositional groups emerge across Europe. As a refugee social worker, I experienced several phenomenons, i.e. many refugees decided or were forced to accept the Christian faith in order to receive subsidiary protection from the government or enjoy residency permit. Thus, I decided to dive deeper into this research area and narrowed it down to a phenomenology that I believe may be a contribution to further academic research in the history of conversion and history of religion. The researcher is aware of controversies that may occur throughout this thesis. However, there has always been a constant link in Christian-Muslim relations between the past and present that appears to have never ceased throughout the centuries.

Since this thesis is based on historical facts, the researcher cannot provide any empirical research. However, a comparative study with past and present phenomena and events by comparing historical facts with the present day and how they are linked with the researchers experience and factual knowledge may hopefully give the reader if this thesis the opportunity to comprehend a 'living phenomenology'.

Eurocentricism was prevalent in Medieval Europe and is still prevalent today. To see the differences between the two different times regarding Eurocentricism and the hostility towards the *other*, the history of conversion in Medieval Europe, Europe's response to non-Christians, heretics and infidels, missionary approaches of orders that worked closely together with the Church and their polemics will be examined, discussed and analyzed in a more detailed approach.

The discussions between Christians and Muslims about Jesus Christ and the Trinity lasted throughout medieval times. One significant figure and also less known in academia is the Castilian theologian Juan de Segovia who after receiving the word of the Fall of Constantinople in 1453 took measures into his own hand by creating a dialogue with the Muslim Turks as a method to ‘maintain peace’. His strategy was to convert Muslims to Christianity and he also contributed his work to the translation of the Qur’an. Juan de Segovia’s role as a theologian maintains a significant role in the history of religion and history of conversion, for he had a major role in the Council of Basel (1431 – 49).⁴ Not only did Segovia translate the Qur’an (Latin, Arabic, Castilian) with the help of Yca Gidelli, a Castilian Muslim jurist and scholar, but he also dedicated his work effort to anti – Muslim polemic works and believed to defeat the ‘Muslim infidel’ with preaching and conversion. Even if his intentions were to ‘maintain peace’ between Christians and Muslims (Muslim Turks), he believed that the Islamic prophet was influenced by the devil and that his doctrine was a sectarian doctrine only to cause the opposite of peaceful Christian-Muslim relations. Many polemic writers as well as Juan de Segovia have one in common: all argued the Qur’an to be erroneous and false concerning morals, marriage, war, and women. Additionally, they also share a common characteristic by endorsing the Christian Canon with major topics in the Qur’an about Jesus, the Trinity and the Holy Spirit.

In history, conversion was not just an everyday act but a phenomenon that goes back even before medieval times. Biblical sources were enough encouragement and prove for different Christian religious orders to navigate newly ordained priests and missionaries to baptize pagans, members of sects and Muslims. Missionaries and priests like Ignatius de Loyola, Juan de Segovia, Tirso González and St. Francis Xavier, to name the ones who will be more focused on in this thesis, all have parallels in their missionary intentions: *world or universal evangelization*. Just as in the biblical verses, the priests are the shepherds and the sheep are those in need of an eternal salvation, i.e. pagans, sects and infidels. The book of Ezekiel is one metaphorical and biblical

⁴ Anne Marie Wolf, *Juan de Segovia and the Fight for Peace: Christians and Muslims in the Fifteenth Century*, 1st edition (University of Notre Dame Press, 2014), 3.

example for missionary intentions that were prevalent among missionaries in Medieval Europe:

“For thus says the Lord God: Behold, I, I myself will search for my sheep and will seek them out. As a shepherd seeks out his flock when he is among his sheep that have been scattered, so will I seek out my sheep, and will rescue them from all places where they have been scattered on a day of clouds and thick darkness. And I will bring them out from the peoples and gather them from the countries, and will bring them into their own land.” (Ezekiel 34:11-16)

The Christian doctrine was the ultimate fundament for missions of several Christian religious orders for the conversion of the *other*. For many missionaries, following the footsteps of Jesus Christ was nearly an obligation in the conversion of the ‘lost sheeps’ while they were the ‘shepherd of the herd’ not for the benefit of the ‘herd’ but rather for themselves. Missionary approaches during the time of the Society of Jesus and missionary approaches today have many parallels. One may even say that Jesuit missionary approaches and their methods are being continued today. Research methodologies in Islamic studies of Christian theologians does not necessarily distinguish from the Jesuitic ones. Both Jesuit priests and today’s Christian theologians hold on to common topics, i.e. topics they claim Muslim scholars themselves have misinterpreted and did not comprehend properly (e.g. Trinity, Jesus as the son of God, Virgin Mary, etc.) and argue that the Qur’an enhances the Christian doctrines, Jesus as Son of God and the Trinity. Extracts and examples will be given and elaborated in the analysis section (see chapter 2).

2. Subject Matter

As already mentioned above, in a brief summary of the major research topics, this thesis is set to focus on the emergence of the Society of Jesus, its history, its activity, its approach and its method in the conversion of ‘Muslim infidels’. The utmost and ultimate center is the a 17th century Jesuit work aimed against Islam and its doctrine. However, the researcher does not only focus on this specific literature but also tries to

find a link and parallels to and with other missionaries of different orders that dedicated their lives in the study of Islamic texts and traditions. Thus, this research topic also focuses on missions and polemics prior the Society of Jesus and how Jesuit priests may have benefited from them. The Society of Jesus always had a different profile than other religious orders where it is said that they were envied or even despised especially from royal authorities and governments. The Society of Jesus never perished but rather 'bloomed' in a way that left the researcher questioning on why they remained active despite the contempt? Why are the Jesuits known to be the 'divine soldiers' of Jesus Christ?

Another major topic of this research is the methodological approach of Jesuit missions in Christian and also non-Christian countries. Jesuit missions and literary works have always been 'framed' to major topics in the Qur'an, i.e. Trinity, Jesus Christ, Virgin Mary, the customs of Islam, the role of women and religious traditions of the Islamic prophet. This thesis is a comprehensive work of the history of religion and comparative religion between Jesuits and Muslims throughout the centuries. The researcher of this thesis is fully aware of the reliability and unreliability of some reports of Jesuit mission to 'Muslim infidels' especially of that in the Mughal Empire where Jesuit priests resided in India to baptize the Emperor Akbar. The researcher's inference is that many historical accounts may be unreliable that are part of the phenomenology of conversion. Many of these major topics Jesuit postulated on are still major topics in the 21st century socio-political realm. Missionary approaches to Muslims are not as prevalent in the 21st century but Western Europe believes to bring a reform to Islam with using the 'framing' tool against the Muslim community so that Muslims question their own faith and create their own 'liberal' religious movement where some traditions are held on to but many also canceled.

St. Ignatius de Loyola, the founder of the Society of Jesus was also affected and influenced by historical events that took place long before he was born. However, the possible 'invasion' of Europe by Muslims and the fear of losing the Christian faith, St. Ignatius de Loyola promoted his 'counter reformation' not only against heretics but also

against non-Christians including Muslims, Jews and Pagans. Unlike Juan de Segovia, his missions became widespread not only in Europe but Muslim ruled lands abroad to avoid a possible further ‘Muslim invasion’ in Europe. St. Ignatius himself did not carry his missions outside Europe but since the approval of the Society of Jesus by the Pontiff, Paul III, fellow Jesuit members like St. Francis Xavier, Jerôme Xavier and other Jesuits in the seventeenth century travelled the world for their missions. Both St. Ignatius and Segovia share the same aim - conversion as a method for a ‘divine fight’, a ‘peaceful battle’ against the ‘Muslim infidel’ outside a literal battelfield. However, to claim that the conversion method of Ignatius was ‘peaceful’ and whether it was only religiously, sparks controversies and the researcher of this thesis is aware of the subjectives of the sources and literature that may lead to irritation but will give an objective research on this subject matter.

Similar to Segovia and ancient Arab Christians at the time when Islam first emerged, St. Ignatius and his Jesuit followers were concerned with the objection of the Trinity, the image of Jesus Christ and also the role of Virgin Mary. St. Ignatius’ devotion to the Virgin Mary was as significant in his *Spiritual Exercises* as well as in his worships, which became prevalent once the Society of Jesus and the Virgin Mary shrines became a significant place of worship across Europe and beyond. St. Ignatius himself did not publish any anti – Muslim polemic works but he indirectly referred to the issues of Islam in Europe and how an *Islamization* could be prevented. After the establishment of the Jesuit Order in 1540 in Rome with the help of Pope Paul III, Jesuit priests and missionaries took their missions across Europe as a means world evangelization, to the Middle East (Christian Ethiopia), larger parts of Asia (e.g. India, Indonesia, China and Japan), North and South America.

The Jesuit Missions in Europe as well as in Muslim ruled lands deserve respectful academic attention. The Society’s influence on the Catholic Church and Europe’s political matters in history play a significant role in Christian-Muslim relations in historical events as well as in present day socio-political matters. Before the Reconquista and the Fall of Constantinople, the coexistence of Christians, Muslims and Jews in Medieval Europe shows that *Universalism* in Europe is possible. Similar to

Medieval Jesuit missionaries, today's Jesuit missionaries together with the Catholic Church still believe in a conversion of Muslim refugees to be the only and utmost solution to help Muslims adapt to western culture. Additionally, contemporary Jesuit scholars argue that the religion of Islam and its 'culture' does not fit the narrative of western culture. Surely the religion Islam itself distinguishes from Arab traditions and cultures. Arabs had taken over traditions from Persians and vice versa that are not necessarily connected to religion. The epitome of distinguishing religion and culture is the Mughal Emperor to India named Abu'l Fath Jalal-ud-din Muhammad Akbar and his famous established *Ibadat Khana* and *Din-i-Ilahi* which will be discussed in chapter three.

In his *Culture and Imperialism*, Edward Said gives an explicit elaboration of the meaning of 'culture' where he points out that it "means all those practices, like the arts of description, communication, representation, that have relative autonomy from the economic, social, and political realms and that often exist in aesthetic forms, one of whose principal aims is pleasure."⁵ In past times, people kept reading contemporary stories of well-known authors to follow the footsteps and to inform themselves with "people, society, and tradition" which brings us to the conclusion that 'culture' is "a source of identity".⁶ According to Said, 'culture' leads nations to separate aggressively from "us" to "them" and often to the degree of xenophobia, which is very present today.⁷ However, religious identity and cultural identity are two distinguishing aspects that are misused in present times when a country is 'forced' to open their doors for another group of people. It is certain that Jesuit missionaries, those who were in the court of Akbar did not distinguish culture with religion with their possible lack of knowledge and empirical experience (see chapter 3).

Jesuits are known for their literary genres and their contribution to literature and manuscripts in general. Thus, an abundance of polemics, Qur'an translations, letters and sacred dramas are preserved in different archives around the world. Jesuits were the authors of their own history by documenting every single event they experienced during

⁵ Edward W. Said, *Culture and Imperialism*, 25447th edition (New York: Vintage, 1994), xi.

⁶ Said, *Culture and Imperialism*, xiii.

⁷ Said, *Culture and Imperialism*, xiii.

their missions in Europe and abroad, i.e. how many pagans and Muslims and people of other sects they converted, some conversions of individuals received more attention in the Jesuit documents by giving a detailed narration about the location of baptism, how many witnessed the conversion, how many people sought to convert to Christianity after they witnessed a baptism, what the Jesuit Fathers preached and how the people reacted to the preaching and sermons. Additionally, in almost every Jesuit work we know or that are preserved today share many common characteristics, i.e. their missionary methods they implied during their missions and how they perceived and understood the ‘Mohammedan sect’⁸ not only with the help of Islamic sources but also through the encounter with Muslim scholars, leaders and rulers as well as through obtaining the lifestyle of Muslims. As expected, in almost every work Jesuits claim to be surprised by the customs and traditions of Muslims. Thus, some of their narrations and statements are controversial, for Muslims and Christian lived alongside each other throughout centuries from the Islamic west to Iberia, Mesopotamia and India. These events and experiences were collected through letters Jesuits used to keep sending to the Superior Generals, Kings and Queens, Professors and other fellow priests in Europe. Also known as *Litterae Indepetarum*⁹, these letters written by Jesuit missionaries who mostly spent their time in different places for conversion purposes helped other Jesuit priests and historians to collect, print and publish these in order to provide educational material for Jesuit students who chose the path of becoming a missionary and who can prepare themselves by reading experiences from former Jesuit priests. It is important to point out that these letters are no historical sources but rather a collection of events, gossip and reports that were written down during the missions abroad. The reason why some of these works did not get sufficient attention in academia is because of its lack of authenticity. Some scholars, theologians and researchers argue that Jesuit missionary works are too apologetic and not authentic and reliable enough. One example is the conversion and life of Juan Andrés (Lat.: Joannes Andreas), a former Muslim *Faqih*

⁸ Every Jesuit literary work I did research in and included in this thesis refers to Islam as the ‘Mohammadan sect’ and in some cases the ‘Mohammadan law’ or the ‘Law of Mohammad’. Depending on the source and where the mission took place, Jesuit missionaries and priests refer to Iberian Muslims as Moors and those who converted to Christianity Moriscos. Muslims outside the Iberian Peninsula are referred to as Mohammadans or Muhammadans (Lat.: Mahomet) or infidels.

⁹ The *Litterae Indepetarum* can be considered as a ‘literary genre’ within the Society of Jesus where 14,000 examples are preserved in the Roman Archive of the Society of Jesus (AHIS). Resembling a memoir or diary, Jesuits recorded their own history through letters (*Litterae Indepetarum*) and were their own authors of their own history.

(religious jurist in Islam) who was baptized in the cathedral in Valencia after hearing a sermon that affected him profoundly in 1487. He is known for his polemic work *Confusión o confutación de la secta Mahomética y del Alcoran*, published in 1515 and an anti-Muslim treatise and that is about it. There is little source about Juan Andrés, i.e. about his past life as a Muslim *Faqih*, his name before he chose baptism and his missionary activities where and how many Muslims he converted. The only thing known about him is his anti-Muslim treatise which makes someone question his existence, i.e. did a *Morisco*¹⁰ called Juan Andrés who is claimed to be a Muslim *Faqih* wrote an anti-Muslim treatise, translated the Qur'an into romance and made use of the *tafsir* (Qur'anic exegesis) and divided it into four parts? These are exactly the same as Yca Gidelli who also translated the Qur'an in romance, included the *tafsir* and divided it into four parts. According to Consuelo López-Morillas, both share parallels and Juan Andrés' Qur'an translation seemed to be a copy of Yca Gidelli's.¹¹ Prominent *Moriscos* who had a great contribution into the missions of the Society of Jesus such as Baldassarre de Loyola Mandes and Juan Andrés were celebrated within the Society of Jesus, other within other Christian religious orders (i.e. Franciscans) or among Catholics in general but their fame seemed to have been disappeared abruptly. Some seventeenth century Jesuit missionaries and priests such as Tirso González, Domenico Brunacci and even Jesuit dramatists like Pedro Calderón de la Barca, wrote whole accounts, biographies and dramatic plays about them. Thus, the authenticity of these converts and their contribution to the Society of Jesus with their works and missions becomes conflicting. To what extent are these conversion stories true that conversion itself

¹⁰ The difference between *Moors* and *Moriscos* is the conversion background. *Moriscos* are former Muslims who converted to Christianity mostly located in Spain or Iberia. *Moors* is an equivalent term for Muslims commonly used to refer to Muslims in Iberia and Spain. *Conversos* are Christian converts with a Jewish background. Cf. M. Martin, *Jesuits* (Simon & Schuster, 2013).

¹¹ 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* 41/1 (2012): 317–343. Other sources include Bobzin ("Bemerkungen": *Der Koran 77-79*); Nancy Kobrin et al., "The Qurn in Sixteenth-Century Spain. Six Morisco Versions of Sra 79The Quran in Sixteenth-Century Spain. Six Morisco Versions of Sura 79," *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 106/2 (1986): 381; CONSUELO LÓPEZ-MORILLAS, "LOST AND FOUND? YÇA OF SEGOVIA AND THE QUR'ĀN AMONG THE MUDEJARS AND MORISCOS," *Journal of Islamic Studies* 10/3 (1999): 277–292; C. Lopez-Morillas, "The Genealogy of the Spanish Qurrhringan," *Journal of Islamic Studies* 17/3 (2006): 255–294; Consuelo López-Morillas et al., "El CoránEl Coran," *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 104/2 (1984): 384; Consuelo López-Morillas et al., "Islamic Literature in Spanish and Aljamiado: Yça of Segovia , His Antecedents and SuccessorsIslamic Literature in Spanish and Aljamiado: Yca of Segovia , His Antecedents and Successors," *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 115/2 (1995): 336.

became a phenomenon? Not only did members of the Society of Jesus benefit from collected stories about conversions and experiences, missions, sermons, baptism and catechism, but also from other famous writers, play writers, poets and also missionaries of other religious orders. One example is Shakespeare's *Othello* where a black Moor is the cause of a 'social issue'. However, this topic will not be included in the subject matter for its lack of sources but the researcher of this thesis will make brief mention of it for the comprehension of unauthentic jesuitic works and to fill the gap on how the Society of Jesus was involved in literary genres.

3. Structure and Approach

This research topic focuses on the emergence and history of the Society of Jesus and its missions throughout the Occident and Orient and is divided in three chapters where the first is a historical research, the second an analysis and the third a hermeneutical research.

The first chapter provides a historical survey of the emergence and foundation of the Society of Jesus and its relationship with the Catholic Church. Furthermore, chapter one will also give an explicit survey of the construction of the Society of Jesus, its founding fathers, their educational system and how it impacted their missions and their *Spiritual Exercises* and *Constitution*, which they are required to follow. Additionally, a brief explanation of the caste system of the Society of Jesus will be provided. Secondary sources as well as primary sources such as autobiographies are taken into account for this chapter. Secondary literature of the History of the Society of Jesus are many, however, the researcher narrowed it down to the ones most suitable for a historical survey and chronological approach such as *Cizvitler* by Prof. Dr. Ali İsmail Güngör, *The Jesuits* by Malachi Martin and some primary sources written by the founder Ignatius de Loyola himself, to name a few.

The second chapter provides an analysis of the above mentioned 17th century Jesuit work, written in Latin and translated into English by the researcher, and a 13th century polemic work of a priest where both attended the same University in different

times. The researcher believes to provide the reader to compare parallels with two different works where both share the same intention, i.e. Islam, its Qur'an and its customs. The researcher focuses only on primary sources such as transcripts of Jesuit literary works to provide an objective on this subject matter. Primary sources of both Segovia and Gonzalez in their original Latin language provide an analysis and comparison of missionary activities throughout the centuries. Gonzalez' *Manudictio Ad Conversionem Mahumetanorum*, written in the 17th century, will be the main focus in this research supported with historical events and how this handbook may have been implemented by fellow Jesuit priests during their missionary activities.

The third chapter is a research that provides two examples of Jesuit missionary intentions and their approaches. With the help of their letters collected in a single literary work and with further reading of research articles on this subject matter, chapter three gives the attentive reader a insight of Jesuit behaviour among Muslims and other people of faiths such as Hindus, Sikhs, Jews, Zoroastrians and Buddhist, to name the most important ones, and how they desperately approached a powerful figure in their missions. The researcher is aware that this chapter will lead to questionably 'historical' reports of missionary works in India and an alleged prominent figure, who happened to have accepted the Christian faith.

It is important to include pre-Jesuit missionary approaches and anti-Muslim treatises in Spain in the research of the history of conversion in Medieval Spain and Iberia because even though the Society of Jesus was not known at that time, there were smaller and not so prevalent attempts to defeat the *other* and to avoid another 'invasion' by the 'enemy'. Thus, after a short historiography of the Society of Jesus and their role in the Roman Catholic Church, pre-Jesuit missionary approaches after the Reconquista will be discussed and analyzed in detail since the Society of Jesus did prove to have a permanent connection to the missions before their time. Besides secondary sources, primary sources in their original language (i.e. Latin, French, German) will be analyzed and discussed in each section for a better understanding of the phenomenology of conversion, continuing with a controversial Jesuit Superior General Tirso González who published a manuscript about his missions and how he approached the 'Muslim infidels'

during his mission in different places. As a primary source, some extracts of protruding chapters will be discussed and how these have impacted the Jesuit mission after the manuscript was published. Not only did the Jesuits carry their missions throughout the Iberian Peninsula but also outside Europe in countries like Mesopotamia and India where the Jesuit missions in India and in the Mughal Empire will be worth mentioned and why they consider their missions in India as a ‘failed mission’ will be analyzed and evaluated.

Today, the Society is praised by some for their missionaries and their attempts to have established ‘peace’¹² and maintained universalism and others such as the French historian of the modern history of the Catholic Church and author of *The Secret History of the Jesuits*, criticize the Society of Jesus as a power hungry order who use the Christian faith as an instrument to gain political and economic power. The debate about the Society of Jesus whether their missionary intentions are different than what they said it is, then and now, was and is conflicting among theologians, scholars and governments. Even if the founding father’s (Ignatius de Loyola) intentions seemed to have been only interested on a spiritual level, it should not be excluded that fellow Jesuit missionaries and priests used the approval of the Pontiff, Paul III, to further their activities in other matters, which led to a widespread hostility within Europe.

The impact of old Jesuit manuscripts and their missions to Muslims seemed to have impacted the Christian perception of Islam in Europe throughout history until present times. How it had impacted Christian-Muslim relations will be the key topic in the following chapters, providing a deeper analysis of some excerpts of medieval and early modern manuscripts and their individual historical backgrounds and why it still matters today in Europe and other continents. Historical polemics and the history of

¹²Several academic staff such as Emanuele Colombo and Anne Wolff believe that the fascination of Jesuits towards Islam and their effort to study the Qur’anic law contributed to the attempt to keep peace between the two faiths and building bridges not only on religious grounds but also cultural and political. For more reading also see Wolf, *Juan de Segovia and the Fight for Peace*; Emanuele Colombo, “‘Infidels’ at Home: Jesuits and Muslim Slaves in Seventeenth-Century Naples and Spain,” *Journal of Jesuit Studies* 1/2 (March 12, 2014): 192–211; 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*, eds. Bernard Heyberger, Mercedes García-Arenal, Emanuele Colombo, and Paola Vismara (Marietti: Milano-Genova 2009), 315-340,” accessed: January 29, 2020; Lewis R. Rambo et al., “History and Religious Conversion,” in *The Oxford Handbook of Religious Conversion*, ed. Lewis R. Rambo - Charles E. Farhadian (Oxford University Press, 2014).

conversion in general seem to have a significant impact on today's politicians and media. The difference between then and now, as mentioned above, is the different method of framing and how it impacted and impacts a nation.

While this research topic is not a living topic but rather a historical one, historical sources and literature were majorly taken into account. The terminology is straightforward and elaborated throughout the text. With this thesis topic, I hope to contribute an insight into the history of conversion and its importance in the study of religions and that I stimulated an interest into further reading and research among academic staff and students.

CHAPTER 1

THE HISTORY OF THE SOCIETY OF JESUS

1. Ignatius de Loyola: A Soldier Priest

It is significantly important to have a closer look on the life of the founding fathers of the Jesuit Order and their interactivity with other religions – especially with Muslims - in order to understand the background of their missionary intentions and their relationship with the Pope of the Roman Catholic Church. An abundant amount of books about the history of Jesuits and the founding fathers have been published throughout the centuries. Some of them in favor and several sources are vastly a harsh critique against the moral of the Jesuits, their missions and their political influence. One of the most important figures of the Society of Jesus is the founding father himself, Iñigo de Loyola whose name was later latinized to Ignatius de Loyola.¹³ Upon comparing several literatures on the life of Ignatius de Loyola and the establishment of the Jesuit Order, one might be torn about his life, his character and his actual intentions on how his life did take an interesting turn at a young age. Ignatius de Loyola and the Society of Jesus are a controversial matter in many aspects, as some historians say that his missionary exercises were not for the love of Jesus Christ and the Christian faith but rather a ‘military purpose’ supported by the Roman Catholic Church to ‘overcome’ the other that caused the Church to fall into a ‘caotic phase’, i.e. heretics (i.e. counter reformation) and non-Christian religions, a ‘threat’ that intruded Christian Europe from the outside as well as inside. During the establishment of the Jesuit Order as well as after it, Jesuits received mixed reactions from rulers in Europe. There were times where authorities in different European countries favored them as well as times where the Jesuits and the Society were expelled, suppressed and banned from several European countries as well as denounced by the Pope, Pope Clement XIV himself. The Catholic Church opposed the Jesuit Order, where the Order only existed in a shadow until 1814, only to be ‘reconstructed’ after years of suppression and banishment.

¹³ Ali İsra Güngör, *Cizvitler ve Katolik Kilisesi'ndeki yeri* (ASAM, 2002), 54.

First, a very brief biography of the founding father of the Society of Jesus and a closer analysis of his activities from his youth until his death will help to understand Ignatius' spiritual life and missionary intentions. Second, Ignatius' interaction with Muslims and his thoughts about Islam will provide an explicit look on how his encounter and thoughts with and about Islam impacted his fellow Jesuit members. Third, the relationship between Ignatius and the Pope will give an understanding of how the Society of Jesus had an immense influence on the Roman Catholic Church and in how far the pope generally benefited from the Society of Jesus in the history of conversion.

Íñigo López de Oñaz y Loyola, also and commonly known as Ignatius of Loyola or Ignatius de Loyola, "was born in 1491, the youngest of five sisters and eight brothers" in northern Spain which is also known as "the Basque province of Guipuzcoa." At first glance, Ignatius seemed to be a very ordinary and humble man, born into a Catholic family, yet not a devout Christian himself, he found his religious path after he served as a soldier. Ignatius de Loyola did not have the privilege to experience a long life with his mother who died when he was an infant. He was taken in and raised by a woman who lived on a farm close by and by his brother's wife and before he was born, significant historical events took place in different parts of the world. These events were told to Ignatius during his childhood, which may have been of insignificance then but of great importance during the time where he devoted himself to spiritual practices and his obedience to Catholicism.

The first great historical event that took place before Ignatius' birth and that was told to him while he was a young boy was the Conquest of Constantinople by the Ottoman Turks. The fall of Constantinople led to the destruction of a Christian civilization and the loss of the capital of Byzantine and "Europe's only living link with the ancient Greek world, and the sole custodian of one invaluable expression of Christian tradition."¹⁴ For Muslims, the conquest of Constantinople is the 'fulfillment' of the prophecy that was told by the prophet Muhammad himself.¹⁵ The Fall of

¹⁴ M. Martin, *Jesuits* (Simon & Schuster, 2013), 148.

¹⁵ There are two narrations about the Conquest of Constantinople whereas one that prophesied the second conquest is categorized as non-authentic. Some scholars agreed that the narrations are vague information

Constantinople was believed to be a punishment, i.e. Christian land has fallen into the hands of the infidels. The second great and historical event that influenced Ignatius was the ‘invasion’ of Spain by Moroccan Muslims. These Muslims who ‘invaded’ the Spanish visigothic were commonly known as *Moros* “because they came from what was then called Mauretania, which then comprised parts of modern Morocco and Algeria [...]” The conflicting situation between Muslims and Christians in Spain “lasted six hundred years. Whole families like Loyola reckoned their own history in terms of battles fought by their members, of decorations won for valor, of tragic deaths in combat.”¹⁶ Thus, around 1481 Ferdinand of Aragon and Isabella of Castile, two Catholic majesties, ensured the unity of Spain and the completion of the Reconquista. However, the Moors only took hold of the southern part of Granada’s fortress. Every measure was taken to fight the last *infidel*, the Moorish enemy, who “was seen as squat and small in stature, dark-faced, death-dealing, cunning, deceptive, cowardly, lodged in his rocky fastnesses, threatening war and pillage and slavery.”¹⁷ According to the Jesuit Priest and Professor of Paleography at the Vatican’s Pontifical Biblical Institute, Malachi Martin, Granada was the nearest perception of Paradise for the Moors at that time. Muslims believe in the paradisiacal life after death, which according to the Qur’an is promised to the righteous believer. He describes, “Granada was a sacred foretaste and an incarnation of Paradise.”¹⁸ Thus, Martin indirectly claims that the fall of Muslim Andalusia was a devastating loss and destruction of a sacred place that was the nearest resemblance of paradise for Spanish Muslim citizens. Three of Ignatius’s brothers lost their lives in the fight against the Moors and young Ignatius himself lived to see the site “near the Xenil which Spaniards then and since have called *el ultimo suspiro del Moro* (The last sigh of the Moor) which describes the moment the last Moorish King Boabdil,

about the conquest that is yet to come rather than the conquest led by the Sultan Mehmet Fatih. “*Constantinople* will be conquered with the coming of the Hour.” (Sahih, Jami’ at – Thirmidhi 2239, Book 33, Hadith 82) www.sunnah.com; “The Messenger of Allah said: ‘The Hour will not begin until the closest Muslim outpost will be at Baula.’. ‘Then he said: ‘O ‘Ali, O ‘Ali, O ‘Ali.’ He (‘Ali) said: ‘May my father and mother be ransomed for you.’ He said: ‘You will fight Banu Asfar (the Romans) and those who come after you will fight them, until the best of the Muslims go out to fight them, the people of Hijaz who do not fear the blame of anyone for the sake of Allah. They will conquer Constantinople with Tasbih and Takbir and will acquire such spoils of war as has never been seen before, which they will distribute by the shieldful. Someone will come and say: “Masih has appeared in your land!” But he will be lying, so the one who takes (some of the spoils) will regret it, and the one who leaves it behind will regret it too.” (Da’if, Sunan Ibn Majah 4094, Book 36, Hadith 170) www.sunnah.com.

¹⁶ Martin, *Jesuits*, 149.

¹⁷ Martin, *Jesuits*, 149.

¹⁸ Ibid.

“surnamed in history by his own people as El Zogaybi, the Unlucky One, was forced to leave the Kingdom with a last look to the walls of Granada, from where he and fellow Moors cried “*Ay de mi! Granada!*” (“Woe is me! Granada!”).”¹⁹ Ignatius was still an infant when the third influential and historical event took place, an event that amazed and surprised a whole nation and made this nation an empire over night. In 1493, Christopher Columbus arrived at the port of Los Polos in Spain, coming back from the New World, bringing news of a human civilization that existed. Spaniards claimed this New World to be the property of Spain by having ‘discovered’ it first so “all had to be secured by conquest. All had to be civilized by conversion to Christianity.”²⁰ The importance of this event in Ignatius’ life and why it had such an impact on him was Columbus’ return to the New World on a second voyage. This time, one of Ignatius’ brothers, Martin Garcia, sailed with Columbus. In retrospect, Ignatius seemed to have believed that conversion was the most successful way to secure new property and what comes within. The wife of his brother, Ignatius’ sister-in-law, Magdalena de Araoz, told the then two-year-old Ignatius stories about the New World. She told him “the stories about how the Sacred Crusade had won the Kingdom’s safety against the Moor, how this knight or that soldier had faithfully served His Most Catholic Majesty, leader of God’s armies”, including the New World and the beginning of an empire.²¹ Thus, two of three significant events that influenced Ignatius’ life were of Islamic background: one that led to the destruction of a Christian nation and the other the ‘reconstruction’ of Christianity. One event does not contain any historical background connected to Islam but it contains the significance of conversion. Ignatius may have been too young to be influenced or affected by these, yet when he grew older and devoted himself to the Christian faith up until he founded an order that influenced almost every corner of this world either religiously or politically, the stories he was told were key factors for his dedication as a soldier both a believer and non believer, for his spiritual life and his mission.

Ignatius was not of a noble family, which after his father’s death left him serving in a royal house at a young age. So, “he was made a page boy at the royal summer

¹⁹ Martin, *Jesuits*, 149.

²⁰ Martin, *Jesuits*, 152.

²¹ Martin, *Jesuits*, 152.

residence of Arevalo” where he “spend the next ten years of his life in the pomp and formalism of court life and aristocratic ways.”²² During his time serving as a page boy, i.e. a young male servant, the King Ferdinand of Aragon married German de Foix – a French princess – whose character and appearance is described the opposite of royal beauty, good manners and who happened to be the niece of the King of France. She is said to have brought tumult and mischief to the royal court.²³ So, Ignatius’ assignment to serve the new Queen of French descent, he fell in Love with her because for Ignatius “to serve was to love. To love was to serve.”²⁴ Eventually, at the age of twenty-six he was ranked to a young knight and equerry at the royal court. Ignatius was not well educated nor did he know Latin. He knew a little French and spoke Basque and Castilian Spanish fluently. However, he was not illiterate and his writing was only limited to “signing his name and laboriously composing military dispatches or love letter.”²⁵ His character was described that of the *Young Turks* also known as *Jeune Turc* – in Turkish *Jön Türkler* or *Genç Türkler*. The reason his character has been described as such by the Jesuit Malachi Martin goes back to the history of the fall of the Ottoman Empire during the reign of Abdulhamid II. The *Young Turks* movement was a revolutionary movement against the Ottoman Sultan Abdulhamid II and his authoritarian regime. They wanted to ‘modernize’ the traditional Ottoman Empire. However, this movement was rebellious against the authority and they “initiated a conspiracy against the Sultan Abdulhamid II that spread rapidly” from one college to the other. Thus, members of this movement were young professionals, i.e. lawyers, teachers, doctors, journalists, who in 1889 “introduced programs that promoted a new spirit of the Turkish nationalism.”²⁶ Ignatius was believed rebelling against a whole regime and authority with the Society, hence, this inconsistent comparison. At last, he was imprisoned or “got himself transferred to the bishop’s prison in nearby Pamplona,”²⁷ where his case was dismissed by the judge after all. Ignatius’ desire to serve the kingdom, a full obedience and to prove chivalry led him to join the army of the Viceroy of Navarre in 1517 at the age of twenty-six. Serving as a soldier, after six

²² Martin, *Jesuits*, 153.

²³ Ibid.

²⁴ Ibid.

²⁵ Martin, *Jesuits*, 154.

²⁶ “Young Turks | History, Significance, & Facts,” *Encyclopedia Britannica*, accessed: January 29, 2020, <https://www.britannica.com/topic/Young-Turks-Turkish-nationalist-movement>.

²⁷ Martin, *Jesuits*, 154.

years he fought against the French army at Pamplona where he got himself injured through a cannonball that left him with a severe injured right leg and a wounded left leg. For Ignatius, the war was over and so was his career as a soldier at the front and his serving alongside with the Duke of Navarre, Antonio Manrique de Lara. However, this unfortunate event was the most important and striking point in his life that led him to found the Jesuit Order. After his immense and painful injury, surgeons of the French army tried to fix his shattered right leg by setting bones back together yet the surgeons failed to do so. Ignatius was left to go home where surgeons broke his leg again to fix the clumsy work of the French army surgeons. The surgeons left Ignatius with a healed leg but he had a limp after four surgeries where he did not get any anesthetic treatment only left to endure the pain without any complaint and completely left motionless on a rack to heal his wounds. During his recovery from the injuries and surgeries, he passed his time by reading theological books – the lives of saints. Jesuit followers and priest believed Ignatius “was the recipient of divine grace – special, supernatural communications of strength in will, enlightenment in mind, and orientation of spirit.”²⁸ The spiritual and divine life he learned about the Christian faith inspired him to leave the house of the Loyola’s and pursue a spiritual life where he put his effort to take notes for his most famous work called *Spiritual Exercises*. Soon, throughout his pursuit of the real meaning in life and the desire “to meet the Risen Christ in person in his glorified body, and to venerate each of Christ’s wounds – in his hands, his feet, his side, to kiss those wounds and to adore them, to cover them with his love and adoration expressed by his lips and his eyes and his hands”, Ignatius encompassed the true leader he was willing to serve for the rest of his life and the new and true leader was Jesus Christ.²⁹ Conspicuously, during his conversion to Catholicism and his search for the new leader to serve, Ignatius faced spiritual struggles along his divine path, a struggle between his negative past and his new self by submitting himself to Jesus Christ, he knew his real enemy, the enemy from the beginning of the creation: Lucifer. In this case, he acknowledged that this world contains criminals, people who bring mischief, evildoers as well as good people. However, for Ignatius, the ‘bad people’ were those who opposed the ‘bodiless and divine Trinity’, the Catholic Church and who worshipped Satan or stepped into the footsteps of the devil. Presumably, for the Jesuits ‘bad people’

²⁸ Martin, *Jesuits*, 155.

²⁹ Martin, *Jesuits*, 156–157.

were those people of other faiths, i.e. Protestants, Muslims, Jews and other heretic groups who were all believed to be gentiles. However, the ‘good people’ were the opposite and more likely those in the path of Jesus Christ who submitted themselves for the service of God and spread the message by converting those who follow the devil’s path. Ultimately, the Jesuit war was not a military war but a spiritual or religious war between God and Lucifer where pious men were the representatives and soldiers of Jesus Christ. Before he could pursue his path to become a priest and serving God, on his way to Montserrat and Manresa he visited the shrine of the Blessed Virgin Mary and found his inspiration to write his little book called *Spiritual Exercises*. His admiration towards Mary was of immense importance to Ignatius that he donated his money he received as alms to help restore a picture of her. He spent hours and days standing on his knees to worship the Blessed Lady at the Shrine to forget about his sins that troubled him. The worship of the Blessed Lady became customary to the Jesuit Order and eventually an obligation for Jesuit priests which was passed on in other European countries where Jesuit missions were quite expanded. The Marian devotion became a historical pilgrimage destination that lasted up until the 21st century. One of those destinations are well known as *The House Of The Virgin Mary* located at mount *Koressos* (Turkish: Bülbüldağı) near Smyrna/Ephesus what is now called Izmir/Turkey. During Ignatius’ voyage to a very similar shrine in Montserrat and Manresa, he came across a Saracen, a Moor or Muslim, where both conversed about religion. In his autobiography, which he dictated himself to his secretary father Goncalves de Camara, he explicitly describes the moment he met the Moor on his path as follows:

While he journeyed on, a Saracen mounted on a horse came up with him. In the course of the conversation mention was made of the Blessed Virgin. The stranger remarked that though he admitted that the Mother of Christ had conceived without detriment to her virginal purity, yet he could not believe that after the conception of her divine son she was still a virgin. He was so obstinate in holding this opinion, that no amount of reasoning on the part of Ignatius could force him to abandon it. Shortly afterward the Saracen rode on, leaving the pilgrim on his own reflections. These were not of the most peaceful nature. He was sorely troubled as he thought over the conduct of his recent fellow – traveler, and felt that he had but

poorly acquitted himself his duty of honoring the Mother of God. The longer his mind thought upon the matter, the more his soul was filled with indignation against himself for having allowed the Saracen to speak as he had done of the Blessed Virgin.³⁰

The Moors' argument on the Blessed Virgin seemed to be from a biological and anatomic perspective, which seemed to have disturbed Ignatius based on the narration that he was torn whether or not he should defend the Blessed Virgin and her honor by killing the Moor. Thus, he decided his actions as follows:

He consequently felt impelled by a strong impulse to hasten after him and slay the miscreant for the insulting language he had used. After much internal conflict with these thoughts, he still remained in doubt, nor could he decide what course to follow. The Saracen, who had ridden on, had mentioned to him that it was his intention to proceed to a town not far distant from the highroad. At length, Ignatius, wearied by his inward struggle and not arriving at any determination, decided to settle all his doubts in the following novel way: he led to the destination of the Moor, he would pursue him and kill him; but if his horse kept to the highroad he would allow the wretch to escape.³¹

Ignatius decided to let the Moor continue his journey on the highroad. However, this event could be the most important and influential event in Ignatius' life for his first encounter with a Moor that led him to this circumstance might have been crucial to direct his preaches and missions to Muslim audiences in the following years.

Having done as he had decided, it happened through the Providence of God that his horse kept to the highroad, though the place was distant only about thirty or forty yards, and the way leading to it was wide and easy.³²

³⁰ St Ignatius of Loyola - S. J. J. F. X. O'Connor, *Autobiography of St. Ignatius* (Bibliothec Press, 2019), 9.

³¹ *Ibid.*

³² Loyola - O'Connor, *Autobiography of St. Ignatius*, 9.

He may have met Moors before but his first theologically based discussion about a topic that carries such a fundamental meaning and which is woven deeply into Jesuit practices, left Ignatius believe that the religion the Moors followed was of error and demonic practices. This becomes evident in further Jesuit missions by fellow Jesuit priests across the world during and after Ignatius' days.

After his conversion, he contemplated on how and where he could serve his new leader, i.e. Jesus Christ, thus, he decided for a quest to take off on a pilgrimage to Jerusalem in 1523.³³ According to Güngör, not only was Ignatius interested in a pilgrimage to Jerusalem but a permanent life and missions on sacred soil. Due to a dangerous political atmosphere, Ignatius was forced to leave Jerusalem and travel back to Europe. There is little information about this event, but apparently, Franciscans believed that Ignatius' missions would endanger Christianity rather than change the religion of Muslims.³⁴ Additionally, Güngör suggests that Ignatius' journey to Jerusalem was to utilize his mission to convert Turks, since Turks were already residing there. Thus, this could be one of the key factors for his missionary journey to Jerusalem.³⁵ After his return from Jerusalem he decided that the first step to serve his new leader Jesus Christ was to become a priest and for that he needed to expand his studies because his education in theology was insufficient. After starting his studies in Spain at the age of thirty-three he decided to continue at the University of Sorbonne in Paris in 1527 and there he also decided to change his name from Iñigo to the closest version *Ignatius*. As a student in Paris, he received his funds from Spanish merchants on a visit to Bruges, Antwerp and London. During his time spent in Paris, he was assumed to form a *heresy* due to his *Spiritual Exercises* and his interpretation of the Bible. He found himself imprisoned on several occasions but was cleared by the *Inquisition*³⁶. Before his journey back to Spain to become a priest, Ignatius gathered seven

³³ Martin, *Jesuits*, 157.

³⁴ Güngör, *Cizvitler ve Katolik Kilisesi'ndeki yeri*, 58.

³⁵ Güngör, *Cizvitler ve Katolik Kilisesi'ndeki yeri*, 58–59.

³⁶ The *Inquisition* carries the meaning of an ecclesiastical institution to encounter and ban any heresy. Although, Ignatius himself was accused of forming a secret heresy he ironically was pardoned and cleared by the inquisition. To his own benefit, the inquisition was not only an authority for individual heretic crimes but a universal high office in matter of faiths. The Inquisition was a 'political necessity' in Christian Europe after the first three decades of the thirteenth century when sects became a menace to Christianity. While the first Inquisition was ruled by Byzantine ruler other European countries like Spain followed suit with the persecution, punishment and execution of heresies. For further reading also see M. Martin, *Jesuits* (Simon & Schuster, 2013).

companions and felt ready to continue his path to serve Jesus Christ. His ultimate motive and “operating principle” was *Quo universalis, eo divinus* (“The more universal your operation is, the more divine it is”), which will be shown in the coming chapters on the establishment of his new movement and Society. Not only were his motive and missions practiced in Europe also beyond the borders of Europe like Japan and India. Ignatius himself never left the Spanish peninsula for his missions; he never received the permission from the Pope but his fellow companions travelled across the high seas for a *Quo universalis*.

1.1. A new Order Emerges: The Pope’s Soldiers and the Construction of the New Order

On September 27, 1540, in the morning to be exact, Pope Paul III finally approved Ignatius’ Society after years of fighting for acceptance. Ignatius and his Companions were at war. However, theirs was not the war people associate with weapons, swords and other military equipment to wipe out a whole civilization or nation but rather “a war over possession of souls, the spirit of each man and woman in the world was the prize. The only weapon guaranteed by Christ to be effective in that war was the supernatural grace Christ alone could and did dispense exclusively through his living personal representative on earth: the Pope in Rome.”³⁷ For the Society, especially for Ignatius, the founding father and the leader, it was mandatory to work for the Pope and under his command. Thus, working for the Pope meant working for Christ and the closer someone is to the Pope the closer he is to Christ, hence, better effectiveness of a universal and spiritual war.³⁸ Even though the Society’s warfare did not have the intention to fight with other nations over power in a battlefield, their strategy was to baptize every single human being in the world and universalize the Catholic faith across foreign nations. Hence, it seems that a universal and interreligious living together with people of different faiths was not even up for debate for Ignatius and his Companions. The only solution was to convert communities to the Catholic faith. The purpose of the

³⁷ Martin, *Jesuits*, 160.

³⁸ *Ibid.*

emergence of the Society of Jesus also determined the ‘counter reaction’ to the Ottoman Turks who with their approach to Europe “coincided with the coming of the end of the world and of the Antichrist.”³⁹ The close approach of the Ottoman Turk led to fear of the ‘islamisation’ of Christian Europe and the loss of the Christian faith and souls. Church authorities as well as religious orders took action to avoid a fall of Christian Europe into the hand of Ottoman Turks or Muslims and with the battle that occurred in Vienne on September 11, 1683, the great army of the Ottoman Turks was defeated. “This event was celebrated as the victory of Christianity over Islam.”⁴⁰ According to Emanuele Colombo, the defeat of the Muslims by the Holy League was a striking point in the history of conversion where the effectiveness of the missions to Muslims in Europe as well as outside Europe were of immense significance.⁴¹ However, the effect occurred long before the seventeenth century before Ignatius of Loyola founded the Society of Jesus. Thus, from this Ignatius’ Society of Jesus or “‘Company of Jesus’, as he originally called it, had the purpose to defend the Church and the papacy from ‘intruding enemies’.”⁴²

With the founding of the Society, Ignatius also wrote laws every Jesuit had to strictly follow and these laws would also be called *Constitutions of the Jesuit Order*. Since the importance of a complete submission to the Pope, Paul III, has been mentioned above, Ignatius emphasized this aspect in his *Constitution*:

All who make the profession in this Society should bear in mind, not only when they first make their profession but as long as they live, that this entire Society and the individual members who make their profession in it are campaigning for God under faithful obedience to His Holiness Pope Paul III and his successors in the Roman pontificate. And although we are taught by the Gospel, and we know from the orthodox faith, and we firmly profess that all of Christ’s faithful are subject to the Roman pontiff as their head and as the vicar of Jesus Christ, for the

³⁹ Bernard Heyberger, *L’islam visto da Occidente: cultura e religione del Seicento europeo di fronte all’islam : atti del convegno internazionale*, Milano, Università degli studi, 17-18 ottobre 2007 (Marietti, 2009), 315.

⁴⁰ Heyberger, *L’islam visto da Occidente*, 315.

⁴¹ Ibid.

⁴² Martin, *Jesuits*, 35.

sake of greater devotion in obedience to the Apostolic See, of greater abnegation of our own wills, and of surer direction from the Holy Spirit, we have nevertheless judged it to be supremely profitable that each of us and any others who will make the same profession in the future should, in addition to that ordinary bond of three vows be bound by this special vow to carry out whatever the present and future Roman pontiffs may order which pertains to the progress of souls and the propagation of the faith; and to go at once, without subterfuge or excuse, as far as in us lies, to whatsoever provinces they may decide to send us – whether they decide to send us among the Turks or any other infidels, even those who live in the regions called the Indies, or among any heretics, whatever or schismatic, or any of the faithful.⁴³

While Ignatius fought at the front against the French in Pamplona, Martin Luther brought the Reformation and with it Protestantism in 1521. Pope Paul III and his “entire Catholic world had been falling down around his ears in a roaring conflagration. The Protestant revolt, in Germany and England had rapidly eaten its way into France, Holland, Belgium, Austria, Switzerland, and Czechoslovakia, and had infected every other country.”⁴⁴ The Church of Rome responded to the Protestant challenge with the *Catholic Reformation* also called *Counter Reformation*. Pope Paul III needed a new weapon of religious orders to defend the Church of Rome against the Protestants and ‘infidels’. Ignatius knew the Popes struggle against the enemies and used his strategy with his *Constitution* to make Pope Paul III approve the Society of Jesus into the Church in Rome. With the help and approval of the Society of Jesus, the Society officially became the *Regimini Militantis Ecclesiae*, The Church Militant - the pope’s military soldiers.⁴⁵

The Society itself had an authoritative figure namely the Father General in which the body composes four categories where “members were distinguished as a general rule by the degree of their access to the important positions of government and

⁴³ Jesuits; Ignatius, *Constitutions of the Society of Jesus and Their Complementary Norms* (Saint Louis: Institute of Jesuit Sources, 1996), 30.

⁴⁴ Martin, *Jesuits*, 163.

⁴⁵ Ibid.

directions of the Society's manpower and recourses.”⁴⁶ The ultimate law for the authoritative figure is also one of the important and absolute laws in Ignatius' *Constitution*:

All should likewise vow that in all matters which pertain to the observance of this Rule they will be obedient to the one put in charge of the Society. (He should be the one best qualified for this office and will be elected by a majority of votes, as will be explained in the Constitution.) Moreover, he should possess all the authority and power over the Society which are useful for its good administration, correction, and government. He should issue the commands which he knows to be opportune for achieving the end set before him by God and the Society. In his superiorship he should be ever mindful of the kindness, meekness, and charity of Christ and of the pattern set by Peter and Paul, a norm which both he and the aforementioned council should keep constantly in view. Assuredly, too, because of the immense value of good order and for the sake of the constant practice of humility, never sufficiently praised, the individual subjects should not only be obliged to obey the general in all matters pertaining to the Society's Institute but also to recognize and properly venerate Christ as present in him.⁴⁷

The highest authority was that of the Father General whom all the Jesuit members of the Society did elect. After the Papal approval, Ignatius was the first to be elected Father General in April 1541.⁴⁸ The tasks and responsibilities of the Father General are him being in charge of the respective countries where the Jesuit members have been sent to accomplish their missions. He is also responsible for the educational curriculum as well as of the funds and governance of the whole Society. But above all this, he is to be obedient to the representative of Christ - the Pope.

The first category of the body of the Society of Jesus is the category of Professed Priest, who excellently passed scholastic tests and could proof their religious piousness and quality by “taking their vows of poverty, chastity, and obedience and had

⁴⁶ Martin, *Jesuits*, 190.

⁴⁷ Jesuits; Ignatius, *Constitutions of the Society of Jesus and Their Complementary Norms*, 32–33.

⁴⁸ Martin, *Jesuits*, 189.

taken a special vow of obedience to the Pope.”⁴⁹ Only the Father General has the authority to appoint the Professed Priest. No member of the Society of Jesus can command the Father General in any circumstances. All have to follow the Father General’s commands and that of the Pope. The Father General is also responsible for the General congress where only he invites the Professed priests to this meeting. The General Congress is an organization subordinate to the Pope and there are only three reasons for a meeting in the General congress, i.e. to amend the Society’s founding charter, to solve problems and the death of the Father General.⁵⁰ The Professed Priests are responsible for the teaching in Jesuit schools, the schools that are appointed for the training and teaching of new Jesuit members. Poverty practices are of high acceptance. Thus, the Professed Priest as well as the Father General and all the other members of the Society of Jesus have to practice their poverty for spiritual reasons. Although, the Father General and Professed Priest are two different bodies in the Society of Jesus, some Professed priests were nearer to the General father than members in other positions. However, a Professed Jesuit who was responsible of the Jesuits in South America or Columbia was not as close to the Father General as the Professed Father in Europe (i.e. Rome) who also happened to be the Father General’s assistant for Columbia as well as the countries in South America.⁵¹ This determined the different powers and functions of the Professed Priests, i.e. for each Professed Priest was a more authoritative Professed Father who ‘sheperded’ the Professed Priests who performed their missions in certain countries.

The second category are the *Coadjutors* and are described in the *Constitution* as follows:

The second class consists of those who are received to become coadjutors in the service of God and to aid the Society in either spiritual or temporal matters. After their experiments and probations these are to take three simple vows of obedience, poverty, and chastity, without taking the fourth vow of obedience to the pope or any other solemn vow. They should be content with their grade, knowing that in

⁴⁹ Martin, *Jesuits*, 190.

⁵⁰ Güngör, *Cizvitler ve Katolik Kilisesi’ndeki yeri*, 74.

⁵¹ Martin, *Jesuits*, 190.

the eyes of our Creator and Lord those gain greater merit who with greater charity give help and service to all persons through love his Divine Majesty, whether they serve in matters of greater moment or in others more lowly and humble.⁵²

For Ignatius, the Coadjutors “aided and seconded the work of the Professed.”⁵³ Coadjutors are responsible for ministry, supervisory and organizational tasks in the house of Jesuits. However, Jesuits from this section have the possibility to be upgraded to the position of a Priest.

To the third category belongs the lay brother who never has the possibility to become priest. Lay brothers have a simple task of manual labor like cleaning, laundry, cooking, maintenance and other household tasks. However, they too have to take the three vows before being appointed with the manual labor in the Jesuit household.

The fourth category occupies the Jesuit trainees or scholastics that are being schooled in philosophy, theology, humanities and sciences. Depending on their scholastic efforts and their degree, they were appointed as priests or other tasks.⁵⁴

At the time of removing heresies in Europe, the Pontiff and the Roman Catholic Church were in need of a structural organization. The Pope, Paul III, may have seen the Jesuit formation as suitable to bring in a structure to the Church like a ‘military’ formation all lined up to combat other formed religious orders that spoke against the doctrine. Ignatius’ order and his hierarchical formation had its advantages and disadvantages. The Pope may have favored the Jesuit Order due to their obedience and efforts in missionaries across the globe. However, not all countries and authorities were fond or in favor of the Society. In a period of time, some Kings feared a repeal of the Jesuits and their political and religious engagement that they decided to abolish the Jesuit Order. Edmund Paris’ critical approach to the Society of Jesus harshly accuses the Jesuits’ engagement in international politics and also engaging the Pope that became

⁵² Jesuits; Ignatius, *Constitutions of the Society of Jesus and Their Complementary Norms*, 49.

⁵³ Martin, *Jesuits*, 190.

⁵⁴ Martin, *Jesuits*, 191.

predominant centuries after Ignatius' death.⁵⁵ In retrospect, the church inserted a structure within their walls with the help of the Society of Jesus and their strategy and formation.

Since Ignatius' and his Jesuit members were called the 'Pope's soldiers', not only did they fought for world evangelization but their missions also had a significant role in the militaries in some parts of Europe. The Polish – Lithuanian Jesuit Piotr Skarga and Antonio Possevino published their catechisms on the importance of the conversion of soldiers who served for the military. Although the leading Jesuit Piotr Skarga was active long after Ignatius, he contributed his work and activity around the 1600s. In his catechism *The Soldier's Piety*, his aim was the Christianization of the Military for political and spiritual reasons. With the 'infidels' approaching Christian territory, it almost seems that their desperation to overcome the 'infidels' grew. Piotr "pleads in his catechism for soldiers a war against 'pagans'" and these pagans were Turks from the Ottoman Empire.⁵⁶ He believed that the Christianization of the Military brought a big reward from God but only under certain circumstances, which Piotr points out in his catechism. Before his catechism, "few leading Polish political and religious pleaded seriously for an offensive war against the Ottoman Empire", which at the same time was considered as a religious necessity and an appealing policy.⁵⁷ For Piotr, soldiers fought to maintain peace and protect the fatherland. Thus, he saw the necessity to convert soldiers to the Christian faith in order to achieve their obedience to God and fight against any religious movement. However, he encouraged the converted soldiers not to participate in offensive wars like previous political and religious leaders whose intention was an offensive war.⁵⁸ A prince was not to be obeyed whose intention was an offensive war to expand the territory. Only an obedience to the prince who fights for the sake of religion was permissible and guaranteed an 'eternal crown' in Gods kingdom and

⁵⁵ Edmund Paris, *The Secret History of the Jesuits* (Chino, Calif: Chick Publications, 1983), 86.

⁵⁶ Tricoire, Damien. "To Fight, or Not to Fight: Piotr Skarga, the Catholic Ideal of Christian Soldier, and the Reformation of Polish Nobility (around 1600)". *Journal of Jesuit Studies* 4.4: 624-636. <https://doi.org/10.1163/22141332-00404005Web>.

⁵⁷ Ibid.

⁵⁸ Tricoire, Damien. "To Fight, or Not to Fight: Piotr Skarga, the Catholic Ideal of Christian Soldier, and the Reformation of Polish Nobility (around 1600)". *Journal of Jesuit Studies* 4.4: 624-636. Martin, *Jesuits*, 197.Web

“chivalrous glory” on earth.⁵⁹ Hence, Piotr encourages the obedience to God rather than the obedience to men. This demonstrates that Jesuit priests used their power of formation to interfere in military and political matters. Because of this, skepticism towards the King (King Sigismund III) occurred reasonably, i.e. the King handing himself over to the Jesuit Order and letting himself led by them. Jesuit priests seemed to try to apply their formation to politics, religion and other social organization to spread their ‘all-power’ around the globe. The Jesuit Order seemed to try to be in control over several matters due to their policy of obedience whereupon Ignatius also published the *Letter On Obedience*. In this letter, Ignatius clearly defines the meaning of true obedience and its significance. Whoever obeys the Superior obeys Christ, which he explains it as follows:

The Superior, then, is to be obeyed, not because he is prudent of good or qualified by any other of God’s gifts, but because he holds God’s place and authority, as Eternal Truth has said, “He who hears you, hears me; he who rejects you, rejects me.”⁶⁰

Thus, for the Jesuits, the Superior’s role seems to be so powerful that no matter what the Superior commands, it almost seems that the orders come from God himself through the Superior. This position can also be misused to some extent in which the Superior may command the Order to fulfill tasks that are socially and morally inappropriate which according to Edmund Paris took place in some part of the world. The obedience is described to be of three kinds. The first grade of obedience is the lowest one and also called *Obedience of Execution*. It only has little value and Ignatius also called the first grade obedience “very imperfect”.⁶¹ A member does what he is told even though he does not agree with the superior or thinks the Superior’s thoughts are inopportune. Ignatius also describes this grade of obedience that the Superior is not being obeyed but rather the Superior obeys the member. The second grade of obedience is similar to the first grade of obedience yet a member is willing to do what he is told for the sake of Christ. The third and also the highest grade of obedience is when a member agrees with

⁵⁹ Ibid.

⁶⁰ of Loyola Ignatius - William J. (William John) Young, *The letter on obedience* (New York : America Press, 1953), 8.

⁶¹ Martin, *Jesuits*, 197.

the Superior in every aspect and also does everything he is told. Ignatius also called this obedience “blind obedience”.⁶² For some, the ‘Ignatian Obedience’ was an inspiration and for some recklessness. However, at first glance, the ‘Ignatian Obedience’ seems that Jesuit members do not have a free choice once they take their vows. A spectator may assume that whatever the Superior says or commands, i.e. corruption, killing, assassination etc. – a Jesuit is expected to oblige even in the most inhumane situation. But according to Malachi Martin, Ignatius forbid any kind of obedience to a Superior whose commands led to sins and therefore to disobedience of Christ. He describes this in his *Letter On Obedience* as follows:

Surely, there is some exaggeration in this. Such a judgment may be necessary in the very rare instances where the subject conceives a real doubt about the legality or the morality of the action ordered. Bursars or treasurers may at times be plagued with such doubts. But apart from these unusual instances, the commands of Superiors are usually concerned with matters in which it would be foolish to call the morality of the act into question. Even a child is bound, according to the degrees of his intelligence, to refuse obedience to a command of his parents, which would involve him in sin. But a child seldom if ever has occasion to question the morality of the actions that are required of him.⁶³

Yet, looking at the history of Jesuit missions, in some parts or countries their missions appeared anything but peaceful. In Native America, Jesuits’ negative reputation is common with their aggressive missionary approaches to convert Native American people, separated from their Families and sent to residential schools only to be evangelized. Their culture has been erased and their language forgotten, forced to speak the new language and practice the ‘new religion’. Edmund Paris describes the Jesuit Order to be insulting to the Christian faith, hostile to the nation and harm to religions. Despite his harsh criticism, he does not mince his word on a sensitive topic and compares the Jesuit formation with the Nazi Gestapo. He elaborates with Hitler’s favor of the Jesuit Order even though many Jesuit Priests were put into concentration camps. The important question is whether the Jesuit Order’s aim was the ‘world evangelization’

⁶² Martin, *Jesuits*, 197.

⁶³ Ignatius - Young, *The Letter on Obedience*, 29.

or to win over and rule new territories with their power alongside the Pope? To be able to have a further look, the Jesuit's education system and their rise and fall in Europe need to be examined. Additionally, Jesuit missions in countries beyond the European border – especially in non – Christian countries – and their lasting impact on culture, religion and politics will be discussed and examined in the next chapters. Why were they rejected by the Pope at some point and by many countries in Europe? In how far did their education help the Jesuits with their missions? It seems their main target was the Muslim faith as a ‘counter – revolution’ rather than any other religious movements since their fundamentals for their missions rooted from their resentment towards the Ottoman Turks and Muslim Iberia.

1.1.1. The Ignatian Education and its Impact on their Missions

Not only did Ignatius of Loyola founded a new Order but he also brought a revolution to education. Members of the Jesuit Order were encouraged to educate themselves in different fields of studies especially in fields in which they could spread their missions by connecting every phenomenon to God and the Christian faith. Ignatius himself attended several Universities across Europe and most notably the one in Paris where he gained his knowledge in philosophy and theology. His first companions with whom he first founded the Society of Jesus were university graduates and well educated scholars and he wanted to maintain this in his Society for several reasons. With the emergence of his Society he also brought forth the Ignatian education, which is also commonly known as *Ratio Studiorum*. Although, most of his devotion to education can be found in the *Constitution* and *Spiritual Exercises* and lastly the *Ratio atque Institutio Studiorum Societatis Jesu* (in short *Ratio Studiorum*). The *Ratio Studiorum* was published in 1599, long after Ignatius's death (1556), and this published document is based on his two aforementioned works. However, Ignatius' aim was to train young Jesuit members to the Jesuit Order and practices to further his missions across the world rather than founding schools and introducing a teaching curriculum. It was his companion St. Francis Xavier who was more interested in the teaching of humanities and the Christian doctrine while residing and completing his mission in the colonized territories of the Indies. However, Ignatius later acknowledged the benefits and

advantages of education and what it brings to the service of God. Thus, in his *Constitution* he more than once emphasizes on the reward of gaining knowledge and teaching for the sake of Christ. While Ignatius' contribution to the Ignatian education he also acknowledged his mistakes during his studies at the University and corrected and emphasized on them in his *Constitution*. During his study in Paris at the University in Sorbonne, he took too many classes even those that needed a basis before getting registered for immediate and advanced classes. Thus, he had a difficult time following his studies. Additionally, his work and devotion to his faith also hindered him to put his efforts in his studies. Therefore, Ignatius pleads young Jesuit students to put their efforts and concentration on their studies and study one class or topic one at a time. The students' worships shouldn't be interfered with the schoolwork. Hence, worship and school are to be separated. The first Jesuit school where the Ignatian education was applied was founded in 1548 in Messina, Sicily, and "during the last seven years of his life, thirty-five colleges were opened in Belgium, France, Spain, Portugal, and Italy, including the Roman College (1551) – the Gregorian University in Rome."⁶⁴ The Jesuit had their intentions and reason on founding and opening Jesuit schools not only in Spain but also across the world. In the first place, these schools were aimed to educate and train Jesuit students but also the 'infidel' student to bring progress to the missions and convert as many people as possible within their communities. Not only did the Order believe in an excellent reward from the Lord through education and teaching but they may have believed that missions could have been accomplished this way faster and more effectively.

The Ignatian education is divided into eleven principles. Accordingly, some parts of the *Ratio Studiorum* need some attention in order to fully comprehend the Jesuits' missionary works and their character in different parts of the world. The Ignatian education and the Jesuits' contribution to education was a remarkable one. Some may highly praise it and others may condemn it but their education was successful then and seemed to be a highly favorable system in the twenty-first century.

⁶⁴ O'DONNELL, JAMES A. "The Jesuit Ratio Studiorum." *Philippine Studies*, vol. 32, no. 4, 1984, pp. 462–475. *JSTOR*, www.jstor.org/stable/42632739. Accessed 22 Jan. 2020.

The system may be highly praised but the outcome of teaching approaches and methods prove the opposite in some parts of the world. The impact of their education and their missions brought cultural and religious confusion. An epitome for this is Native America where Indigenous children still suffer the outcome of Jesuit missions and educations not being able to identify themselves among the 'other' and a religion where their own has been extinguished. During the missions in the emperors Abu'l-Fath Jalal-ud-din Muhammad Akbar's court, Portuguese Jesuits received the permission to reside on Indian soil and teach civilians the Christian doctrine and Portuguese language. Even if their missions in Muslim empires were of lesser success, Muslims seemed to be eager to learn the Christian traditions, culture and languages. The latter case will be further discussed in more detail in chapter two. However, with the help of these examples, the Ignatian education and their methods in the East as well as in the West gives a better comprehension of the Jesuit missions and how they reached their success and failures. The Ignatian education is a *Eurocentric* educational system since Ignatius himself adapted some methods and teachings he learned and experienced at the University in Paris. Henceforth, this system was taken with Jesuit missionaries to foreign countries where two educational systems came together.

The principles of the *Ratio Studiorum* where Ignatius and other Jesuit members agreed upon certain rules needed to be maintained in Jesuit schools. The first and foremost is the attitude of Jesuit students who are obliged to respect and appreciate education. Ignatius was an admirer of education himself and vastly respected it. Additionally, the principles also emphasize on the importance of each student to be eager to pursue his studies and be a member of the Society of Jesus. A talented student was appreciated whereas untalented students are dismissed before even getting enrolled.

Ignatius' and his follower's intention was simple: to train and teach young and future Jesuit members to expand their personnel and distribute them in countries wherever the Pontiff saw fit to fulfill and accomplish their missions. Jesuits were precise and careful with appointing their scholars and teachers in their Jesuits schools. Only excellent teachers did get the permission to teach especially in theology and philosophy, which were the most important subjects. Apart from theology and

philosophy, subjects like language and literature, mathematics, logic and metaphysics were important in the curriculum. Interestingly, Jesuits also gave attention to the mastery of expression in spoken and written word. This mastery was important for their future missions and to deliver the message and convince individuals to conversion. Additionally, the mastery of expression in spoken and written word might as well be beneficial in conversing with scholars of other faiths, discussing with them religious matter always being alert and ready for a counter argument in every topic in order to defend the Pontiff, his Church and the doctrine. Encounters with scholars of other faiths took place in the court of Akbar in India where Jesuits and Mullas discussed religious topics in the court, which will be discussed further in chapter two. A doctoral degree or a master was not sufficient for Jesuits to join the Society. Even though those who received a doctoral certificate had to pass further tests within the Society to prove their worthiness for the Society. Interestingly, Jesuits also studied other religions that included Islam, Confucianism, Judaism and other. Because of the population of the Moors in Spain, Jesuits and even Catholic priests before the founding of the Society of Jesus learned the Arabic language in order to understand and study the Qur'an because at that time, no translations of the Qur'an had been published, yet. Ignatius of Loyola was not interested in opening Jesuit elementary and secondary schools. He believed that there was a lack of 'manpower' for elementary school students. However, he may have seen the opening of elementary and secondary schools as beneficial as universities and other higher educational institutions. Elementary and secondary schools also had missionary intentions. Hence, Ignatius' aim was to convert children as early as possible. The Jesuit educational system was explicitly purposed to train individuals in order to carry on the educational work. Hence, *ad intra* (inwardly directed) system was aimed to an *ad extra* (outwardly directed) system.

2. The Society's Fall and Breakthrough: From Papal Rejection to Papal Approval

People, nations, kings and queens and University fellows of Ignatius always were skeptical about Ignatius and his Jesuit Order. Before he even founded The Society of Jesus, the Spanish *Inquisition* accused him to be involved in heretical movements and

even to be intent in founding another heresy. Heresies in Medieval Europe were common at that time and a burden, a threat for the rulers as well as for the Church. Because of the Fall of Constantinople, priests, kings and queens believed that due to the rising number of heresies, it caused to bring Gods wrath over Catholics. Thus, the Church, priests, religious scholars and clerics were warned and alert anytime someone interpreted the Bible or caught attention with his different perception of the holy scripture. The Bible warns of such heresies, which may have caused to believe that the fall of Constantinople was due to God's wrath:

But there were false prophets also among the people, even as there shall be false among you, who privily shall bring in damnable heresies, even denying the Lord that bought them, and bring upon themselves swift destruction. (The Bible, Peter: 2:1)

The Bible also speaks and condemns heresies in another section in the Bible as follows:

I marvel that ye are so soon removed from him that called you into the grace of Christ unto another Gospel: Which is not another, but there be some that trouble you, and would pervert the gospel of Christ. But though we, or an angel from heaven, preach any other gospel unto you than that which we have preached unto you, let him be accursed. (The Bible, Galatians: 1: 6-9)

However, the Jesuit's fall and breakthrough, especially fall after which the Society of Jesus had been expelled from several countries in Europe, cannot be connected to the verses in the Bible. Thus, it is not necessarily connected to religious issues but rather political and economic and in some cases personal reasons. In the seventeenth century, it was believed that Jesuits encouraged sin rather than censure it.⁶⁵ At some point, the Society of Jesus seemed to have been on a successful trail only to be faced with less successful and darker days. The most unfortunate event that affected the Jesuits vastly was the loss of the Chinese Empire and the opportunity to convert the whole nation. The

⁶⁵ Scott, H. M. "Religion and Realpolitik: The Due De Choiseul, the Bourbon Family Compact, and the Attack on the Society of Jesus, 1758-1775." *The International History Review*, vol. 25, no. 1, 2003, pp. 37-62. *JSTOR*, www.jstor.org/stable/40110276. Accessed 25 Jan. 2020.

Jesuit Francis Xavier was the first Jesuit missionary to set sail to Asia and convert the Confucians. However, he never received the opportunity to witness the ultimate prize, which was China itself. Other Jesuit members went to China and continued the missions that Francis Xavier was waiting to do. Interestingly, the Jesuit missions in China were different from those missions in other countries. “One of the adaptations that the Jesuits made in the course of their efforts in China concerned the Chinese ceremonies or rites honoring the Emperor, Confucius, and one’s forefathers.”⁶⁶ Jesuits adapted some Confucian rites because the Chinese would not convert or accept Christianity if these rites were forbidden in the Christian faith. Thus, the Jesuits compromised and mingled two religions in order to trigger more interest. According to the Jesuit Malachi Martin, some Confucian traditions, rituals and rites that were adapted by Jesuits were condemned by other missionaries who argued that these were nothing else than paganism and do not go alongside Christianity harmonically. But the Jesuits thought differently.⁶⁷ However, Jesuits described Muslims and Native Americans as pagans in their missions as well as in their literary works. An epitome for this is Tirso Gonzáles de Santalla’s *Manuductio Ad Conversionem Mahumetanorum* (Handbook to Convert Muslims) and in Father Pierre Du Jarric’s, *S.J. Akbar and the Jesuits: An Account of the Jesuit Missions to the Court of Akbar* where both describe Muslims and the Religion of Islam to be a pagan religion on numerous occasions. Pope Clement XI forbid and banned the adaptations of Confucian rites into Catholicism in 1704 and 1715 so did Pope Benedict XIV in 1742.⁶⁸ Because of this ban, the Jesuits, the conversion of the Chinese to Catholicism and “the whole Far East was lost to the Church.”⁶⁹ In 1939, approximately two centuries later, Pope Pius XII permitted to adapt these rites and participate in them in which the Jesuit Malachi Martin argues, “what was permissible in 1939 should have been declared permissible in 1704.”⁷⁰ The controversy here is that any other religion outside Catholicism is considered a heresy and an enemy to the Church and the Catholic faith as well as an infidelity but interestingly, the Jesuits even practiced and adapted rites from a completely different and almost unknown religion. The abovementioned was the first momentous event in Jesuit history. The second event that

⁶⁶ Martin, *Jesuits*, 211.

⁶⁷ Martin, *Jesuits*, 211.

⁶⁸ Ibid.

⁶⁹ Martin, *Jesuits*, 211.

⁷⁰ Ibid.

contributed to the suppression of the Society of Jesus took a different turn in Jesuit history. The suppression is also referred to as ‘formal suppression’ in which Pope Clement XIV issued an official brief in 1773 called *Dominus ac Redemptor* for the suppression of the Society. The suppression of the Society sparked controversy and still does. Before the ban and expulsion of the Society of Jesus, writings that caused for an anti-Jesuit propaganda was distributed all over Europe – especially in Rome where thousands of printings were distributed. These “popular writings portrayed Jesuits as secretive, deceptive, manipulative, devious regicides, intent on world domination either for themselves or for the pope.”⁷¹ The anti-Jesuit propaganda did not come from Modernists but rather from opposite groups who thought that Jesuits were too liberal for the Church. Jesuits used every natural or political disaster that had befallen a nation to manipulate people with fear and convince them to conversion, which perhaps was another missionary technique. They connected such disasters with the wrath of God upon a nation and their committed sins and urged them to quickly turn to God, convert and receive eternal salvation and mercy. In 1755, an earthquake struck Lisbon on *All Saints’ Day* where the Jesuit Gabriel Malagrida took this opportunity to take his preaching in the middle of a disaster and loss by saying that the earthquake was not a natural cause but rather the wrath of God upon the people of Lisbon and their committed sins. This incident vastly angered Portuguese leaders and led to a ban of Jesuits from the royal court. Eventually, the Jesuit Malagrida was executed not only for his God fearing preaches but his plot to harm the King and suspicions of heresy. Despite their rise, Jesuits were first banned from Portugal. In addition, Jesuits were accused of being “the cause of bloody uprising by indigenous people against Portugal that followed the adjustment in 1750 of the boundary between Spanish and Portuguese territory in South America.”⁷² Despite Ignatius’ most fundamental vow to live in poverty and from alms, in eighteenth century Spain, rumors had been spread about the Jesuits and their wealth and how it was hidden and abused for their own advantage. Edmund Paris makes a critical mention of this in his *Secret History of the Jesuits* where he exclaims that

⁷¹ Shore, Paul. *The Years of Jesuit Suppression, 1773–1814: Survival, Setbacks, and Transformation*. Leiden, The Netherlands: Brill, 2020, p.2. <https://doi.org/10.1163/9789004423374> Web.

⁷² “Paul Shore, Contact, Confrontation, Accommodation: Jesuits and Islam, 1540-1770 - PhilPapers,” 5, accessed: January 29, 2020, <https://philpapers.org/rec/SHOCCA-10>. Shore, Paul. *The Years of Jesuit Suppression, 1773–1814: Survival, Setbacks, and Transformation*. Leiden, The Netherlands: Brill, 2020, p.5. <https://doi.org/10.1163/9789004423374> Web.

Jesuits became more involved in other worldly affairs like commerce that had nothing to do with religion and devotion. Additionally, he argues that ‘white Jesuits’ belonged to one of the wealthiest landowners in North Africa who took their profits from “pagan labors.”⁷³ Another example of their hidden wealth and commerce is that of which occurred in Goa. A vast number of boxes with metals and jewels from the chapel of St. Francis Xavier was taken and shipped to Portugal. The accusations of commerce and bankruptcies spread vastly across Europe and caused skepticism among the nations about the Jesuits and their ‘immoral’ and contradicting activities in Europe and abroad. It appears that Jesuit priests misused their wealth by attracting more non-Christian individuals to baptism and Europeans may have been unsatisfied with this strategy since practicing poverty was one of the Jesuit’s absolute law. These accusations led to expulsions from Spain, Portugal and France and other countries who followed suit shortly after. Interestingly, Jesuits received the permission from Catherine to continue their work in Russia where the *Dominus ac Redemptor* was not issued. They were only allowed to continue their work as long as they obeyed the laws. To the Jesuits’ advantage, the Russian Empress Catherine was neither in favor of the Habsburg and Bourbon dynasties nor the Pope’s, Clement XIV, authority. Additionally, she benefitted from the Jesuit teachings to expand the Russian educational system. Despite Protestantism that was present in Prussia, Frederick the Great had the same intentions and ideas as the Empress Catherine did. While Catherine’s son Paul I left the Jesuits’ situation unchanged, Alexander I “banished the Jesuits from both Moscow and St. Petersburg.”⁷⁴ The Society of Jesus was eventually banned not only from Moscow and St. Petersburg but also from the entire Russian Empire in 1820. With Pope Clement XIV and his official act against the Society of Jesus it almost seems that the Pope wanted to wipe the Jesuits off the earth. However, not only did the Pope in Rome vow for a suppression against the Jesuits but also nonclericals and lay enemies of the Jesuits and one of “the frontline attackers were the members of the royal Bourbon family – all Roman Catholics – who occupied the thrones of Spain, Portugal, France, Naples, and Sicily.”⁷⁵ Jesuit historians believe in a Jesuit conspiracy where members of the Society

⁷³ Paris, *The Secret History of the Jesuits*, 67.

⁷⁴ Shore, Paul. *The Years of Jesuit Suppression, 1773–1814: Survival, Setbacks, and Transformation*. Leiden, The Netherlands: Brill, 2020, p.45. <https://doi.org/10.1163/9789004423374> Web.

⁷⁵ Martin, *Jesuits*, 213.

of Jesus were also involved in a plot to bring destruction to the Bourbon dynasties. Thus, the ‘secularist Enlightenment’ was running against the Society of Jesus and its members.

Jesuits who were banned and expelled from countries where their missionary works were expanding spent their lives in exile and some Jesuits did not survive the expulsion. Interestingly, after the suppression in 1773, Jesuits were admitted to institutions of higher education. Some became rector of Universities and some continued their teachings as Professors in mathematics and other subjects. The Jesuit Francis Dzierozynski took his refuge to the United States after the expulsion of the Jesuits from the Russian Empire to continue his teachings and admissions works at Georgetown. Moreover, other religious orders rivaled with the Society of Jesus, i.e. Franciscans and Dominicans who had different religious understandings of life and mission.⁷⁶ Dominicans and Franciscans took the opportunity to accuse the Jesuits as a heretic threat right after the Jesuits were expelled especially from the Spanish Peninsula where Mexican Dominicans maneuvered to attack the Jesuits with heretic accusations.

European Freemasonry, a context of European Enlightenment, ran against the Jesuits in the eighteenth century. Kings, ministers and other higher authorities of Europe desired the destruction of the Jesuits. The Marquis de Pombal, “saw the Jesuits as the greatest single obstacle to his plans for the drawing of power to the royal court and to himself personally, but the consequences of his anti – Jesuit campaign reached far beyond Lisbon.”⁷⁷ While Jesuit schools were seen as ‘outdated’, Freemasons and the Bourbon family competed with the Church for obedience while the former preferred a total obedience to the laws of the land rather than that of the Church. Mistrust appeared in the *French Parlement* when the French Jesuit LaValette tried to secure finances in order to continue his missions that were against the Jesuit law. Ignatius himself laid down the prohibition in engaging in any businesses that damaged the image of the Jesuit vow to poverty. In 1762, not only did the *French Parlement* decide against LaValette

⁷⁶ Shore, Paul. *The Years of Jesuit Suppression, 1773–1814: Survival, Setbacks, and Transformation*. Leiden, The Netherlands: Brill, 2020, p.4. <https://doi.org/10.1163/9789004423374> Web.

⁷⁷ Shore, Paul. *The Years of Jesuit Suppression, 1773–1814: Survival, Setbacks, and Transformation*. Leiden, The Netherlands: Brill, 2020, p.15. <https://doi.org/10.1163/9789004423374> Web.

but against the Society and came to the decision to expel the Society from France. After the expulsion of the Society from several European countries, Jesuit possessions were confiscated in which houses, residences, colleges, belongings and churches were taken by the state's troops. Nonetheless, Pope Clement XIV himself was under the pressure of the Bourbon dynasty before his election as Pontiff. The Bourbon family was only willing to accept the new Pope as long as he guaranteed to prohibit and expel the Society of Jesus. Pope Clement XIV seemed to have benefited from the Bourbon family's power and manipulation to be elected as Pope. Thus, he decided to close the seminary of the Society in Rome in 1772 and a year later issued and forwarded the *Dominus ac Redemptor*.⁷⁸ Interestingly, due to their strong obedience to the Church and their identification as *Pope's Soldiers*, they accepted the extreme situation of their fate and continued their obedience to suppression. While the Russian Empress and Frederick of Prussia still supported the Society of Jesus and their missions, Jesuits saw this opportunity to restore the Society and elected the Lithuanian Father Stanislaw Czerniewicz as temporary Vicar-General. Father Czerniewicz happened to be in permanent contact with Pope Pius VI and asked him for advice for the fate of the Society. Unlike Pope Clement XIV, Pius VI had words of encouragement that the Society might be restored once again and approved into the Vatican. In 1814, Pope Pius VII kept Pius' VI enigmatic and encouraged and restored the Society of Jesus. The new Father General was the Lithuanian Franciszek Kareu. The restoration of the Society of Jesus was also seen as the 'resurrection' of the Society. Thus, with the restoration and 'new beginning' of the Society of Jesus, the Ignatian *Constitution, Spiritual Exercises* and *Ratio Studiorum* were reintroduced followed by the reopening of Jesuit colleges and schools. With the new rise of the Society of Jesus, Jesuit membership increased throughout the years to approximately 12,000 in 1880.⁷⁹

⁷⁸ Martin, *Jesuits*, 216.

⁷⁹ *Ibid.*, 218.

CHAPTER 2

THE JESUIT MISSIONS EAST AND WEST

1. Pre – Jesuit Missions: Juan de Segovia and the Origin and Sources of Converting ‘Muslim Infidels’

Before the rise of the Society of Jesus, other Catholic orders attempted to convert Muslims who remained in Iberia after the Reconquista. One prominent figure that deserves attention is Juan de Segovia, an intellectual and a priest who contributed his effort to the study of the Qur’an and the ‘Muhammadan sect’. Unfortunately, no biography has been found but only assumptions provide us little information about his birthplace and ‘possible’ family background. His birthdate can only be assumed as well which, according to Ulli Roth, must have been around 1393. His birthdate was calculated from his enrollment at the University of Salamanca in 1407, his graduation and activities and his death.⁸⁰ What we also know about Juan de Segovia is his academic career as professor of theology at the University of Salamanca in 1477 and his participation at the Council of Basel at the frontline in which he also represented the University of Salamanca and its *Studia*. Apparently, he was the first chair holder for the interpretation of holy scripts at Salamanca. Not only was he the chair holder of the interpretations of holy scripts but also *in primis* for the morning lectures and *in vesperis* for the evening lectures. In 1431, he officially became a priest and gained the royal trust from King Juan II of Castile and Leon. Segovia kept his mind busy with questions on how to incorporate with ‘believers of other faiths’ or people with different religious backgrounds as well as with heretics. Segovia is believed to be a *Converso*, a former Jew who converted to Christianity, because many participants of the Council of Basel were known to be *Conversos*. Additionally, the possibility of being a *Converso* may be due to his surname, which was very common for Jewish converts to Christianity.

⁸⁰ *cp.* Johannes von Segovia, *De gladio divini spiritus in corda mittendo Sarracenorum: Edition und deutsche Übersetzung mit Einleitung und Erläuterungen von Ulli Roth*, 1., edition (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag, 2012), XXII.

Another indication suggests that his birthplace was Segovia.⁸¹ Receiving his Baacalaureat in 1418, the University of Salamanca's interest in Segovia continued and assigned him to represent the University's new constitution where he successfully received Pope Martin V's confirmation in 1421. During his successful career at the University of Salamanca and in the Curia, Segovia received his first title as *papal referendaris* in Rome around 1427-1428. Apparently, the reason to 'award' him with this title was to keep him in the Curia a bit longer than he anticipated. During his academic career at the University of Salamanca, Cardinal Juan de Cervantes accepted Segovia 'as a familiar' and assigned him to represent him at the Council of Basel. In 1449, Segovia was transmitted to *Diocese of Segovia* and *Archdiocese of Seville*. Apparently, it is assumed that he died on November twenty – fifth 1453, although his place of death is unknown as well as his date of death is only speculated. During his priesthood in the *Curia* and professorship, the Spaniard published significant and important works, which he dedicated to Cervantes before his death. The well known works are *Liber De Magna Auctoritate Episcoporum in Concilio Generali* and *De Gladio Divini Spiritus* where the latter will be further discussed due to its polemic content against Islam. Both Segovia and Ignatius de Loyola attended the University of Salamanca in different times, however, there may be certainties that Ignatius came across Segovia's works and studied them during his time at the University, needless to say he may have studied Segovia's trilingual Qur'an translation which disappeared while only the preface remained of the translation.⁸² Segovia translated the Qur'an with the help of a *Faqih* of the Mudejar of Segovia called Yça Gidelli also known as Isa Ibn Jābir who travelled to Aiton upon invitation where Segovia was also known to last have resided there. Interestingly, the Mudejar's who were the first Muslims to reside and live permanently outside dār al-Islām were also seen as a political threat due to their link to the Ottoman Turks. However, Segovia saw this as an opportunity due to his lack of Arabic so Gidelli's knowledge of Castilian gave Segovia a better opportunity to translate the Qur'an to Latin.⁸³ Before Segovia's Qur'an translation, there were other

⁸¹ Thomas E. Burman, *Reading the Qur'an in Latin Christendom, 1140-1560*, Reissue edition (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2009), 178.

⁸² Burman, *Reading the Qur'an in Latin Christendom, 1140-1560*, 181.

⁸³ C. Lopez-Morillas, "Lost and Found? Yca of Segovia and the Qur'an Among the Mudejars and Moriscos," *Journal of Islamic Studies* 10/3 (1999): 277–292.

medieval Qur'an translations where besides Toledo's translation; Robert of Ketton's one was more prominent than others. Ketton's Qur'an translation circulated throughout Medieval Europe and was perhaps the nearest sufficient translation. However, Segovia thought otherwise and suggested that Ketton's Qur'an translation was insufficient and decided to take these measures in his own hand for a better translation in the Latin language.

The striking point for Segovia to study the Qur'an and the religion of Islam was the 'Turkish Problem', i.e. the Fall of Constantinople and the approach of the Ottoman to Christian Europe. Apparently, after the Reconquista, Moors were believed to plot against the Catholic regime with the help of the Ottoman Turks. To avoid such measures, priests, kings and other higher authorities were forced to take actions against the 'other'. According to John M. Hobson, "the west was imagined as being inherently blessed with unique virtues: it was rational, hard-working, productive, sacrificial and parsimonious, liberal-democratic, honest, paternal and dynamic. The East was then cast as the West's opposite Other: as irrational and arbitrary, lazy, unproductive, indulgent, exotic as well as alluring and promiscuous, despotic, corrupt, childlike and immature, backward, derivative, passive, dependent, stagnant and unchanging."⁸⁴ This Eurocentric mindset was very present in Medieval Europe among priests, missionaries, kings and queens that several medieval polemicists published their polemic works against their culture, religion and traditions to address the 'apparent problem'. Apparently, such polemic approaches served to avoid a regressive Europe. Additionally, the audience of polemic writings against the 'other' was not the ordinary one but rather fellow priests and missionaries who could benefit from it and pass it on to next generations. Before the Fall of Constantinople, Segovia was already interested in the study of the Qur'an and the religion of Islam and some scholars assume that his interest started when he had met the German philosopher, theologian, jurist and astronomer Nicholas de Cusa in Basel who published significant works such as *De Pace Fidei* (On the Peace of Faith) and *Cibratio Alchorani* (Sifting the Koran); the latter is a detailed review of the Qur'an in Latin translation. It is assumed that Segovia borrowed some of Cusa's works for his further studies. When Constantinople fell into the hands of the Ottoman, Segovia dived

⁸⁴ John M. Hobson, "The Eastern Origins of Western Civilisation," *Cambridge Core* (Cambridge University Press, June 2004), 7.

even more into the studies of the Qur'an and Islam's tradition and according to Thomas E. Burman, "Islam for Juan was a vile, militant, and sexually promiscuous heresy."⁸⁵

Segovia's polemic work *De Gladio Divini Spiritus in Corda Mittendo Sarracenorum* ('On Driving The Sword Of The Holy Spirit Into The Hearts Of The Saracens') was published between 1453-57 and is organized in a preface (Praefatio) and seventy-six considerations (Consideratio). Each of these considerations contains different topics concerning the, according to Segovia, heresy of Muhammad and his sect. In the preface, he gives an explicit explanation about 'Muhammad's Islam' and the Qur'an and its structure. In *De Gladio Divini Spiritus*, Segovia's major theological topics he explicitly criticizes and defends are (1) the Trinity, (2) the secret of becoming human, (3) the number of wives and the amount of other women in Islam, (4) foray and war campaign, (5) promotion and recommendation of the book (Qur'an) itself, (6) heresy of the law of Muhammad and (7) enjoyment of paradise. Unlike Jesuit's, Segovia never left medieval Europe to convert Muslims in Muslim countries though there is a controversy surrounding Segovia's alleged fight against the Muslims to retake Christian ground (i.e. Constantinople). Segovia also had interfaith dialogues with Muslim scholars throughout his priesthood. In October 1431, he met with the Emir (King) of Granada⁸⁶ to discuss religious topics, which he also makes mention of in *De Gladio Divini Spiritus* in the fourth *Consideratio*. He belittles the King and Muslims for being blind and uneducated about the divine truth and reports about what the King believes to be a falsification in the Christian faith: That God has begotten a Son. Segovia claims that Muslims are generally not being able to comprehend the concept of God or the Trinity. Additionally, he indicates that Muslims allow themselves to despise

⁸⁵Burman, *Reading the Qur'an in Latin Christendom, 1140-1560*, 179.

⁸⁶ While Spain was retaken by Catholics during the Reconquista, Granada still remained Muslim territory. Many Moors were sent to exile or forced to conversion. Those converted were called Moriscos and among them were some who still practiced Islam behind closed doors. In order not to lose their possessions, Moors converted to Catholicism and stayed in Spain but the persecution and oppression continued. Female Moriscos gave Islamic lectures to their children at home or taught the Qur'an secretly even though this task was assigned for men. Some prominent figures were Lucía de la Cruz who for example was punished for teaching and practicing Islam to her daughter and other children. Angela Hernández, also known as Isabel Jiménez, was believed to be a teacher and dogmatist who reconstructed her house like a mosque for those who wanted to practice Islam secretly. In many cases, Morisco children were taken away from their families to be raised as "proper" Christians. Those who were not sent to exile or killed were captured and sold as slaves. cp. Giles Tremlett, *In the Light of Medieval Spain: Islam, the West, and the Relevance of the Past*, ed. S. Doubleday - D. Coleman, 2008 edition (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2008).

the Christian faith because they believe that God is indivisible.⁸⁷ In the following paragraphs of *De Gladio Divini Spiritus*, Segovia directly and explicitly quotes the words of the King of Granada what he said about the Trinity upon which Segovia steps into an apologetic methodology. The King of Granada argues that Christians believe in multiple persons, alive and dead, leads to polytheism. Segovia concludes that the ‘Saracen’ thinks that Christians believe in the salvation of the human race and that God has begotten a son without any mind and sense while Segovia wishes that the King of Granada was informed about the Philosophy of Aristotle especially the book *On the Soul* (‘De Anima’). Why he made such reference is the link between medieval Christian thinker and theologian’s (e.g. St. Thomas Aquinas) adaptation of Greek philosophy especially that of Aristotle’s concept of the soul of being a form of the human body. However, Segovia defends this by arguing that God can take different forms and shapes that do not necessarily make him multiple Gods but one God. Additionally, he argues that God cannot be recognized as more than three person and not less than three if even though one of them were the almighty that the almighty one could not bring forth all three of them at the same time.⁸⁸

⁸⁷ The English translations are translated partially from Latin and partially from German and are translated by myself. “Quarta consideratio narritas summarie collationibus non nullis habitis cum Sarraceno quodam ambaxiatore regis Granatae notat, quam sit compatiendum caecitati Sarracenorum ex solo defectu intelligentiae imponendum Christianis plurium adoratores esse deorum et nagantium incarnationis mysterium, sed quod multi eorum attente audiunt sobrie epositam veritatem. Caecitati quorum atque ignorantiae et nescientiae merito compatitur, qui attentius respicit verba legis eorum principales in ea contentos errores ex solo defectu intelligentiae astruentis. Ideo namque negant filium et spiritum sanctum deum esse, quia intelligere non possunt aut nolunt, quomodo eorum quilibet deus sit, nisi dicatur, quia est socius aut particeps deitatis. Et quoniam adorantes sin eos, qui dicuntur participes dei.” cp. Segovia, *De gladio divini spiritus in corda mittendo Sarracenorum*, 77–78.

⁸⁸ “Quomodo igitur vos Christiani plures habetis et adoratis deos, unum caelo, alium in terra, unum creatorem, alium hominem filium Mariae, unum patrem, alium filium, unum immortalem, alium mortuum, crucifixum atque sepultum? Et dicis, quod deus pater eum tradidit, ut pro salute vestra moreretur. Est tamen ita, quod pater habens filium, si sciat eum carceri traditum, rogat, quo potest, iudicem, munera mittit et osculatur manus eius, ut liberet eum.’ Cum haec aliaque propositi huius ex abundantia cordis, ut loquendi modus ostendebat, dixisset, illi respondi, duo, quantum percipiebam, absurda ei pro salute humani generis. De quo igitur istorum vellet, ut primo loqueremur. Illo autem subito respondente, quod de primo, dixi optare me, ut notitiam haberet de philosophia Aristotelis, praesertim quantum ad libros *De anima*. Sed dato ita non esse sperarem dei auxiliante gratia tam palpabilibus me lorcuturum exemplis, ut priusquam e domo illa exirem, clara perciperet ratione deum habere filium eius. Cumque ad haec audienda permaxime attentum so obtulerit, quod et completiv, auditu sistente sermonem effudi illi exponens trinitatis mysterium de personarum pluralitate unitateque essentiae earum, multifaria ratiocinatione insinuans, non propterea, quia plures essent personae, dii essent plures, sed quomodo singula earum deus, ita omnes deus tantum unus. et sicut necesse erat deum esse, ita eadem necessitate deus esset plures personae, ut, sicut impossibile est deum non esse, ita foret impossibile deum unicam solum esse personam. Sed quanta necessitate deus erat unus, tanta erat personae tres. Sic tamen ut nullatenus intelligi posset plures in deo quam tres esse personas nec tribus pauciores quarum singula, etiam si omnipotens esset, non posset aliam seu alias, quam tres istae essent, personam seu personas

In the preface as well as in several considerations, Segovia seemed to be conflicting about the ‘creator’ or ‘author’ of the Qur’an. While quoting some Qur’anic verses as an example about major themes, he claims that the Qur’an has multiple authors where sometimes he believed that some verses were directly said by Muhammad himself and other verses, Segovia refers to the ‘non-divine’ author/s as ‘them’.⁸⁹ Apparently, the reason Segovia claimed that the Qur’an had multiple authors including Muhammad was to prepare fellow Christian missionaries to be aware of the ‘Muhammadan sect’ and its law by making it seem an ‘unreliable’ source. Another important aspect is his translation of the verses of The Opening (Surah Al-Fatiha) and the last verses also called Surah An-Nas which he translates very differently from its original syntax and perhaps its meaning. He chose these verses because Segovia emphasized how much the ‘Muhammadan sect’ holds on to the Oneness of God that God is one. What he wants to demonstrate is unclear. However, one may speculate that he interprets these verses as a denial and ‘ban’ of the Trinity that the source of the denial of the Trinity originates especially from these verses. As mentioned above, Segovia’s trilingual Qur’an translation vanished, however, with the help of some verses in *DGDS*, we get a little glimpse into his translation. Despite the help of a Muslim *faqih*, Segovia’s translations of the two verses mentioned above are as follows:

“To the merciful and kind God, the Creator of the universe, whose judgment the Last Day awaits, with reverent prayer, let us humbly worship Him, and His hands are approval, and the ways of gift and teaching, which have brought His own as weighted and not as enemies and erring ones, so we may feel.”⁹⁰ (Q:1)

producere nec simul omnes tres.” cp. Segovia, *De gladio divini spiritus in corda mittendo Sarracenorum*, 80–82.

⁸⁹ Juan de Segovia believed that the Qur’an’s major heretic themes were those mentioned above and he also emphasized them to use these against the Muslims during religious discussions as a method to convince them of the “falsity” of the “Muhammadan sect”. He specifically chose several verses related to the major themes to give a detailed example and description, i.e. Jesus, Mary, the Gospel, the Oneness of God (Arab.: *tawhid*), the people of the book (Arab.: Ahl al-kitab), the mystery of the Trinity and Jesus as son of Mary, to use these example to baptize Saracens and also convince them that their “religion” is an “invented sect” and a heresy based on sexual, barbaric and warmongering motives. cp. Segovia, *De gladio divini spiritus in corda mittendo Sarracenorum*.

⁹⁰ “Misericordi pioque deo, universitatis creatori, iudicium cuius postrema dies exspectat, voto supplicii nos humiliemus adorantes ipsum suaeque manus suffragium semitaeque donum et dogma, qui suos ad se benivolos nequaquam hostes et erroneos adduxit, iugiter sentiamus.” cp. Segovia, *De gladio divini spiritus in corda mittendo Sarracenorum*, 156.

And also:

“In the name of God, the kind and merciful. I have healed you as Lord over all nations, as King of all, as God of all, begging constantly and humbly that he may shield and deliver you from the devil that pierces human hearts and from devilish and depraved people.”⁹¹ (Q:114)

As the title already reveals Segovia’s intentions and how to defeat the ‘Turkish problem’ and Muslims, with the help of historical events written down in history books, Segovia was hostile to crusades because he believed that a violent and bloodshed method only brought an opposite result. Thus, the method was the power of knowledge and education about the ‘infiltrating’ religion and converting as many as possible to retake former Christian ruled territories. Even though this method remained unsuccessful, former Muslims who converted to Christianity and joined the century’s later new Jesuit order preached the Christian doctrine to Muslims themselves. His ultimate motive was not a fight against the ‘other’ with a sword but rather with the ‘divine sword’. In the fifth *Consideratio*, Segovia gives a detailed re-read about all the failed crusades and concludes that other strategic measures need to be considered and put into action. He pities the unsuccessful hold on territories of the Saracens ruled by Christians, i.e. Jerusalem, Egypt and Constantinople.⁹²

⁹¹ “In nomine dei, pii et misericordis. Te sanctificando omnium gentium dominum, omnium regem, omnium deum, iugiter atque suppliciter exora, ut a diabolo humana corda penetrante hominibusque diabolicis atque perversis te defendat et liberet.” cp. Segovia, *De gladio divini spiritus in corda mittendo Sarracenorum*, 156.

⁹² “Experientia denique multipliciter iam habita est, quamvis Sarracenorum terrae occupentur, teneri non posse per Christianos, quemadmodum contigit, dum tempore Godefridi de Billon Ierusalem cum adiacentibus multis habit, paulo post tempore amissa fuit cum immensis periculis et damnis Christianae religionis totius. Equidem post captionem eius per Christianos, ut historiae referent, anno domini MXCIX Christianorum, qui victores fuerant, repatriare multis volentibus LXXXVIII annis, quibus dominium Christiani tenuere, cum dietim terrarum multae per Christianos obtenturam perderentur, quam plures potentissimi exercitus Christianorum in subsidium accessere personaliterque cruce signatus Conrad Almaniae rex, qui anno domini MCXLVII de Vlisbonam, maximam regni Portugaliae civitatem, applicuisset. Post quadrimestrem obsidionem illam obtinuit victoria de caelo concessa adversus CC milia hostium ex Sarracenis. Maio autem sequenti cum innumerabili multitudine peregrinationem aggressus prospere transacto Bosphorus. Dum ad expugnandum Niconium inconsulte divertisset, consumptis terrae germinibus et deficientibus victualibus rediens persequentibus Turcis multos amisit suorum multaque repatriare voluerunt.” This is one of many narrations Segovia provides about the crusades. Here, he informs about King Conrad of Germany and his unplanned crusade of Niceae which he decided to do on

In the eighth *Consideratio*, Segovia makes an interesting remark about Arianism and Nestorianism and concludes that especially heresies such as Arians and Nestorians who denied Jesus as the son of God and Mary having given birth to Christ instead of an ‘ordinary’ man (non-divine) were easily targeted to be converted to the ‘Muhammadan sect’ because Arians, Nestorians and Muhammadans shared the same opinion regarding these sensitive topics. Hence, heresies such as Arianism and Nestorianism as well as other heresies were considered as detached from the Roman Church and ‘vulnerable’ to the religion of Islam. Thus, one may carefully assume that missionaries were to be informed about conversions of Christians to Islam that were linked to heretic backgrounds.⁹³

Not only is Segovia’s *DGDS* a ‘guidebook’ for fellow missionaries on how to approach the ‘Muslim infidel’ but also a medieval polemic and an apologetic work. He frames sensitive topics from the Qur’an with exceptionally cognitive linguistic thought through and through. Some even parallel with those of the Jesuits who also published polemics throughout their studies. One example is the role of women in Islam that both Segovia as well as Jesuits framed within their works. Thus, in the ninth *Consideratio*, Segovia argues that the verses concerning women are a ‘clear self-explanatory’ matter. According to Segovia’s interpretation, the Muhammadan law abuses women and allows

his pilgrimage where he crossed the Bosphorus. He lost several of his men and fleet. cp. Segovia, *De gladio divini spiritus in corda mittendo Sarracenorum*, 101–103.

⁹³ “Opera studiose data est ad redarguendum eos, plures dei adorearent. Cumque illis diebus adhuc vigeret Arianorum haeresis, negantium filium dei esse deum, sed quod prima et excellentissima esset creatura ab eo facta. Vigeat quoque Nestorii error affirmantis beatissimam virginem christoticon, sed theoticon neganti, hoc est quod esset genitrix Christi, sed non dei itaque solum fuisset mater puri hominis, Vigeat rursus Eunomii error de spiritu sancto indigna sentientis. Hinc igitur et aliis de causis parte catholicae fidei paucis aut nullo sibi resistance Machumeto suisque sectatoribus non difficile, sed admodum leve fuit, ut in regionibus illi ab ecclesia Romana longe distantibus suum dogma reciperetur negans mysterium trinitas divinarum personarum sub ea praesertim ratione in Alchorano repetita persaepe, quod adoranda non esset multitudo deorum, sed tantum unus deus. Et quantum percipitur, verbal egis Machumeti reprehendere videntur Christianos adorantes seu invocantes filium et spiritum sanctum, inquantum eos crederent participes, consortes aut socios esse dei diversis constitutos in locis.” Segovia also makes mention of those heresies who denied the mystery of the Trinity shared the same idea as Muhammad and his law and may be driven to follow his ‘sect’. cp. Segovia, *De gladio divini spiritus in corda mittendo Sarracenorum*, 161.

incest and lust⁹⁴ and gives an example verse from the Qur'an apparently from the translation of RICCOLDO DA MONTE DI CROCE *Contra legem Sarracenorum*:

“In the name of God, the good and merciful, salvation and increase to those who believe and pray continually with a humble heart, avoiding useless and shameful words, who pay their dues and keep their chastity except with their own wives or with those who are subordinate to them or maidservants. This will not lead to a dispute. But whoever seeks something else will be counted among the wicked.”⁹⁵

It is common among missionaries who were unsuccessful to convert as many Muhammadans as possible, they, especially Jesuits and other missionaries of other Christian orders, believed that having the permission to take more wives and women was a significant obstacle in baptizing Muhammadans. However, this will be discussed in detail and with examples in the following chapters.

Despite the help of Gidelli for Segovia's Qur'an translations where he assumably had the possibilities to study *Tafsir* (Qur'anic exegesis), his knowledge about the life of Muhammad himself seems to be insufficient and he only abstracted information from the verses of the Qur'an and it seems very controversial that he included the *Tafsir* in his studies after all. Medieval Qur'an translations were translated word to word, which consequently resulted to some 'mistranslations'. Some terminologies could not be translated to the Latin language; needless to say Qur'an

⁹⁴“Continuata igitur explicatione ordine tertio refertur error in lege Sarracenorum descriptus quantum ad usum mulierum vel, loquendo proprie, magis abusum, errore ipso semetipsum palam faciente seque ipsum velut perimente suo acuto gladio, hoc est proprio condemnante sermone, dum sub specie sanctimoniae et castitatis incestui et luxuriae habenas omnino laxat.” Segovia, *De gladio divini spiritus in corda mittendo Sarracenorum*, 169–171.

⁹⁵ “In nomine dei pii et misericordis salus et multiplicatione credentibus cordeque devote iugiter orantibus et otiose pravaque verba linquentibus et decimatoribus et castitatem nisi cum propriis uxoribus aut sibi subiectis et ancillis observantibus. Inde namque nulla fiet querimonia, aliud autem quaerens malis adnumerabitur.” Consequently, Segovia's inference is that the law of Muhammad allows the Saracens to abuse other women beside their wives as follows: “Haec proch dolor mensura est virtutis castitatus per Machumetum laudate, ut praeter uxores licitum Sarracenis sit pro libito abuti mulieribus quibuscumque subiectis eorum dominio ancillis quoque.” cp. Segovia, *De gladio divini spiritus in corda mittendo Sarracenorum*, 169.

translations were used as a tool to practice the Arabic language.⁹⁶ Whether Segovia's intentions was to defeat the 'Turkish problem' and approaching Muslims 'peacefully', as Anne Marie Wolfe suggests in her work *Juan de Segovia and the Fight for Peace*, or simply an anti-Muslim preaching, leaves the scholars in a never ending discussion, because the only issue is that little do we know about Segovia's engagement with Muslims other than Gidelli and his experience. However, *DGDS* was not intended for the ordinary audience but rather fellow Christian missionaries as a 'guidebook/handbook'. The Jesuit Tirso Gonzáles de Santalla and his *Manudictio ad Conversionem Mahumethanorum* ("Handbook to Convert Muslims") is a similar contended work, which will be closely analyzed in the following chapter.

2. A Jesuit Handbook to Convert 'Muslim Infidels': The Example of Tirso Gonzáles de Santalla and his Handbook to Convert Muslims

A Very Short Biography of Tirso González de Santalla

Tirso González de Santalla was born in 1624 in Arganza (northwest of Spain) and was ordained a priest in his 20s in 1650. Like many other fellow priests, he was ambitious about overseas conversions. González's wish to go overseas for conversion missions was common through his letters he wrote and sent to the superior generals. He asked the general Goswin Nickel in 1652 to sent him to China and the Philippines to dedicate his whole life in missions overseas. Yet, he was refused to set sail and was required to further and continue his studies in Europe. According to Colombo, many priests, preachers and professors were usually denied permission for overseas missions because Europe needed priests, preachers and professors in order to educated fellow Jesuits as well as to be attentive in European missions.⁹⁷ González's ambition and passion in mission strengthened when he met Jerónimo López in Salamanca. Jerónimo López was a very prominent and famous priest and missionary in the Society of Jesus and González became fond of him and accompanied him on his missions to Ávila,

⁹⁶ See also, among others, Katarzyna K. Starczewska (CCHS-CSIC, Madrid), "5. Beyond Religious Polemics: An Arabic-Latin Qur'an Used as a Textbook for Studying Arabic," in Daniel G. König - Benoît Grévin, "Latin and Arabic: Entangled Histories," *Heidelberg Studies on Transculturality*, 2019, 190.

⁹⁷ Emanuele Colombo, "'Even among Turks': Tirso González de Santalla (1624–1705) and Islam," *Studies in the Spirituality of Jesuits* 44/3 (October 10, 2012): 7.

Alcalá de Henares and Madrid. There, González and López's friendship strengthened and González perhaps learned a lot from his fellow Jesuit. Interestingly, during his studies at the University of Salamanca and his later teaching position at the same University, González did not know Arabic at all despite the fact that Salamanca was one of the first Universities to introduce a faculty of trilingual languages that included Arabic. However, no one seemed to be sufficient enough in the Arabic language to be qualified enough to teach it at the Trilingual College at the University of Salamanca. With the pragmatic sanctions in 1567, within three years Moors and Moriscos were forced to stop speaking or writing Arabic. All Arabic books had to be handed over to authorities for inspections and most of them vanished and were burned. Thus, learning Arabic was a challenge in early modern Christian Europe. Due to the lack of sources in Arabic and the lack of knowledge in the Arabic language, many theologians like González as well as Tomás de León had to get their access to sources from abroad.⁹⁸ González completed his book *Handbook to Convert Muslims* just before he left for the congregation in 1687 where he would be elected general. González's election as general is known to be the most controversial election in Jesuit history and he himself is known to be a controversial missionary. The anti-probabilistic Jesuit was never involved in any political organization in the Society of Jesus. So why would he be elected anyway? Indeed, González was desired and favored by Pope Innocence XI for his passion and ambition in theology and mission in general. Perhaps his knowledge of Islam and his relationship with Muslims was beneficial for the Roman Catholic Church so that the Pope himself saw him qualified and fit enough to train fellow Jesuits and non-Jesuit priests on how to counter Muslim 'propaganda'. González's inspiration also came from *Confusión de la secta mahomética y del Alcorán* written by Juan Andrés, a former Muslim who was baptized and wrote an anti-Muslim polemic.

Manuductio Ad Conversionem Mahumethanorum

⁹⁸ For further reading about the Trilingual College of the University of Salamanca and the teaching of Arabic in the Iberian Peninsula see Nuria Martínez de Castilla Muñoz, "6 The Teaching and Learning of Arabic in Salamanca in the Early Modern Period," *The Teaching and Learning of Arabic in Early Modern Europe*, January 1, 2017, 163–188.

Decades later, in the Jesuit world, even after the suppression of the Society of Jesus, conversion and interfaith dialogues continued in 1540 – 1770. According to Paul Shore, the Society of Jesus was defined and known as “a Society of books” constantly publishing books about different topics whether it is their own missionary experience, spiritually based books or literary works.⁹⁹ Among these publications are polemics, handbooks, theatrical literature or Qur’an translations. Interestingly, Jesuit literature did not receive enough academic attention. The reason could be the apologetic approach by the Jesuits and the unreliability of their published works. However, it is significantly important to reconsider reading Jesuit literature in order to understand Christian-Muslim relations in history and how it impacted the relations in present day. According to Paul Shore, Jesuits kept continuing their contact with Islam after and during the suppression that is still “an aspect of the Society’s program today.¹⁰⁰ As already mentioned above, the Society of Jesus’ conversion methods seem a lot more different today than their methods in history. Throughout the decades, many Jesuit priests (prominent or not) encountered Muslims on different occasion. Unlike Juan de Segovia or many other priests during the pre-Jesuit days, Jesuit priests travelled to Muslim countries in order to baptize Muhammadans under the order of the Pope. Despite the fact that they remained in Muslim countries for a longer period of time, Jesuits insufficient theological knowledge of Islam and their claim of having baptized and inspired many Muhammadans is a phenomenon. Other than the one encounter with a Muslim on his journey, the founding father of the Society of Jesus did not publish any literary works regarding the religion of Islam nor did he seem to have studied any Islamic based books, i.e. the Qur’an translations or its Exegesis. It can only be assumed that he may have read some works of other priest, e.g. Juan de Segovia. However, his later companions did so and they did so in numerous and phenomenological ways.

One prominent Jesuit book written in the late seventeenth century quite circulated the globe for missionary purposes. Tirso Gonzáles de Santalla, (1624 – 1705) who was elected the thirteenth superior general of the Society of Jesus, wrote the

⁹⁹ See also “Paul Shore, Contact, Confrontation, Accommodation: Jesuits and Islam, 1540-1770 - PhilPapers.”

¹⁰⁰ See also “Paul Shore, Contact, Confrontation, Accommodation: Jesuits and Islam, 1540-1770 - PhilPapers,” 429.

entitled book *Manuductio ad Conversionem Mahumethanorum* ('Handbook to convert Muslims') with the intention to counter Muslims at a time when Ottoman Turks approached Europe and were seen as an infiltrating enemy. Additionally, Tirso González de Santalla seemed to have seen the necessity to write a book for his fellow Jesuits since prior priests like Juan de Segovia and his literary works about Muhammadans seemed to have been unsuccessful circulating the globe. Needless to say, Tirso González must have been aware of Segovia's polemic works against Islam or studied them because he also was enrolled at the University of Salamanca. However, Segovia's work might have been out of date for the seventeenth century and González published a new and updated version. Later he was trained to be a professor and continued his professorship at different Universities as well as at Salamanca. Compared to Segovia's *DGDS*, González generally seemed to have been sufficiently informed about Islam and the language of his handbook was different than that of Segovia's, yet the cognitive framing remained the same. On the one hand, González both admired and respected Muhammadans in different ways and at the same time considered them as a threat to Christian Europe and Christian values. Interestingly, in his *MCM*, it becomes clear that González's missionary approach is different than that of other missionaries and controversial at the same time. That is what makes this thirteenth superior general controversial after all. According to Paul Shore, "Jesuits realized that in Muslims they had encountered another "people of the book" who also valued preaching",¹⁰¹ thus, connected to *MCM*, González's mission was to baptize Muhammadans from within their faith. Hence, the idea of salvation for González was different from that of his fellow Jesuits namely he believed that the verses in the Qur'an enhanced the Christian faith to be the true and only salvation of a soul and argued that Muhammadans only have to follow their law 'correctly'.

The book has two volumes where the first volume contains content about the "truth of the Christian Roman Catholic Religion", a treatise against heretics and infidels who disagree or deny the divinity of Christ.¹⁰² The second volume and therefore the

¹⁰¹ See also "Paul Shore, Contact, Confrontation, Accommodation: Jesuits and Islam, 1540-1770 - PhilPapers."

¹⁰² Emanuele Colombo is an Associate Professor at DePaul University active at the Faculty of Catholic Studies. Born and raised in Italy, Colombo received his PhD in the history of Christianity at the University of Milan and Padua. He expanded his research in Europe and the United States (University of

most striking one is a structured guide for missionaries in Spain and outside its borders to conversion approaches. The second volume is split in six sections: the first section's content includes a structural and chronological proposition of the life of Muhammad and in the second section, not only does the author list the errors of the Qur'an and 'Muhammad's sect' but he also shares the 'falsity' of the Qur'an and warns fellow missionaries about these errors and how to use these methodologically against the Muhammadans. In the third section, González shows the 'falsity' and errors of the Qur'an 'from within' the Qur'an, i.e. "the errors against reason".¹⁰³ In the fourth section, González speaks out against the idea attributed in the Qur'an that Jews and Christians have corrupted the Old and New Testaments. Throughout his studies of the Qur'an, González seemed to have believed otherwise - he believed and interpreted the Qur'an in favor of the Christian faith, i.e. the Qur'an enhanced Christianity. In the fifth section, González argues that the law in the Qur'an, i.e. *sharia* law, is not God's law but does not give any further elaboration on which and whose law it is. In the last two sections, section six and seven, González shares his experiences where and how he converted Muhammadans.¹⁰⁴ Thus, not only was he concerned about the remaining Muslims in Iberia, who were mostly slaves and servants at that time, but also and foremost about the Turks and not only did he learn about Islam and its customs through personal encounter but he also extracted his knowledge from the prologue to the Qur'an of an unknown Gallic author, which was translated from Arabic to Gallic. Unlike Segovia, González's sources can only be assumed and are more likely unknown whereas Segovia's sources for the study of the Qur'an are explicitly and reasonably known.

As already mentioned above, the Handbook has two volumes and the second volume, which is also entitled as *In qua Falsitas Mahumetanae Sectae*, is the most important in order to understand González's countering maneuver against the Muslim 'propaganda', his missions, his knowledge about Islam and the Qur'an and his missionary approach. *MCM* is structured very chronologically and the language is

Notre Dame and Boston College). His research focuses on religious history in the early modern period especially in Jesuit missions and Christian-Muslim encounters. Emanuele Colombo, "Even among Turks": Tirso González de Santalla (1624–1705) and Islam," *Studies in the Spirituality of Jesuits* 44/3 (October 10, 2012): 7.

¹⁰³ "Even among Turks," 7.

¹⁰⁴ González referred to the Muslims as 'Muhammedans', 'Muhammedan Turks' or 'Turks' Colombo, "Even among Turks," 7.

simple yet at first glance the language appears inappropriate. The Handbook was first published in Madrid in 1687, a few years after the victory over the Ottoman Empire in Vienna by the Holy League. The Book was reprinted into many copies and was also translated into Polish and Arabic.

In chapter three of the first section *Customs and Institutions of the Mohammedans*, he describes Islam and its customs and shares what he knows about Islam generally through experiences, studies and encounters with Muslims who were baptized and with Muslim scholars. Interestingly, González ‘extracted’ his knowledge about the Qur’an from the prologue of the Qur’an (probably a Qur’an translation) written by a Gallic author whose name remained unknown. Thus, with the word ‘extracted’ (Lat.: *extraxi/extrahere*) González shows that he did not fully studied this ‘mysterious’ source he received from an unnamed Gallic author. However, that Gallic author was a legate of the *Christian Kind* in Constantinople. Catholic priests and missionaries seemed to have distinguished Muslims from different territories (see above). Since González had received a Gallic translation of a prologue of the Qur’an from someone who was a resident in Constantinople, he speaks of Turkish Muhammadans (‘*Turcae Mahumetani*’) and Moors or Moriscos when he speaks about the Muslims in Iberia. González’s ‘introduction’ about Islam is structured as follows:

XLVI. In order for the minister of Christ, clearly instructed in the knowledge of the customs and the religion of the Moors, to easily procure and eagerly desire their conversion, it seemed appropriate to me to describe here the manner and the aspect of life that the Turkish Mohammedans hold. And I extracted all this from the prologue of a certain Gallic author, legate of the very Christian king by the Turks in Constantinople, which is the prologue to the Koran, translated from the same from Arabic to Gallic. This volume was shown to me by the excellent *Comes de Oropesa*, and the same gave me dogmas and customs translated from the Latin idiom into Hispanic: and so it was.

XLVII. The Turks believe in one God, in one sole person, creator of heaven and earth, the rewarder of the virtuous and punisher of the wicked, who created

paradise for the recompense of the goods, (and) hell for the ultimate and extreme punishment of crimes.

XLVII. They firmly believe that Muhammad is God's greatest prophet delegated by God on earth to teach men the way of salvation. In reality they call themselves in their language Muslims, which is the same as *recommended to God, (or) saved in God*.

XLIX. They believe in the Decalogue of Moses (The Ten Commandments) and they keep to observe it. Friday is a public holiday for them, as Sunday is for Christians. And on this day they gather in the temple to make their prayers. They remember to pray five times a day, in the morning, at noon, in the evening, at sunset and an hour after sunset.

L. They respect fasting in the month of Ramadan. And in this period they conduct fasting all day, don't touch neither food nor drink until the sun sets. And then they really devour everything, and stuff themselves with all sorts of food and various drinks, with the exception, however, of pork and wine, which are always forbidden for them. After this fast they celebrate the feast of *Bairam*, just as Christians celebrate Easter.

LI. They spend most of their time on the construction of temples and hospitals, and they are obliged to give alms to the poor on the first day of the year, the tenth of the money earned the previous year.

LII. After washing the body, done by pronouncing some prayer appropriate to this rite, they are convinced to cancel every stain and sin of the soul. So they wash very often and above all before they say their prayers.

LIII. They have no Sacrament, but Circumcision; they cause their children to be circumcised at the age of seven or eight years; and when they can pronounce these words, *La ilha ilia alha Mehemet rasulallha*, that is: *There is but one God*,

Mahomet is his Prophet and Apostle. This is their profession of faith. However, throughout the Koran there is no mention of circumcision. But they say they observe it by imitating Abraham, whose law worthy of veneration approves Muhammad.

LIV. They believe that the Koran was revealed from heaven through the archangel Gabriel in different times to Muhammad, a resident of Mecca and Medina, since Jews and Christians had altered the Holy Scriptures and the law of God.

LV. They are allowed to have four wives at the same time, and as many children and handmaids as they can maintain.

LVI. They can repudiate their wives where they see fit, their dowry dissolved, and others take as a wife, depending on them. But the women are bound to tarry until they are assured that they are not with a child [or: *they are thicker than before the marriage.*] before they marry again.

LVII. Their husbands are obliged to keep, and take care of the children.

LVIII. The children that they have with their slaves are reverently esteemed with those of their wives, and are all held as legitimate.

LIX. They have temples and hospitals built with large taxes. They have religious monasteries where they live in an austere way and for example for others; they obey their superiors. They jump (e) say prayers to the sound of flutes and other musical instruments.

LX. There are religious among them who roam the world. They often roam naked. Sometimes they adopt the costumes of the fools of those lands. They tear their skin with a whip to be revered as saints. They live on alms, which they never miss. These religious are called Drenis and are known for their peculiar

customs. However, they can abandon religion and marry, according to their wishes.

LXI. They believe neither that Christ is a son of God, nor in the trinity; they say that Jesus Christ was a great prophet, born of the Virgin Mary, whose virginity (remained) unharmed before and after childbirth, conceived by divine inspiration, or by a divine breath, without a father, as Adam was created without a mother; that he was crucified, that God took him into heaven, and that he shall come again, on earth at the end of the world to confirm the law of Mahomet; they likewise affirm that the Jews thinking to crucify Jesus Christ, crucified a man among them that resembled him.

LXII. They recite prayers for their dead; invoke their saints, of whom they have a long history. They do not believe in purgatory at all: many of them are convinced, that souls and bodies lie together in the tombs until the day of the Judgment.

LXIII. They greatly worship Mecca and Medina, Arabia's cities, as Muhammad was born in Mecca and received the Crown of the Kingdom in Medina. They often make frequent pilgrimages there (considered) holy cities by them. Even Jerusalem is venerated, as there, very many prophets arose and remained.

LXIV They do not use bells. At prayer time the priests climb to the highest peak of the tower, which is always on the side of the temple. From here with solemn voice calls the people to prayer, (spreading some prayers) in a prepared space. And so far (he tells us) the Gallic author.¹⁰⁵

¹⁰⁵ The chosen paragraphs from the *Hanbook* were translated from the original Latin to English by myself unless another translator is mentioned. "XLVI. Ut Christi minister planè instructos notiriâ morum, & Religionis Maurorum, possit illorum conversionem faciliùs procurare, & avidiùs desiderare, utile mihi visum est, hîc describere modum, & formam vivendi, quam Turcae Mahumetani tenent. Et totum hoc extraxi ex Prologo cujusdam Authoris Galli, Constantinopolim ad Turcam Regii Christianissimi legati, quem Prologum facit ad Alcoranum, Gallicè ex Arabico ab ipso versum: quod volumen mihi ostendit Excellent. Dominus Comes de Oropesa, & ipse ex Gallico Idiomate in Hispanum versa dogmata, & mores mihi dedit: & ita se habent. XLVII. Turcae in unum Deum eredunt, sed unam tantùm personam, Creatorem Coeli & terrae, bonorum remuneratorem, punitorémque malorum, qui Paradisum condit ad munerandos bonos, infernum ad iltimam & extremam punctionem delictorum. XLVII. Firmissimè

The description listed above is a small extract among many other descriptions. However, with a handful of some we can see that González had ‘sufficiently insufficient’ knowledge about the customs. At first glance, it seems that he particularly emphasized on the customs of Shia Muslims (“They tear their skin with a whip to be revered as saints.”). However, this may be a very vague assumption for it is unclear

credunt, Mahumetum esse maximum Dei Prophetam à Deo in orbem delegatum, ut homines viam salutis doceret: illi verò suo Idiomate seipsum vocant *Musulmanos*, quod idem est, ac in Deo resignati aut salvati. XLIX. Credunt Moysis Dealogum, & illum observare tenentur. Dies Veneris illis festus, sicut dies Dominicus Christianis: & hac die in Templum conveniunt ad habendum orationes suas, & preces. Tenentur quinquies in die orare, manè meridiè, vesperi, Occidente Sole, & unâ horâ post Occasum Solis. L. In Mense, aut Lunâ, apud ipsos Ramazam, jejunium servant: & hoc tempore totum diem jejuni agunt, nec cibum, nec potum libant, usque dum Sol occidat; tunc verò ex omnibus comedunt, & cibis cunctis, & potatione multiplici se onerant, excepta tamen porcina carne, & vino: quae res omni tempore illis interdictae sunt. Hoc jejunio peracto celebrant festum Magni Bairam, sicut Christiani Pascha celebrant. LI. Expendunt plurimum in aedificatione Templorum, & Xenodociorum, obliganturque pauperibus in eleemosynas decimam partem lucris anno praecedente facti, prima die anni elargiri. LII. Persuadent sibi, pro lotione corporis, factam dicendo aliquam orationem huic ritui accommodatam, omnem maculam peccatumque amini abstergi: quapropter saepissimè lavantur, & praesertim antequam orationes suas recitent. LIII. Praeter circumcisionem alia Sacramenta non habent: dant operam, ut filii septimum annum, aut ocatvum agentes circumcidantur, & hoc statim ac proferre possunt haec verba: *La illa illa Alha Mehemet Rasulalha: id est: Unus Deus tantum est: Mahumet est ejus Propheta, & Apostolus*. Haec est eorum fidei protestatio. Attamen in toto Alcorano de circumcisione non fit mentio; fed dicunt, se illam observare, imitantes Abrahamum, cujus legem venerando approbat Mahumet. LIV. Credunt, Alcoranum missum fuisse è Coelo per Angelum Gabrielem in diversis temporis intervallis Mahumeto, Mecham & Medinam habitanti: nam Judaei, & Christiani sacras litteras, & legem Dei corruperant. LV. Permittitur illis simul quatuor uxores habere, & tot filios, & ancillas, quot alere possunt. LVI. Uxores dimittere, ubi placuerit, possunt, soluta earum dote, & iterum alias ducere, prout illis libuerit: verumtamen foeminae expectare tenentur, donec clarè constet, grossiores factas fuisse, quàm ante nuptias. LVII. Mariti tenentur alimenta filiis praestare, & illorum curam agere. LVIII. Filii ex ancillis suscepti ejus conditiones sunt, ac ex uxoribus suscepti, & omnes legitimi reputantur. LIX. Habent Tempia, & Xenodochia longo censu instructa. Habent Religiosorum coenobia, qui austerè, & in exemplum aliorum vivunt; obediunt superioribus suis; ad fistularum, & aliorum musicorum instrumentorum sonitum saliant, suas preces & orationes dicunt. LX. Sunt apud ipso salii Religiosi per orbem vagantes: hisaepius nudi vagantur; utuntur interdum veste vesanorum illius plagae; pellem in frustra diffecant; ut sancti coluntur; stipe collecta vivunt, quae nunquam illis deficit. *Utrique Religiosi Drenis* vocantur, & noti sunt ob peculiarem vestem; tamen possunt religionem deserere, & uxorem ducere, ubi libuerit. LXI. Nec credunt, Christum esse Filium Dei, nec credunt in Trinitatem. Ajunt, Christum esse magnum Prophetam, & natum fuisse ex Virgine maria, illaesa ejus virginitate, ante & post partum, conceptumque fuisse inspiratione, aut inflatione Divina sine Patre, sicuti Adamus creatus fuit sine Matre, Christumque non fuisse crucifixum, sed assumptum a Deo in Ceolum, iterumque venturum ad terras ante exitium mundi, ad confirmandam legem Mahometi: & asserunt, Judaeos, arbitantes, se Christum crucifigere, crucifixisse alium illi similem. LXII. Preces pro mortuis fundunt: Sanctos suos invocant, quorum longam historiam habent; at Purgatorium esse minime credunt: plurimi illorum sibi persuadent, animos & corpora simul in sepulchris condita jacere usque ad diem Judicii. LXIII. Mecham, & Medinam Vilas Arabiae maxime venerantur; nam Mechae Mahumet natus est, Medinae Coronam Regni accepit. Frequentes peregrinationes factitant ad has civitates apud ipsos Sanctas: Hierosolyma quoque illis venerationi est, nam ibi orti, & commorati plurimi Prophetae. LXIV. Campanarum usus apud ipsos non est: ad horam orationis in summum fastigium turris ascendunt Sacerdotes, quae semper ad latus Templi parrigitur; hinc elata voce populum ad orationem congregant, precem aliquam fundendo in hunc finem dispositam. Hucusque Author Gallus. ” Cf. “Tirso González de Santalla, “Manuductio Ad Conversionem Mahumetanorum: In qua Falsitas Mahumetanae Sectae Convincitur,” -, González de Santalla, Tirso: In qua Falsitas Mahumetanae Sectae Convincitur, -: Bencard -. (Bencard, 1688), 2:1:3 p. 25–26.

whether he meant Shia Muslims or another religious group that lived among Muslims and perhaps were mistaken as followers of Islam. He calls them ‘Drenis’ and there is no further literary source to give a straight definition. The assumptions are taken from the above translations in which he says that ‘they tear their skin with a whip to be revered as saints.’ He also seems to refer to the Sufis (also known as ‘heterodox dervish’) and their customs in which he reports about the instrumental rituals where ‘They jump (e) say prayers to the sound of flutes and other musical instruments.’ Similar as Segovia and other priests and their polemic works, González also did not leave out the Muslim’s denial of the Trinity. He continues with the last paragraph of this chapter in mentioning the Franciscan R.P. Br. Antonio del Castillo who, according to González, travelled to several Ottoman cities and reported his experiences and encounters with ‘Muhammadan Turks’ while he was there and recorded it in his *Devoto peregrino et itinerario Terra Sancta*. As mentioned above, in this abstract, the distinction between Moors in Iberia and ‘Turcae Mahumetani’, which González indicates is a very significant and interesting remark. It seems that González and, fairly said, other priests and missionaries ‘favored’ Moors or Moriscos over the ‘Turcae Mahumetani’, for their customs seemed to be different from one another. This may have been due to the different philosophical schools where Moors in Iberia were predominantly from the Maliki School and Turkish Muslims from the Hanafi School whereas Sufism was also extensive. González claims that Moors in Iberia were ‘ashamed’ of the customs and traditions among the Turks, and Moors ‘denied’ those and accused Christians to have invented a lie. This may have been an attempt to separate the Moors and ‘Muhammadan Turks’ from one another, for their relationship was a well-built one. Unfortunately, González does not give any further information about this matter or refused to go into detail except for the following brief assertion:

LXV. Who wants to know more about the customs of the Moors, the legate R.P. Br. Antonio del Castillo, of the order of Saint Francis describes in his *Devoto peregrino et itinerario Terra Sancta*, book 3 chapter 6, the life of those whom the Moors call *Santones* (holy men); and telling about Mohammedans is enough to create great embarrassment. No one, in fact, provided with reason and who has been educated in the political sphere, is not ashamed when he

hears that those who act as such are considered saints by the Moors. And it seems incredible that it is reported by a very religious man and an eyewitness. What is in fact more absurd, that men endowed with reason give themselves great happiness, or that the holy men enter home and quarrel with their wives and seduce their daughters; and are congratulated by friends and fellow citizens for this disgrace and are convinced that their wives and daughters remain sanctified in such a shameful social relationship? And so it is practically, as described by the very religious author, who travelled to many Turkish cities. In any case the Mohammedans in Spain, having heard this, are ashamed of it and say that this is not true and that it is an invention of Christians to defame the Turks. But to describe this I have neither time nor desire: read (directly) from this author.¹⁰⁶

In chapter four of section two, in which González also begins with as the “*fourth demonstration, here required because salvation becomes certain in the law of Christ, based on the words of the Koran, and how it is instead doubtful in the Mohammedan one.*”¹⁰⁷ This very ironic ‘introduction’ to the chapter shows itself throughout the book in general. González does not give any references from the Qur’an or any references from other sources. Thus, one very major and important example can be seen in this section and chapter of *MCM* as follows:

X. Here it is clearly shown how the Mohammadans are led by the same doctrine of the Koran to accuse Mohammedanism and to embrace the faith of

¹⁰⁶ “LXV Qui plura desideravit de Mahumetanorum moribus, legat R.P. Fr. Antonium del Castillo, Ordinis S. Francisci in suo *Devoto peregrino, & itinerario Terra Sancta*, lib. 2. Cap. 6. ubi describit vitam eorum, quos Mauri Santones vocant; eamque coram Mahumetanis referre, sufficit ad confusionem magnam ipsorum; nemo enim rationis particeps, & in religione politica educatus est, qui non erubescat, & pudore suffundatur, cum audit, ut Sanctos a Mauris haber eos, qui talia agunt: & incredible videretur, nisi a Viro Religiosissimo, & teste oculari eorum, quae narrat, referrentur. Quid enim absurdum, quam homines rationis compotes magnae felicitate sibi tribuere, quod Santones illi domos eorum ingrediantur, & cum ipsorum uxoribus congregiantur, vel eorum filias corrumpant; & detanto dedecore gratulationes ab amicis, & a concivibus excipere, sibi persuadere, uxores suas, & filias ex hoc pudendo congressu sanctificatas manere? Et tamen ita revera est, ut refert Religiosissimus Author, qui multas Turcarum Civitates peragravit. Certe Mahumetani in Hispania, his auditis, ita erubescunt, ut dicere cogantur, illa ita non se habere, fed a Christianis confingi in opprobrium Turcarum. Sed haec hic scribere, nec vacat, neclibet: tu apud hunc Authorem lege.” cf. González de Santalla, “Manuductio Ad Conversionem Mahumetanorum,” 2:3 p. 27.

¹⁰⁷ “Inde petita, quod Salvatin in lege Christi sit certa ex dictis Alcorani, in Mahumetana autem sit dubia.” Cf. González de Santalla, “Manuductio Ad Conversionem Mahumetanorum,” 2:2:4 p. 34.

our Lord Jesus Christ. In fact in this way I affirm: the Koran openly recognizes the law by which men can be saved in the Christian profession. On the contrary, however, we believe in the infallible article of faith that men cannot save themselves outside the Church of Christ. Because since God is only one, so only unique in the world must be the true religion, in which men can work for their own salvation. The other cults and professions contrary to him are necessarily false because what opposes the truth contains falsehood.¹⁰⁸

Cautiously, it can be said that González did not see Islam as a cult because he believed that the Qur'an enhanced the Christian doctrine and only 'Muhammadans' themselves did not understand their own law in order to confirm that Christianity and the Church are the ultimate and true eternal salvation. Additionally, González asserts that such an enhancement of the Christian law of salvation in the Qur'an is present and that the Qur'an itself 'condemns' Muhammadanism. However, throughout the whole book, González does not give any references, i.e. verses from the Qur'an, to elaborate where and how he came to this conclusion.

Apparently, González sought finding the 'same-shared' values between Christians and Muslims, so it appears, but in fact he tried to justify Islam to be a 'branch' of Christianity. Searching for commonly shared values was a typical Jesuit approach to achieve a universal conversion. But unlike Jesuits' encounter with the customs and institutions of Islam, Jesuits agreed and enhanced the Confucian customs during their missions in Japan.¹⁰⁹ Confucianism seemed to have been more valuable to Jesuit Christians in their missions than Islam. In Islam, Jesuit priests and missionaries

¹⁰⁸“Inde petita, quod Salvatin in lege Christi sit certa ex dictis Alcorani, in Mahumetana autem sit dubia. Hinc manifeste convincitur, Mahumetanos ex ipsa doctrina Alcorani compelli ad desenderu Mahumetismum Domini nostri Jesu Christi Fidem. Sic enim arguo: Alcoranus vester, vestraque lex pala fatetur, posse homines in Christiana professione salvari: econtra vero omnes Christiani ut infallibilem Fidei articulum credimus, extra Christi Ecclesiam homines salvari non posse: quia sicut unus duntaxat est Deus, ita unica duntaxat in mundo debet esse Religio vera, in qua homines suam salutem operari possint: reliaque autem fectae, & professiones illi contrariae, necessario sunt falsae, quia, quod veritati opponitur, falsitatem continet.” Cf. González de Santalla, “Manuductio Ad Conversionem Mahumetanorum,” 2:2:3 p. 34–35.

¹⁰⁹ For further reading in Jesuit mission in Japan and Jesuit encounters with Confucianism see Haruko Nawata Ward, “Jesuit Encounters with Confucianism in Early Modern Japan,” *The Sixteenth Century Journal* 40/4 (2009): 1045–1067.

seemed to have found shared ideas through Holy Scriptures and their ‘hostility’ towards Judaism was prevalent. González elaborates this as follows:

You also know that the Mosaic law after the advent of Christ is no longer useful for salvation. Since as it is true that you are aware of the article of faith that Christ is the prophet promised in the law, on the other hand the perfidious Jews, who only observe the Mosaic law, deny this and are still waiting for the Messiah. And Christ himself said: "If you do not believe that I am, you will die in your sins." Jn. 8.24.¹¹⁰

González continues by addressing the Jesuit reader to remind him of the uniqueness and the profession of the Christian religion, which he is doing on several occasions throughout the book. Furthermore, as already mentioned above, seventeenth century and contemporary missionaries did not ‘necessarily’ demonize Islam but rather list the ‘falsities’ in their polemic works to ‘remind’ the Muslim community of their erroneous faith. However, González was known to be a controversial missionary with his controversial mission. With the following paragraph, González suggests to either profess/accept the Christian faith or the Muhammadan because both bring eternal salvation through Christ. Since González believed and interpreted some of the verses in the Qur’an that the Qur’an approves the Christian faith to be the only eternal salvation. However, he also seemed to have intended to address heretics with his interpretations only to prevent heretics to follow the ‘wrong interpreted’ Islamic traditions:

We use to name such a religion as a unique Christian religion; since the arguments clearly convince us that it comes from God, as is clear from all this dissertation. You really know that God grants a religion, or profession, or faith, in which men can save themselves. Moreover we know that the profession of pagans, who do not recognize the true God, is certainly (destined) to eternal

¹¹⁰ “[...] probe item nostis, legem Mosaicam post adventum Christi jam non esse utilem ad saultem; quia ut articulum Fidei in Alcorano habetis, Christum esse Messiam in lege promissum; perfidi autem Hebraei, qui modo legem Moysis observant, hoc negant, & Messiam adhuc expectant: illi ergo meridiana in luce caligant, & omnes infallibiliter peribunt, nisi Christum agnoscant esse verum Messiam, ut ipsis palam dixit ipse Christus: *Si non credideritis, quia ego sum, moriemini in peccato vestro.* Joan. 8.24 González de Santalla, “Manuductio Ad Conversionem Mahumetanorum,” 2:2:3 p.35.

perdition. Therefore, you publicly acknowledge that it is necessary to obtain eternal salvation, whether you profess the Christian religion or the Mohammedan religion.¹¹¹

González only suggests accepting either Christianity or Islam under a certain condition, i.e. to accept that the Qur'an approves Christianity to be the true religion and only salvation. Still he competes Christianity with Islam by arguing that the 'Mohammadan religion' will only lead to '*infernalem Babiloniam*' – the infernal of Babylon - rather than to '*coelestem Hierusalem*' – heavenly Jerusalem – which is, according to González only accessible for Christians. He describes his thought about this matter as follows:

Then I conclude that you are clearly foolish and imprudent if you do not embrace the Christian religion: because it is foolish who, between two ways that lead to an end in the conviction of men, accuses the path that is appropriate for each person to be right and which leads to a destination, and undertakes the one which is doubted whether it leads to an end or leads to a precipice. You alone, or Mohammedans, say of the Mohammedan religion to be the right way to eternal salvation: we all Christians believe in the opposite article of faith and we believe in a most certain way that (yours) is not the path to the heavenly Jerusalem but the broad way to the infernal Babylon, nor does it lead to the desired goal, but to the precipice of hell. Both you and we are of the opinion that the Christian religion is the sure way to salvation. The Mohammedan religion, on the other hand, is at least uncertain. Who on the other hand who does not see is very foolish when engaged by every maximum occupation and renounces the certain life, through which we can reach the port of salvation, and undertakes the uncertain way that can lead to the sinking of eternal damnation.¹¹²

¹¹¹ "Hanc autem Religionem unicam dicimus esse Religionem Christianam; quia, hanc esse a Deo, evidèntia convincunt argumenta, ut patet ex tota hac disputatione. Vos probe nostis, Deum habere mundo aliquam Religionem, seu professionem, vel fidem, in qu homines salvari possint. Rursus etiam nostis, professionem Gentilium, qui verum Deum non agnoscunt, esse certissimam at aeternam perditionem viam, Ergo palam fatemini, ad salutem aeternam obtinendam necessarium esse, vel Religionem Christianam, vel Mahumetanam profiteri." González de Santalla, "Manuductio Ad Conversionem Mahumetanorum," 2:2:3 p.35.

¹¹² "Inde vero ego evidenter concludo, vos esse stultos, & imprudentes, si Religionem Christianam non amplectamini: quia stultum est, ex duabus viis, quae in opinione hominum ducunt ad aliquem terminum, illam deferere, de qua apud omnes convenit esse rectam, & ad terminum ducere; & illam capere, de qua

As already mentioned, González also shares his experience with Muslims whom he had conversations with. These conversations were certainly about religion and the topics he seemed to have discussed were mostly the incarnation and Trinity in the Christian faith. Additionally, Jesuit priests and missionaries also tend to convert educated Muslim individuals as well as prominent Muslims in order to attract more Muslims to baptism. One prominent example is that of the Moroccan prince Baldassare Loyola Mandes, which will be discussed in another section. However, González wrote down his experiences in his *MCM* very detailed and also addressed fellow Jesuit priests and missionaries, which topics Muslims were keen to discuss when it came to an interfaith dialogue. Thus, González ‘prepared’ fellow Jesuits for a possible Muslim encounter and discussions about faith. Therefore, in section three chapter ten of *MCM*, González presents his encounter and debate with a “shrewd and scholarly Moor who did not want to give honor to the Christian faith”¹¹³ as follows:

LXXI. After concluding the Malacense mission to the Christians at the end of the year 1669, I was still preaching in Malaga to the Mohammedans and instructing the catechumens at baptism (and) my friend left Sexifirmum, commonly Velez Malaga, to reveal the mission to the Christians: after the solemn baptism of the catechumens, celebrated the sacred day of Saint John of that year, at that time I also migrated, on the verge of preaching to the Mohammedans like the most excellent Mr. Marquis of Santilla desired, general along those coastal areas, and the most excellent marquise his wife both (provided) of virtue’s honor no less than the illustrious glory of their family. I undertook the work demonstrating kindness to the excellent Prince so that all the Mohammedans who lived there would listen to the sermons.

dubium est, an ducatur illud terminum, an ad ingens praecipitium. De Religione Mahumetana vos foli, o Mahumetani, dicitis esse viam rectam ad aeternam salutem: nos vero Christiani omnes ut Fidei articulum credimus oppositum, & certissimum judicamus, illam non esse semitam ad coelestem Hierusalem, sed viam latam ad infernalem Babiloniam, neque ad optatum terminum ducere, sed ad inferni praecipitium. De Religione Christiana, & vos, & nos censemus, esse rectam viam ad salutem: ergo Religio Christiana est via certa ad salutem; Religio vero Mahumetana est via saltem dubia. Quis autem non videat, stultissimum esse, quando de summo omnium negotio agitur, viam certam dimittere, per quam certissime possumus ad salutis portum pervenire; & viam capere dubiam, quae forsitan pro portu ducit ad naufragium aeternae damnationis.” González de Santalla, “Manuctio Ad Conversionem Mahumetanorum,” 2:2:3 p. 35.

¹¹³ González de Santalla, “Manuctio Ad Conversionem Mahumetanorum,” 2: 127.

Later was celebrated the solemn baptism of six or seven Mohammedans who were converted to Christ, who stayed in the sacred font, was also celebrated. The excellent marquises wore splendid garments to participate with greater dignity in the sacred function.

LXXII. In that city I met a Mohammedan, named Amete Solymam, and compared to the other Africans I saw he was more witty and better natured, who not only fluently spoke the Hispanic language but read our books and enumerated by reading all the symbols of faith. He was a calm and modest man, faithful and true, just as among the Christians there were men of good and honest qualities, since he was in fact endowed with moral virtue. He was a very tenacious man of his cult and he correctly observed the law. Because of this, I wanted this man to convert before the others. Whoever passes to Christ only once brings much to the true faith and is for us the maximum advantage for the conversion of the rest. But the conversion of the unbelievers does not belong to the will of men but to the mercy of God.

I often approached him in public and private. And he listened carefully to the arguments I confided and openly declared that he could explain these arguments. And for this reason he did not incline his heart to the Christian religion; the primary difficulties that held him back were two primary foundations of the Christian faith, precisely the incarnation of God and the Trinity of Persons. God, he said, is one: if he is one, how is he trine? If it is trine, how is it one? I don't understand: this seems impossible. The unity of essences and the trinity of the Persons cannot coexist: in fact, each Person has his essence. If therefore they are three Persons, they have three essences, their natures: therefore they will be three gods.

Having noticed his good nature and ingenuity capable of perceiving the arguments, I decided to talk to him about religion, not immediately but through a pre-established plan. So I took him with me from Sexifirmus to Malaga and

acting with him in a friendly and audacious way on that journey, which consists of ten leagues, and I discussed copiously about religion.

And mainly I tried to expose those mysteries that inflicted difficulties on him. You consider that we Christians consider in God three persons, distinct and separate, just as a man distinguishes himself from another man. Between us, where there are three distinct people it is inevitable that there are three men. Because each person has his human nature distinct from the human nature of another, no doubt distinguished body and distinct soul. And for this reason three human persons are three men, because where there are three people there are three bodies and three souls and consequently three human natures. And moreover, where more human natures are imagined, more men must be imagined. On the contrary, three divine persons have the same divine nature, the same perfection, the same intellect, the same will, the same power and so with regard to the other perfections. Although there are three people, they are not three Gods, but one God, since they do not have three essences but a single one.¹¹⁴

¹¹⁴ “LXXI. Post finitam Missionem Malacensem factam Christianis ad finem anni 1669 dum ego Malacae praedicabam Mahumetanis, & Catechumenos ad Baptismum instruebam, socius meus profectus est Sexifirmum (Present Almuñécar, a municipality in the Spanish Autonomous Region of Andalusia on the Costa Tropical between Nerja (Málaga) and Motril), vulgo Velez Malaga, ad Missionem exhibendam Christianis: post Baptismum solemnem Catechumenorum, celebratum die S. Joanni Evangelistae Sacro illius anni, illuc ego quoque migravi, Mahumetanis praedicaturus, ut enixe desiderabat Excellentissimus D. Marchio de Santillan, Dux Generalis per illas maritimas oras, & Excellentissima Marchionissa ejus uxor, uterque non minus virtutum splendore, quam natalium gloria illustris: quod & praestiti sub initium anni 1670 operam navante Excellentissimo Principe, ut Mahumetani omnes ibi commorantes, conciones audirent; prosteaque celebratus est quoque Baptismus sollemnis sex vel septem Mahumetanorum, qui ad Christum conversio sunt, quos in sacro fonte tenuerunt Excellentissimi Marchiones, & splendidis vestibus induerunt, ut majori cum decor sacra functio perageretur. LXXII. In hac civitate Mahumetanum inveni, Amete Solymam nomine, caeteris Africanis, quos videram, arguti orem, & melioris indolis, qui non solum linguam Hispanam expedite loquebatur, sed libros nostros legebat, & legendo percurrerat totum symbolum fidei R.P. Fr. Ludovici Granatensis, erat vir pacatus, & modestus, fidelis & verax, & qui inter Christianos, tanquam vir probus & honestus habetur, quia revera virtutibus moralibus erat praeditus, Erat homo iste fuae fectae tenacissimus, legemque suam exacte observabat. Propter has causas hujus viri conversionem prae reliquis desiderabam; quia si semel ad Christum transiret, multos secum ad fidem veram duceret, & nobis ad caeterorum conversionem maximo usui foret. Sed conversio infidelium non est hominis volentis, sed Dei miserentis. Illum publice & privatim saepe aggressus sum; audiebatque attente argumenta, quae conficiebam, & palam faetbatur, se nescire solvere ea argumenta: caeterum non propterea cor suum inclinari ad Religonem Christianam; praecipua difficultas ipsum retrahens, erant duo praecipua Christianae Fidei fundamenta, nempe Dei Incarnation, & Trinitas Personarum. Deus, ajebat, unus est: si unus, quomodo trinus? Si trinus, quomodo unus? Non capio, non intelligo: hoc impossibile apparet: unitas essentiae, & Trinitas Personarum inter se cobaerere non possunt: una qua eque enim Persona suam essentiam habet: si ergo sunt tres Personae, tres habent essentias, seu naturas: ergo erunt

González's respect towards well-educated and learned Muslim scholars becomes evident throughout the book, however he was troubled about the scholar's view and perception of the Trinity, thus, like many other missionaries and priests from other religious orders as well as the Jesuit Order, González essentially emphasized on the discussion of the Trinity since this has been a major disagreement in interfaith dialogues between Muslims and Christians throughout the centuries and it still proves to be a significant discussion today.

The last extract of González's *MCM*, precisely an example from section six chapter one, will demonstrate his experience in the practice of converting Muhammadans ('convertendi Mahumetanos') and which topics he used during his sermons as well as the subjects he worked on so that fellow Jesuit missionaries could perform them in their sermons as well. González makes a very significant and interesting remark about the sermons to Muhammadans on how it also affects the Jews with arguments that 'militate' against the 'perfidious Jews'. Thus, these arguments certainly were verses from the Qur'an he used to counter Muslims reminding them of the error in their law. However, not a single verse is mentioned in his book despite the fact that this book ought to be a handbook for members of the Jesuit Order, for a handbook, González fell short in providing a detailed description of some aspects that may have been important in their missions. Unlike his other fellow Jesuit members, and despite his status in the Order as superior general, González's missions were kept within Spain rather than abroad. Thus, he travelled many Spanish cities, apparently those

tres Dii. Rursus quomodo Deus immortalis potuit fieri homo passibilis, & mortalis? Hoc durissimum mihi videtur, & penitus impossibile, & ideo non possum amplecti Religionem Christianam. Cum ego animadvertissem hujus hominis bonam indolem, & ingenium percipiendi argumenta capax, decrevi seorsim cum illo de rebus fidei non raptim, fed ex instituto agere, & ideo illum mecum, ut famulum, ex Sexifirmo in Malacam deduxi, atque cum illo amicabiliter, & confidenter agens in itinere illo, quod novem vel decem leucis constat, de rebus Religionis fusè disputavi. Et imprimis illi exponere conatus sum mysteria illa, quae illi difficultatem ingerebant. Ne existime (ajebam) nos Christianos asserere in Deos tres Personae distinctas & separatas, sicut unus homo distinguitur ab alio homine. Inter nos, ubi dantur tres Personae distinctae, necesse est, ut dentur tres homines; quia unaquaeque Persona habet suam naturam humanam distinctam á natura humana alterius, nimirum distinctum corpus, & distinctam animam; & ideo tres Personae humanae sunt tres homines, quia ubi dantur tres Personae, dantur tria corpora, & tres animae, ac proinde tres naturae humanae: ubi autem reperiuntur plures naturae humanae, plures debent homines repertiti. At tres divinae Personae habent eandem naturam divinam, eadem voluntatem, eandem potentiam, & sic de reliquis perfectionibus: unde quamvis Personae sunt tres, non sunt tres Dii, sed unus Deus, quia non habent tres essentias, sed unicam simplicissimam." González de Santalla, "Manuctio Ad Conversionem Mahumetanorum," 2: 126–128.

where Muslims were abundant. Hence, according to González, Muslims were very present in cities like Malaga, Port of Santa Maria, Gades, Seville, Chera, Calpe, Sanulcar de Barrameda, Velez Malaga, Granada and cities of the Betic province. Again, González argues that his ‘challenge’ with the ‘error of the Muhammadans’ made him observe that people can be saved in their own doctrine, yet salvation is only in the Roman Catholic Church whereas the Muhammadan cult is the synagogue of Satan, i.e. despite the fact that he believed the Qur’an to be a law in favour of Christianity, baptism in a mosque was unthinkable. González seemed to have tried to ‘re-define’ *Universalim*. However, in many paragraphs concerning this matter he contradicted himself in numerous ways. Jesuits were also known to desire a mass gathering in sermons not only with Muslims but also heretics like Calvinists and Lutherans as well as Jews in order to convert them instead of losing them to the ‘Mohammadan sect’. While sharing his experiences in the practice of converting Muhammadans, how to argue against them and their ‘secterian law’ he also encourages to use these methods and arguments against other heretics as well as Jews. He shares his experiences and thoughts about the practice of conversion translated from Latin to English as follows:

First of all it is very useful to give sermons to Mohammedans in the cities and places where they are not so few, as they are in Malaga, Port of Santa Maria, Gades, Seville, Chera, Calpe, Sanlucar de Barrameda, Velez Malaga, Granada and other cities of the betic province, likewise Madrid and other coastal cities in Spain near the Mediterranean. The effect of these sermons is manifold.

I. The conversion of the same Mohammedans, who are not a little disturbed by these public sermons, as can be seen from the words of this treatise. And the multitude of the faithful rightly come to the sermons, and ardent with desire is revived by the Mohammedans’ raise to God, who often ask for and obtain from God.

II. Since many Jews live hidden in the big cities where trade is active, as in the coastal cities, and since we cannot hold sermons in Spain directly against the Jews, who can live in this kingdom only hidden and incognito, it is necessary

that sermons be held in public against the Mohammedans. And with most of the arguments, which are against the Mohammedans, they militate against the perfidious Jews. With one action are all refuted, and the minister of Christ, with the pretext of preaching to the Mohammedans, can conduct speeches and arguments against the Jews. And so I excelled in Seville, and I chose enormously that these sermons were held in the Cathedral, and especially there, so that people could rush without blame and without discomfort.

The inclemency of the time, however, forced in the year 1679 to continue the sermons, begun at the entrance of the main temple, which turns to south, in the Professed House of the Society of Jesus, in which in the year 1672 those bright sermons were held, during which thirty-eight Mohammedans requested baptism.

III. Since not a number of heretics live hidden in the large cities visited for trade in the Indies, such as in Cadiz, Malaga and also in Madrid, which come willingly to sermons; and the Catholic preacher taking the opportunity can direct sermons against them and discredit them with arguments. This I often observed, especially when I challenged the error of the Mohammedans, so that everyone can save themselves in their doctrine. In fact, I was directing sermons against Calvinist and Lutheran sectarians, claiming that salvation is in the Roman Catholic Church. Likewise when the known facts are examined, with which it is proven that the Church of Christ is in the true Church of God and the Mohammedan cult is the synagogue of Satan, it is easy to turn the speech against the heretics; thus they discover the proofs of the true Church of Christ in the Roman Catholic Church alone.

Likewise, when the falsehood of the Mohammedan cult is revealed by the depraved customs of Muhammad and the contradictions of the Koran, the same argument is thrown against the Lutheran and Calvinist sectarians.

And so I performed in Malaga, Cadiz and Seville.¹¹⁵

González continues to emphasize on the sermons and how Catholic Christians could benefit from them. He seemed to have been concerned about fellow Catholic Christians and their consolidation in faith. The reason why he was concerned may be due to the reason mentioned above and because, according to González, Christians were easily influenced by Muhammad's law and other heretics. For González, heretics who came against the Christian doctrine and who did not accept God as the author were weak and easily 'seduced' by Muhammadans. Thus, he feared for them to turn away from Christ. He claims that only those 'faithful' Muhammadans were driven and touched by the words during the sermons and González believed that these were the only few individuals (as well as Jews) who would or may convert and who might have found these sermons reasonable. He claims that Muhammadans desired listening to sermons, which may also have happened out of interest and curiosity but those who remained in Spanish territory after the Reconquista were held and sold as slaves to Christian household and consequently were forced, by higher authorities, to attend these sermons. However, in seventeenth century Europe, the hostage of Muslim slaves in Europe may have been uncommon but a forced attendance of sermons given by Jesuit

¹¹⁵ "I. IN PRIMIS utilissimum est, publicas Conciones ad Mahumetanos habere in urbibus, & oppidis, ubi illorum non est adeò exiguus numerus, ut sunt malaca, Porsus Sanctae Mariae, Gades, Hispali, Xera, Calpe, S. Lucar de Barrameda, Velezmalaga, Granata, & alia oppida Baeticae Provinciae, item Matritum, & aliae civitates maritimae in Hispania prope mediterraneum. Harum concionum multiplex est fructus. I. Ipsorum Mahumetanorum conversio, qui his sermonibus publicis non parùm commoventur, ut constat ex dictis in hoc tractatu: & sanè soncurrente fidelium multitudine ad has conciones, ardens desiderium in ipsis excitatur de Mahumetanorum reductione, illámque à Deo enixè postulant, & saepè obtinent. Secundò, cùm multi sint, occulti Judaei in magnis urbibus, ubi viget commercium, ut in civitatibus maritimis; & cùm non possimus directè conciones in Hispania habere contra Judaeos, qui non nisi occulti & incogniti habitare in his regnis possunt, oportet, ut hae conciones contra Mahumetanos publicè habeantur; nam ad illas venire non renuunt Judaei, & saltem curiositate ducti confluunt. Et cùm plurima ex argumentis, quae contra Mahumetanos fiunt, militent contra perfidos Judaeos; unâ operâ omnes convincuntur, & Christi minister sub titulo praedicandi Mahumetanis potest contra Judaeos discursus & argumenta dirigere. Et ita ego praestiti Hispali, & maximè optavi, ut conciones istae fierent in Ecclesia Cathedrali, vel propè illam quia illuc sine nota, & sine incommodo concurrere poterant hujusmodi homines: inclementia tamen temporis coegit anno praeterito 1679. Ut conciones incaeptas ad januam Majoris templi, quae meridiem respicit, prosequeretur in Domo Professa Societatis Jesu, in qua anno 1672. habitae fuerant conciones illae, in quibus 38. Mahumetani baptismum petierunt. Tertiò, quia in magnis urbibus Indiarum commercio frequentatis degunt occulti non pauci haeretici, ut Hispali, Gadibus, Malacae, & etiam Matriti, qui libenter ad has conciones audiendas veniunt; & occasione arrepta potest Catholicus concionator adversus illos fermonem convertere, eosque argumentis premere. Id ego saepe observavi praefertim quando impugnabam illum Mahumetanorum errorem, quod unusquisque possit in sua lege salvari: tunc enim converti sermonem contra Sectarios Calvinistas, & Lutheranos, fatentes, esse salutem in Ecclesia Catholica Romana. Item cum ex depravatis Mahumeti moribus, & ex contradictionibus Alcorani falsitas Mahumetanae fectae detegitur, idem argumentum torquetur contra Sectarios Lutheranos, & Calvinistas. Et ita ego praestiti Malacae, Gadibus, & Hispali." González de Santalla, "Manuctio Ad Conversionem Mahumetanorum," 2:6:1 287–289.

priests and missionaries is likely possible.¹¹⁶ However, González gives an example of a man who desired the sermons and was affected by them positively in which he thanked the preachers. His description of this man's appearance indicates that he was poor and uneducated and that even men like him were driven by the sermons, however the religion this man followed is not mentioned. One may only assume that he was a Moor due to the description of his eyebrows and forehead. González describes his experience and what he learned during his time as a preacher and missionary as follows:

IV. These sermons are very useful to the Catholic Christians themselves, so that they can be consolidated in the faith, and with the fervor of faith and vivacity the remaining virtues grow. And in the sea towns, where Christians are taken away every day by the Mohammedans, this thing is more necessary. Because the plebeian men, who ignore the reasons of credibility, with which it is clearly demonstrated, that the Christian religion recognizes God as author, are easily seduced by the Mohammedans and turn away from Christ. For this reason Christian preachers should above all in those places give the people those arguments, with which Christ proved his divinity, and all the other things that I first accomplished.

I wish to God that the Christian orators would omit the other completely useless speeches, which they often insert into sermons whenever they expose to the people those arguments, with which it is clearly shown that God revealed the mysteries of the Christian religion.

Experience teaches me that the faithful receive the greatest consolation from these sermons and are intimately moved by giving thanks to God for the benefit of the Christian faith, without which it is impossible to be acceptable to God. Not once did I observe that some of the faithful, having listened to those arguments, with which I felt the divinity of Christ the Lord against Muhammad

¹¹⁶ For further reading in preaching to Muslims in medieval Europe and the forced attendance see Mercedes Garcia-Arenal Rodriguez - Fernando Rodríguez Mediano, "The Orient in Spain: Converted Muslims, the Forged Lead Books of Granada, and the Rise of Orientalism"; Tremlett, "In the Light of Medieval Spain"; and also Szpiech, "Preaching Paul to the Moriscos."

and the Jews, they could not contain the tears for the excess of spiritual consolation that raised their souls.

When we held public sermons for the first time in the Professed House of the Society of Jesus of Madrid in the year 1670, so much was the desire to listen to those sermons that it was necessary to surround with the escort the entrance to the temple and the Professed House so that the powerful and the most important women could listen to the sermons.

And though this zeal was carried out prudently, many gentlemen could hardly find free entry and with great difficulty earned a place to listen. Among the strong nobles someone, a man with a severe forehead and not modest eyebrows, and who was not used to showing signs of great courtesy, when he heard the preacher, an expert on the evidence of the subjects, with whom he exposed the truth of the Christian religion, discussing the divinity of Christ could not contain himself and pursued him into the room as he returned from the pulpit. And he embraced him deeply and gave thanks for the sermon of so much usefulness and consolation.¹¹⁷

¹¹⁷ “Quarto, istae conciones utilissimae sunt ipsis Christianis Catholicis, ut in fide magis radicentur, & crescente fidei fervore, & vivacitate, crescant reliquae virtutes. Et in oris maritimis, unde quotidie Christiani a Mauris captivi abducuntur, est res ista maxime necessaria: quia plebei homines ignorantes motiva credibilitatis, quibus manifeste demonstratur, Religionem Christianam habere Deum Authorem, facile a Mahumetanis seducuntur, & a Christo deficiunt. Unde Christiani Praedicatores deberent in ijs praecipue locis populo expendere argumenta illa, quibus Christus suam Divinitatem probavit, & reliqua omnia, quae in prima parte ego confeci. Utinam Oratores Christiani omissis discursibus alijs prorsus inutilibus, quos saepe concionibus inserunt, quandoque populo Christiano exponerent argumenta illa, quibus evidentissime demonstratur, Deum revelasse mysteria Religionis Christianae. Experientia me docuit, fideles maximam consolationem accipere ab ejusmodi concionibus, & intime commoveri ad agendas Deo gratias pro beneficio Fidei Christianae, sine qua impossibile est, Deo placere. Observavi ego non semel, aliquos fideles auditis ijs argumentis, quibus probavi Christi domini divinitatem contra Mahumetanos, & Judaeos, lachrymas continere non potuisse ob redundantiam spiritualis consolationis, qua eorum animus reficiebatur. Certe cum in Domo Professa Societatis Jesu Matritensi anno 1670. conciones publicas ad Mahumetanos primum habuimus, tanta erat has conciones audiendi aviditas, ut necessarium fuerit, fores templi & domus praetoria cohorte cingere, ut aditus reservaretur Magnatibus, & Principibus foeminis. Et quamvis haec diligentia prudenter praemissa fuerit; tamen multi Dynastae vix potuerunt liberum ingressum invenire, & magno cum labore locum ad audiendum consecuti sunt. Inter Proceres primariae fortis quidam, vir feveae frontis, & non modici supercilij, & qui signatantae affabilitatis exhibere non solebat, cum praedicatorem audivit de Christi Divinitate disputantem, & evidentiam argumentorum expertus est, quibus Veritatem Religionis Christianae ostendit; se continere non potuit, quin illum e palpito revertentem ad cubiculum insequeretur: ipsumque arcte complexus est, & gratis habuit pro concione tantae utilitatis & consolationis.” González de Santalla, “Manuductio Ad Conversionem Mahumetanorum,” 2: 287–289.

According to González, apparently not even harsh weather conditions or anything else could interrupt Muhammadans from listening to the sermons. They desired the sermons in such a way that even rain could not stop them even though the sermons were interrupted for a short period of time. González's experiences in the practice of preaching and conversion and his claim that Muhammadans desired to attend the sermons and among them even asked for baptism seem to have happened in some known regions, however, his experiences in *MCM* also seem to have been a 'very wishful thinking', for the way he shares his stories, it seems that in every conversional attempt, he seemed to have never failed baptizing Muhammadans after the first given sermons:

III. When for the first time in Seville in the year 1671 we spoke publicly to the Mohammedans in the Professed House, which is located in the city center, it was necessary to preach at the same time in two places simultaneously because of the multitude of listeners: women in the temple and men in the peristyle of the house which is very large and can contain five thousand men, who listened to the sermon from the floor, from the windows and from the terrace.

However, it happened that a sermon was held and more than once it was raining. And though water plummeted profusely on the auditoriums through the canals and tiles and the preacher begged them to leave that place because it was dangerous, and the water penetrated to the inside, he could not obtain from them that they left the place, or that they could bear, and interrupted the sermon for a certain interval of time. In fact, they listened with so much desire to the sermons, which they considered unpleasant, that some temporary discomfort deprived them of such happiness.¹¹⁸

¹¹⁸ "III. Cum primum Hispalis, anno 1671. ad Mahumetanos publice verba fecimus in Domo Professa, quae in meditullio civitatis sita est, necesse fuit, ob multitudinem auditorum eodem tempore simul in duobus locis praedicare: in Templo foeminis, viris autem in peristylio domus, quod amplissimum est, & quinque millia hominum capere potest, qui ex pavimento, & ex fenestris, & pergulis concionem audiebant. Contigit autem, ut, dum concio haberetur, non semel plueret: & quamvis per tegulas, & canales aqua supra auditores copiose decideret, & concionator ab illis rogaret, ut loco illo decederent, quia periculum erat, ut aqua usque ad interiora penetraret, ab ipsis impetrare non potuit, ut locum illum desererent, nec ut paterentur, concionem interrumpi per aliquod temporis intervallum. Tanta enim cum

The baptism of the ‘unfaithful’ (Muhammadans) in front of the ‘faithful’ (Catholic Christians) seemed to be a technique by the Jesuits to promote the Christian religion in front of Christians that even the ‘unfaithful’ sought baptism. In retrospect, Jesuits used the practice of conversions and their sermons to Muhammadans to consolidate the Christian religion among Christians and to avoid Muhammadans to attract them with their own religion:

V. It adds to the advantages the fact that, when the faithful see, that some of the Mohammedans were convinced by the argument, publicly ask for baptism, they cannot contain joy, they praise God and give him affectionately thanks from the deepest heart, because he had touched the heart of that unfaithful, and they begged him to bestow resolution and perseverance, and embrace that deeply and show him other signs of charity; and practice many virtues. And this public applause and clamor ignite the unfaithful and weaken him, and maximally comforts the faithful.

VI. The usefulness of these sermons, which instruct Christians in the sharpness of their intellect, is not small, and I performed with good intellect so that they may ardently dissertate with the Mohammedans of religion and incite them to Christianity and expose the truth with arguments, which they heard from the preacher, of the Christian religion. And the Mohammedans, which nevertheless do not convert, from the sermons collect the seeds of faith, which afterwards are fruitful.¹¹⁹

voluptate conciones illas audiebant, ut indignum judicarent, ob ullum temporale incommodum hoc bono privari.” González de Santalla, “Manuctio Ad Conversionem Mahumetanorum,” 2: 287–289.

¹¹⁹ “V. Quinto, his utilitatibus accedit, quod cum fideles vident, aliquem ex Mahumetanis argumentis convictum, publice Baptismum petere, laetitiam continere non possunt, Deum laudant, & ei ex intimo cordis affectu gratias agunt, quia cor illus infidelis tetigit, ab eo precantur, ut ei constantiam, & perseverantiam largiatur, illumque arcte amplexantur, & alia charitatis signa ei exhibent; & multarum virtutum actus exercent: & hic publicus plausus, & conlatio infideles accendit, & emollit, % fideles maxime consolatur. Id ego saepissime expertus sum, praefertim Malacae, Hispali, Xerae, Gadibus, Calpe, & Matriti. VI. Sex o, non exigua est utilitas, quod his concionibus instruuntur Christiani perspicacis ingenij, & bono intellectu praediti, ut Religione disputare, & illos ad Christianismum adhortari, & veritatem Religionis Christianae argumentis ostendere, quae a concionatore audierunt. Ipsi que Mahumetani, quamvis tunc non convertantur, ex concionibus colligunt fidei semina, quae postea suo tempore fructum faciant.” González de Santalla, “Manuctio Ad Conversionem Mahumetanorum,” 2: 287–289.

González's attitude towards Muslims in general was very split whereas his attitude towards the religion itself was otherwise. According to Colombo, his attitude towards Muslim women was 'surprisingly positive'. While Christian priests fought against their 'sexual morals' and attire of Christian women during their preachings, González had a positive reverence towards Muslim women but never explained the reason why he had such preferential treatment towards them. Colombo argues that it may be because of the contrasting status of women in Islam. Jesuits and even missionaries prior the Jesuit Order such as Juan de Segovia always addressed the rights of women in Islam either in their polemics or their sermons. So, Colombo thinks that González's preference in the engagement with Muslims women was to demonstrate the 'falseness' of the Muhammadan law. His argument is very controversial and contradicting at the same time. Due to the sexual morals and attire of Catholics, González might have been positively affected by the modesty of Muslim women.¹²⁰

Another important aspect worth mentioning is his controversy and contradictory critique about the Qur'an, which he does throughout the book. Just like any other missionary or priest whether Jesuit or not, he said the Qur'an is false and erroneous but he also argues that the verses concerning Christ, Mary and the Christian religion in general are endorsing Christianity.

Whether his book was reliable or not remains unanswered and open for discussion. Other works like polemics written by priests like Juan de Segovia, Michel Nau, or Nicholas of Cusa do not contain any personal experiences in the practice of conversion but rather a theoretical knowledge of a certain subject. Thus, González may have converted people not only Muslims but people of other faiths but the amount he converted, which he speaks of in several sections and chapters, seemed to be a very delusional thought.

Jesuits were known to target prominent individuals during their missions. One example worth mentioning and discussing is the Jesuit mission in Muslim countries.

¹²⁰ Colombo, "Even among Turks," 28.

Unlike González, some Jesuits had the opportunity to cross the border of Europe to continue their mission in far away countries. The Jesuit St. Francis Xavier and his mission in Japan as well as in India is one significant historical event in the history of conversion. St. Francis Xavier and other Jesuit companions and their mission in the Mughal Empire will help to understand González's possible influence of his Handbook on fellow Jesuit members and their missions in Muslim ruled territories.

CHAPTER 3

THE SOCIETY'S ATTEMPT TO GAIN POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC POWER

1. The 'Other' among the 'Other': The Jesuit's Missions in India

Jesuit priests and missionaries who became very active in the Society of Jesus were known for their letters they wrote and sent to Europe while on their missions abroad such as India, Japan and Syria to name a few. Thus, these letters (*Cartas*) were collected by Jesuit historians, printed and published as Jesuit history books in Europe. Although, prominent figures like the French Jesuit St. Francis Xavier, who was one of the co-founders at the beginning of the Society of Jesus, carried Jesuit missions to Japan and India, their works were not as widely read as those books written and published by priests in Mediaval Iberia. Only Jesuit missionaries were accustomed to 'record' and write their experiences overseas for record purposes. However, many of the primary sources are inaccessible, i.e. many of them are preserved but dispersed. In Jesuit scholarship, Latin was the *Lingua Franca* and they wrote their letters in Latin, but some of them were written in Spanish, French, Portuguese and German, depending where these letteres were sent and to whom these were addressed. Jesuits were the authors of their own history and of the history of others and other events. Again, it need to be mentioned that these letters (*Cartes*) can not be considered as historical records but rather a collection of experiences that were reported to Father Generals across the seas.¹²¹

Before the first Jesuits arrived in India¹²² for their missions, missionaries of the Franciscan order already sailed to India for conversion purposes in 1536 and 1537 as well as Protestant missions were prevalent on Indian territory. Seeming to be

¹²¹ For further reading see Makhanlal Roychoudhury Sastri., *The Din I Ilahi Or The Religion Of Akbar* (ByThe University Of Calcutta., 1941).

¹²² In Jesuit literature about the mission in India, Jesuit authors sometimes referred to India as 'Hindustan'.

unsuccessful with their missions in India, Jesuits were ordered to sail out to the far - east and help in the conversion of pagans and Muslims. Several Jesuits were sent by King John III of Portugal to accomplish their missions on behalf of the Portuguese Empire. There were three missions that took place in India and the co-founder of the Society of Jesus and Navarrese Catholic missionary St. Francis Xavier landed in Goa in the beginning of May in 1542. After his stay in Goa he preceded to the state of Tamil Nadu whose capital and largest city was Chennai. Jesuit missions in Tamil Nadu gave them the opportunity to acquire native languages and publish written works about Christainity for the people who spoke the official language around the territories. Interestingly, Jesuit missionaries were insufficient in Arabic during their missions in Europe, i.e. Spain in order to fully comprehend the religion itself and its holy scripture as well as communicate with Muslims on an academic and theological level. However, they were eager in learning the languages spoken in countries like India and Japan or assumably were forced to do so in order to communicate with locals. One example is the Portuguese Jesuit Henrique Henriques¹²³ (Anrique Anriquez) who, with the suggestions and encouragement of St. Francis Xavier, learned the Tamil language. Therefore, he published books and dictionaries. His efforts as a missionary at the Pearl Fishery Coast (South India) and his contribution to education and literature made him the new superior of the mission after the death of Antonio Criminali who was killed by Ramnad soldiers at Vedalai in 1549. In the printing life, Henrique Henriques wrote books in Tamil about religious doctrines as well as a Portuguese – Tamil dictionary. It is to be noted that Jesuits never seemed to have learned the language Muslims were familiar with, i.e. Arabic; for they did not publish any works in Arabic or Persian during their mission in the Mughal Empire until they were requested to do so by authorities.¹²⁴

¹²³ Henrique Henriques, also known as ‘the father of the Tamil Press’, was a former Franciscan of the Franciscan order, which he had to leave due to his Jewish ancestry. His mission in India started in the year 1546 and also lived his last days there in 1600. Henrique was very advocate in preaching in the language spoken in Tamil rather than preaching in Portuguese with the help of an interpreter during his missions in Tamil Nadu. One seminal work of Henriques was his book *Tambiran Vanakkam*, a 16 pages Tamil translation of the book of catechism written by St. Francis Xavier. Another significant book that he translated into Tamil from Portuguese was *Flos Sanctorum*, which portrays the life of Jesus Christ and his twelve apostles. The latter was ‘discovered’, i.e. found in the Vatican Library in 1954 by Thani Nayagam who claimed that the book contained 666 pages. Also see Kalapura, Jose. “INDIA INSCRIBED : DEVELOPMENT OF PRINTING TECHNOLOGY IN INDIA, 16-18TH.” *Proceedings of the Indian History Congress*, vol. 68, 2007, pp. 436–463.

¹²⁴ While Jesuit baptized several non European Muslims during their missions abroad, some of the new baptized joined the Society of Jesus and sought Jesuit education in Jesuit school. However, no historical information were recorded regarding the language barrier and the possibility for those newly baptized

The printing press was first housed in St. Pauls College, a Jesuit school, which was turned into a college in 1542. Additionally, St. Francis Xavier's first assignment when he arrived in Goa was not his mission but rather his position as principal of the college, which became a Jesuit institution and the Jesuit headquarter in Asia. The curriculum of the college did not differ from the curriculum in Jesuit schools located in Europe. Thus, St. Pauls College was intended to educate and school fellow Jesuit members (old and new) in grammar, rhetoric and religious doctrines. By 1608, fifteen Jesuit educational institutions - among them elementary schools - were established throughout Goa.

In the capital Fatehpur Sikri in the Agra District of Uttar Pradesh in India, the Mughal Emperor Abul-ul Fath Jalal-ud-din Muhammad Akbar¹²⁵ (1556-1605) knew of the Jesuit missions throughout India and invited the Jesuit Julian Pereira who was the Vicar-General of Bengal at the time. Even though Akbar was known to be illiterate he was always curious about other religions and eager to learn about other religions from professionals. Thus, when Father Pereira arrived at the court of the Mughal Emperor in 1576, the interfaith dialogue between Akbar and the Jesuit took place where Akbar questioned him precisely about the Christian doctrine. According to the Jesuit Pierre du Jarric¹²⁶, who wrote a 'compilation' of Jesuit missions in the court of Akbar commonly known as *Histoire*¹²⁷, there were three missions in the Mughal Empire, i.e. to the court.

Jesuit members to read Jesuit literature since the majority of the literature were in European languages. But former Muslims who joined the Society of Jesus and became priest studied European languages and may have translated some works into their native language.

¹²⁵ In Jesuit literature sometimes also referred to as 'Mogor emperor' or 'Echebar'.

¹²⁶ The French Jesuit Pierre Du Jarric was born in Toulouse in 1566. When he entered the Society of Jesus in 1582 he never became a missionary, which actually was his intention from the beginning. Even later when he became older he never became a missionary but rather a historian and professor of philosophy and moral theology at Bordeaux where he also spent the major portion of his life. In 1617 Du Jarric died at Saintes just three years after the third volume of his *Histoire* was complete. Also see Pierre Du Jarric - Father Pierre Du Jarric, Akbar and the Jesuits: An Account of the Jesuit Missions to the Court of Akbar, 2nd edition (Dehli: Low Price Publications, India, 1999).

¹²⁷ The complete title of Pierre Du Jarric's work is called *Histoire des choses plus memorables advenues tant et Indes Orientales, que autres païs de la decouverte des Portugais, en l'establissement et progres de la foy Chrestienne et Catholique: et principalement de ce que les Religieux de la Compagnie de Jésus y ont fait, & enduré pour la mesme fin; depuis qu'ils y sont entrez jusque à l'an 1600*. The book is separated into three parts in which each contains two parts. The first and second books provide an account of the life and work of St. Francis Xavier. Giving an account of the life and work of St. Francis Xavier was common among Jesuit literary works that accompanied him during his mission in the far east. Additionally, book one and two also report about the missions in India, Pegu and the Molucca Island in the year 1599. Books three and four, also called part two, provide information about the mission in Africa, Brazil, China and the Mughal Empire, to the same date. Book five and six, also part three, giving the accounts of the same missions to the year 1610. Du Jarric's *Histoire* is not originally an account of missionary events but rather a compilation of different letters he collected and put together. Not only did

The first mission took place in 1580 – 1583 and the leading Jesuit missionaries were the Catalan Anthony de Monserrate¹²⁸, Francis Henriques, a Persian Muslim Convert from Hormuz (neither is his name mentioned in Du Jarric’s *Histoire* or in other sources), and the Naples born leader of this group Rudolf Aquaviva. The second mission to the court of the emperor Akbar took place around 1590 but was ended abruptly due to the increasing hostility towards the Jesuits. The third mission that took place around 1594 lasted from then on until the death of the Jesuit St. Francis Xavier who was the last surviving Jesuit of the mission in the Mughal Empire. During the third mission, Akbar’s son Nur-ud-din Muhammad Salim also known as Jahangir, was the fourth Mughal Emperor then and the leader of the third mission was St. Francis Xavier’s nephew Jerónimo de Ezpeleta y Goño more commonly known as Jérôme Xavier. The Jesuits’ intention of their missions in the East Indies was not different from the missions in Europe, i.e. proving the truth of Christianity (*Nasraniyat*), to spread the Christian faith (*Millat-i Isawi*) and save souls. In the Mughal Empire, Islam was spread rapidly throughout India and within Persian and Islamic art and culture. However, other minorities lived among the Muslims as well as a large Hindu minority. The minorities and Hindus were referred to as ‘pagans’ by Jesuits and during their missions in the East Indies; the encounter with other religions, i.e. different from those in Europe, was perhaps the first time for the Society of Jesus. Nevertheless, Du Jarric also narrates about the missions and conversions of Brahmans and ‘pagans’ in sixteenth and seventeenth century Mogul. This was another great opportunity for Jesuit missionaries to not only convert Muslims but also people of other faiths (‘other sects/heretics’) just like in Medieval Europe. Although, the Jesuits’ intention was to baptize powerful and significant people such as the Emperor Akbar himself, they also sought to baptize as many non-Christian individuals as possible. According to Du Jarric, a vast number of Muslims, Hindus, Brahmans and pagans were baptized by catechumens and some of them also became catechumens afterwards in order to baptize more individuals and faster. Their intention was to establish *one* religion in a very powerful empire like the

Du Jarric received letters but also written historical books like that of the Spanish Jesuit Luis Guzman and his written history entitled *History of the Missions undertaken by the Religious of the Company of Jesus to preach the Holy Gospel in the East Indies & the Kingdom of China*. Du Jarric was entrusted to translate Guzman’s works into their language. The Jesuit Fernand Guerreiro, who was Superior of the house of the Professed in Lisbon at that time, also wrote a collection about the missions in the East Indies in 1599 from which Du Jarric also benefited from. Also see Jarric - Jarric, *Akbar and the Jesuits*.

¹²⁸ The Catalan Anthony Monserrate was also a significant source for Du Jarric’s *Histoire* collection.

Mughal Empire and since Jesuit sought a universal conversion, another faith outside Christianity was unthinkable and unnegotiable. The Jesuit missionaries, however, were unsuccessful in converting the Emperor and they also came to the conclusion that the progress of conversion of Muslims in Muslim ruled countries was more of a challenge than the conversion of Muslims who lived in Christian ruled lands.¹²⁹ Inferring from this, a country not ruled by Christians was a demanding task for Jesuits to baptize the 'other' because of the continuing influence of the country's religion and the 'steadfastness' itself or perhaps out of fear from a punishment by the king.

In Du Jarric's *Histoire*, the Jesuit missionaries seemed to have been 'fond' of the Emperor Akbar, nonetheless, Du Jarric's description of his character was unexpectedly positive, for missionaries were mostly known for their hostile attitudes towards any Muslim or Muslim leader in their polemics. In this case, Jesuits seemed to have appreciated the Emperor's welcoming character and his personality in general.¹³⁰ In some parts of the *Histoire*, the hostility towards the Turks is straightforward. Apparently, the Mughals were also known as the *Turcs* of Asia while distinguished from the *Turcs* of Europe who were from Constantinople. It is worth mentioning that Jesuits' hostility towards the *Turcs* of Europe seemed to have been stronger than to the *Turcs* of Asia.¹³¹ Despite the Jesuits' positive impression of the Emperor, they still criticized his religious traditions and customs.

¹²⁹ "Although in the conversion of souls there was not so much progress in this land of Saracens, who are as hard as diamonds to work upon, as in other lands where this sect has not taken root, yet God did not withhold his mercies from his sheep scattered in this vast forest of unbelief." Jarric - Jarric, *Akbar and the Jesuits*, 173.

¹³⁰ "He seemed to appreciate virtue, and to be well disposed towards foreigners, particularly Christians, some of whom he always liked to have about him." Du Jarric, *Akbar and the Jesuits*, 9.

¹³¹ During the events of the year 1602 when Jahangir the fourth Mughal Emperor ruled over India, Europe was struggling with the 'Turkish problem' where the Turks/Ottoman were approaching Europe. Both 'Turkic' people were distinguished, as follows: "They were straightaway sent for; and with them came five *Turcs*, that is to say, *Turcs* of Europe; for two kinds of Turkish soldiers are found in India, those of Asia, to whom the name *Turc* is given, and those of Europe, who are mostly from Constantinople, which has been called the New Rome, on which account they are called *Rumes* both by Indians and Portuguese, who have corrupted the Greek name *Ρωμαϊος* into *Rumes*." Du Jarric, *Akbar and the Jesuits*, 174. And also, whoever was 'captive' in the hands of the *Turcs* of Europe, they ran to their aid with: "There came also certain *Turcs* (apparently the Ottoman Empire was prevalent throughout the Balkan and other countries, thus the appearance of some might have been different from the ones the Jesuits were more familiar with), who had been sent by a *Baxa* (*Pasha*) to ask permission of the King to trade in his country. With them was a young man, a native of Hungary, of the town of *Bude* (*Buda Pesth*), whom they had enslaved. When this became known to the Fathers, they managed to withdraw the young man from their hands, and sent him to Goa, that he might receive instruction in the faith, and be able to lead a Christian life." Du Jarric, *Akbar and the Jesuits*, 178. Apparently, Jesuits took advantage of their relationship with

When Akbar decided to summon the Jesuit fathers to his court, the Jesuits were hopeful that he was interested to be baptized. Not only were they hopeful due to the invitation to his court but also his behavior towards them. According to the compilation of Jesuit letters, Akbar is described as welcoming and supporting. However, Akbar introduced the first interfaith dialogue and encounter with Christians in his court and apparently he seemed to be more interested in the Christian faith on an educational basis rather than being interested in a conversion.¹³² At that time, there were no holy scriptures, exegesis and other Christian based literary works in the language spoken at Akbar's court. Thus, his curiosity learning more about the Christian faith could be the only explanation why he summoned the Jesuit fathers after all. However, the Jesuits thought and reported otherwise that the emperor had doubts about the Christian law, which, according to Du Jarric, prevented him to accept Christianity. It is not clear whether Akbar was also in doubt about his own religion (Islam), which he followed at that time.¹³³ Du Jarric contradicts himself in some parts throughout the *Histoire* when he addresses the issue of the Trinity where the Jesuits and Mullas (Islamic priests) debated at the court of Akbar in his very presence and privately. During these debates and gatherings, Akbar was eager to learn more about the Christian law - as Du Jarric mentions it on several occasions throughout his work. In one of the sittings with some Jesuits and Akbar's courtmen where the Jesuits were outnumbered by Mullas and other

the Mughal Emperor whom they could convince about different matters such as the Hungarian boy enslaved by the *Turcs* of Europe and the Mughal Emperor seemed to be supporting with money, food and clothing. During the Ottoman Empire, young men from other countries where the Ottoman ruled were taken and educated in different fields such as trading and language. The Ottomans were known for their method in language acquisition that is also known as *Immersion* where young men were brought to certain countries to acquire the language for trading purposes.

¹³² "That we may the better understand the motives which led the Great Mogor to summon the Fathers of the Company from Goa, we must bear in mind that the Viceroy in India of the Portuguese king, had, in the year 1578, sent as ambassador to his court a Portuguese gentleman named Antoine Cabral, who was accompanied by several others of the same nation. Whilst they were at his court, Echebar closely watched their behaviour and manner of life, gaining thereby some idea of other adherents of the Christian religion, of which he had heard so much. He was very favourably impressed by what he saw of these persons; and showed himself so anxious to know something of the law they followed, that the ambassador did his best to explain to him its main principles, telling him also of the Fathers of the Company who were preaching it in India." Du Jarric, *Akbar and the Jesuits*, 14–15.

¹³³ "About the month of March in the year 1578, the good priest, whose name I have not discovered, reached Pateful, where the King held his court, and was received with much kindness. It was not long before his Majesty told him the reason why he had sent for him, which was, he said, that he might clear his mind of certain doubts which prevented him from deciding whether it was better to follow the law of the Christians or the law of Mahomet. The priest, accordingly, expounded to him the main principles of our faith, at the same time opening his eyes to the worthlessness of the law of Mahomet." Du Jarric, *Akbar and the Jesuits*, 15.

courtmen of Akbar, the King asked for the Christian holy scriptures. The Jesuits obliged and presented him the Bible in four different languages, but he does not mention which languages. However, one can assume that the four languages of the four Bibles must have been European languages including Latin and Hebrew and according to some scholars, the copy of the Bible Akbar received in his court was the new Royal Polyglot Bible of Plantyn, which was printed for Phillip II. An Arabic and Persian translation of the Bible appeared later upon an inquiry by the King himself. As already mentioned in chapter one, the Jesuits' devotion to the Virgin Mary was a fundamental custom within the Society of Jesus since it goes back to when St. Ignatius of Loyola – the founder of the Society of Jesus – repeatedly worshipped the Virgin Mary in sanctuaries and shrines on his way to Montserrat. Thus, providing a canvas of the Virgin Mary as well as of the savior of the globe, i.e. Jesus, to the King was not left out during their stay in his court. Receiving both the Bible and the gifts, Jesuit missionaries wrote about his respect and gratitude towards the Bible and the Virgin Mary.¹³⁴ Additionally, the Jesuit missionaries were summoned in the court of Akbar along with his Mullas and *Caziques* on numerous occasions to implement a dispute and according to Du Jarric's narrations, the Jesuits 'overcame' the Mullas and *Caziques*¹³⁵ during a disagreement once they picked and pointed out the falsities of the Qur'an and believed the King himself was 'pleased' with the outcome. Thus, due to the characteristic and positive attitude of the King towards the Jesuits made them hope for a conversion. Despite the passionate interest and respect towards the Christian religion, King Akbar did not seem to approve and comprehend the

¹³⁴ "As he had asked to be shown the books of the law of the Creator (meaning thereby the holy Scriptures), the Fathers took with them and presented to him all the volumes of the Royal Bible, in four languages, sumptuously bound, and clasped with gold. The King received these holy books with great reverence, taking each into his hand one after the other and kissing it, after which he placed it on his head, which, amongst these people, signifies honour and respect. He acted thus in the presence of all his courtiers and captains, the greater part of whom were Mahometans. Afterwards he inquired which of these books contained the Gospel; and when it was pointed out to him, he looked at it very intently, kissed it a second time, and placed it as before on his head. He then gave orders to his attendants that the books were to be conveyed to his own apartment, and ordered a rich cabinet to be made for their reception. The Fathers also presented to him two beautiful portraits, one representing the Saviour of the world, and the other the glorious Virgin Mary, his holy Mother. The latter was a copy of that in the church of Notre Dame la Maieure, in Rome. The King took the portrait of our Saviour in his hands with great reverence, and before putting it down kissed it, and made his children, and several of his courtiers who were present, do the same." Du Jarric, *Akbar and the Jesuits*, 19–20.

¹³⁵ A *Cazique* (alternative spelling *Cacique*) is a tribal leader of indigenous heritage commonly used to refer to indigenous or tribal leaders in Latin America. In this case, Du Jarric refers to political members who were active in Akbar's court. Perhaps referred to as 'leaders' or 'politicians' (*Siyasi*). "Cacique." *Merriam-Webster.com Dictionary*, Merriam-Webster, <https://www.merriam-webster.com/dictionary/cacique>. Accessed 17 Apr. 2021.

Trinity and warned the Jesuits not to preach this topic publicly in front of Muslims, for it may cause an altercation.¹³⁶ Hence, Du Jarric seemed to have positively promoted the disputes and activities of the Jesuits in Akbar's court in order to encourage, guide and motivate fellow Jesuit missionaries in their future missions to Muslims. Despite his controversies, Du Jarric's narrations seemed to have been quite prevalent and effective. Furthermore, Jesuits were known for their different literary genres and were quite famous and successful for their stylistic narrations, which seemed to have been effective in different places throughout their missions. Thus, younger Jesuit missionaries were required to resume where former Jesuit missionaries left with less progress. Unlike Juan de Segovia, there is no further information about how the Jesuits explained the mystery of the Trinity to the King to give a better insight on how they approached this sensitive and important aspect, for it had been a dispute between Christian and Muslims throughout centuries.

According to Du Jarric's narrations, King Akbar permitted the Jesuits to preach in public places and convert as many as they want without any interruptions. Hence, whoever interrupted the preachings and conversions was punished by the King's orders.¹³⁷ Jesuit missionaries also seemed to have contemplated about the reason why they were unsuccessful in baptizing the King and one of the reasons Du Jarric emphasizes on is the multitude of wives the Qur'an allows a man to marry and these were only speculations. Although the Qur'an speaks of four wives, Du Jarric does not mention the number of wives the Qur'an permits a man to marry but rather speaks of hundreds of women the King 'kept' in his 'seraglio' (also known as *harem*, an

¹³⁶ "Some time afterwards, he again sent for the Fathers, summoning at the same time his Mullas and Caziques, in order that they might dispute together in his presence, so that he might discover which were in truth the holy scriptures on which to place his faith. The Fathers clearly established the authenticity and truth of the scriptures contained in the Old and New Testament, laying bare at the same time the falsehood and fallacies with which the Koran is filled. This first dispute ended in the complete discomfiture of the Mullas and Caziques, who, unable to find any answer to the arguments of the Fathers, took refuge in silence. The King appeared well satisfied with that he had heard; and, after the conference, told the Fathers that their law seemed to him to be good; but that he desired them to explain to him the mystery of the holy Trinity, and how God could have had a son who became a man; for these were the greatest difficulties he found in our belief. The Fathers gave him the explanations for which he asked, and with these he seemed for a time to be satisfied, though not wholly so; for afterwards he advised them to be on their guard when he spoke before the Saracens, "because," he said, "they are not capable to understand so holy a doctrine as this which you preach."'" Du Jarric, *Akbar and the Jesuits*, 20.

¹³⁷ Du Jarric promotes the King in favour of the Jesuit missions. However, this shows that the King Akbar did not interfere in the wishes of his nation and maintained religious freedom during his reign. Du Jarric, *Akbar and the Jesuits*, 31.

apartment for women situated in an Ottoman palace). Thus, he points out the King's *modus vivendi* without any references to the Islamic law and what comes within.¹³⁸ Thus, Jesuits believed that Akbar was not willing to give up his 'unlawful' women in order to live with a 'lawful' woman just as the Christian law requires one to do. Even though the Old or New Testament do not directly prohibit polygamy, the Church prohibits it among Christian men and women, which references go back to different interpretations, for whatever the Church forbids without any legal reason, no Christian accepts it. Thus, different interpretations of Biblical verses concerning marriage among Christian is also the ultimate law to Jesuit priests.¹³⁹

Jesuit missionaries and priests were also known to baptize those 'infidels' and pagans on their deathbed. Furthermore, they tried to avoid baptizing those who were more likely to live long with the fear they would renounce their faith and go back to their former traditions and customs. Although, Jesuit missionaries were known to travel to different places in order to baptize as many nations and people as possible, some Jesuits even stayed in the countries in order to keep them in the Christian faith. Thus, some Jesuit missionaries, among them some prominent figures, even died in foreign countries because of the aforementioned reason.¹⁴⁰ Jesuits accompanied the King Akbar during war and trading, which must have been a missionary method by the Jesuits

¹³⁸ "But, in the eyes of many, that which constituted the greatest hindrance to his conversion to our faith was the multitude of wives which the Mahometan law permitted him to keep. There were in his seraglio as many as a hundred women; and it was doubtful if he would ever be willing to renounce all of these but one and to live with that one in lawful wedlock, as the Christian law demands." Du Jarric, *Akbar and the Jesuits*, 30.

¹³⁹ The first Biblical interpretation on marriage among Christians is the story of Adam and Eve in Genesis 2. Even though in the Old Testament other prophets like Jacob, Abraham, Moses, David and Solomon practiced polygamy where Jacob is said to have had four women, the Church absolutely prohibits polygamy. In Paul the book of Ephesians the marriage between Christian women and men is compared to the relationship between Christ and the Church where Christ is the husband and the Church the bride as a model of Christian marriage. Thus, the story of creation in Genesis associates a grounding for Christian marriage. According to the Christian faith, Polygamy was a cultural fact rather than religious. Thus, it was a 'lifestyle' practiced by men with political and economic power. Although polygamy is not directly condemned in the Old or New Testament, it is not precisely praised either. Except for Church leaders, Polygamy is nor explicitly forbidden in the New Testament but considered as immoral and oppressive by the Church. In conclusion, for the Church, Polygamy is a cultural abomination which also led Jesuit missionaries and priests to conclude that the Mohammadan law taught a 'law of abomination' and was far from the divine law, i.e. the law of Christ. For further reading on Polygamy in Christianity see also Wezi Makuni Gondwe, "Marriage and Polygamy in the Last Church of God and His Christ," in *A History of the Last Church of God and His Christ* (Mzuni Press, 2018), 128–147.

¹⁴⁰ "[...], for the Fathers did not, at first, baptise those likely to live long, for fear that they might afterwards renounce their faith; for they are fickle and inconstant people." Du Jarric, *Akbar and the Jesuits*, 87 ff.

themselves. Since they were protected by the King's orders, they seemed to have used every opportunity to move throughout the regions the King ruled over to expand their missions.

Interestingly, Du Jarric narrates more about the conversion of Muslim and Pagan women than men, which seems that women were more likely to accept the Christian faith than men. In his *Histoire*, Du Jarric tells us about a girl named Grace¹⁴¹ under the age of fifteen who witnessed the baptism of many catechumens carried out by the Jesuit Pignero (commonly referred to as Father Pignero). Du Jarric claims there were many conversion stories, which he collected through the letters sent by Jesuit Fathers during their missions in India. However, he chose to tell about the story of a young girl alongside stories of other conversions of women. Thus, not only lies the focus on the King but also on ordinary people who accepted baptism. Du Jarric tells the story in favour of the Society of Jesus, emphasizing on the girl's family and their treatment after she announced her wish to be baptized and how a Muslim man 'tried' to avoid her living as a Christian by offering to marry her. The story told by Du Jarric according to the Father's letters is as follows:

We must now, for a brief space, return to Lahor. There, since the departure of Father Xavier, who had followed the King to Agra, Father Pignero had baptised thirty-eight catechumens. Three of these, who were citizens of Lahor, and had previously belonged to a Pagan sect, exhibited great courage in overcoming the obstacles placed in the way of their conversion by their relatives and friends, who used to meet in secret to conspire against them, lest by their public profession of Christainity they should bring disgrace and dishonor on their law. But these brave proselytes displayed such constant resolution but they triumphed over Satan and his band, and on the day of the Pentecost of the year 1599, they, in company with others, were cleansed in the water of holy baptism. The ceremony was performed publicly, and with great magnificence. The street down which this holy company passed was decorated with green foliage, and

¹⁴¹ The name was later given to the young girl after she was baptized by Father Pignero who baptized thirty-eight catechumens in the city of Lahore which ceremony took place in public. However, Du Jarric does not reveal the name prior to her baptism. See also Du Jarric, Akbar and the Jesuits, 91–93.

shaded with palm branches. The candidates left the house in which the Fathers lodged in an orderly procession, each one carrying a palm leaf in his hand, while those who were already Christians walked two and two on either side of the street, which was strewn with flowers. Musicians marched in front of them with drums, trumpets, clarions, flutes, and other musical instruments, on which they played till the procession reached the church. There, Father Pignero waited them, robed in a surplice and cope, or pluvial. He received them at the entrance to the church, where was assembled so great a multitude of Pagans and Saracens that he knew not on which side to turn, nor how to conduct the service, because of the noise and tumult; for as nothing like this had ever before been seen in the town, the people came in dense crowds, so that it was with difficulty that anything could be done. But at last, having completed the sacred rites, which it is customary to perform at the church door, the Father let them inside, and baptised them, deriving therefrom as great comfort as those who received the divine sacrament.¹⁴²

This one example of many others in Jesuit missionary history shows how Jesuits preferred to use this explicit method in converting Muslims and Pagans in public and spacious places, celebrations, customs and music to invite more to baptism. How this event affected some people is narrated by Du Jarric as follows:

Many remarkable incidents happened on this occasion; but, for the sake of brevity, I shall speak only of one, namely the baptism of a young girl who had not yet passed her fifteenth year. She had come there to see the ceremony; but, as water was being sprinkled on the heads of the candidates, she placed herself among them, and asked that she too might be baptised. As she had not been enrolled in the number of the catechumens, the Father told her that she must wait until she had received the necessary instruction, and when she understood the Christian doctrine, her wish would be granted. "I have heard the explanation of the catechism, to be baptised with these others, and I will not leave the church till my wish has been granted." Seeing her resolution, the Father asked her where

¹⁴² Du Jarric, *Akbar and the Jesuits*, 91–92.

she had listened while instruction has being given to others; and, indeed when the Father then and there put her to the test, he found that she knew the catechism well. For this reason, and because of her prayers and importunity, he baptised her with the rest, and gave her the name Grace.¹⁴³

Du Jarric's choice to narrate the story about an adolescent girl who witnessed a 'public baptism' and decided to be baptized as well is highly controversial not because of the story itself but the fact that he chose to tell about the baptism about a young girl who probably was not capable of comprehending the whole situation and the doctrine. Du Jarric does not provide the reader with further information on why this girl wished to be baptized and why he thought the story of this specific girl to be a remarkable story. However, the reader has a choice to interpret the following extract from Du Jarric's *Histoire* connected to the girl's baptism and perhaps why she chose to convert to Christianity narrated as follows:

Now when this young girl returned to her home, her parents, enraged at what she had done, heaped every kind of abuse upon her, and finally, without providing her with any means of support, drove her from their house, threatening to have her severely beaten if she went again to the church, or made any complaint to the Fathers. At the same time, a certain Saracen, at the instigation of some evil spirit that she might be tempted the more, told her that he wished to marry her, thinking that in her destitute condition she would willingly consent. But she replied with great firmness that she was a Christian, and according to divine law she could not marry him. When this came to the ears of Father Pignero, he at once sent for the girl, that he might encourage her in her resolution, and strengthen her if she should waver. But she courageously protested before him her readiness to die rather than quit her faith she had accepted at her baptism. Seeing that her determination was unshaken, the Father sent her to the house of a certain Christian who was married. This greatly enraged the Saracen who wished

¹⁴³ Du Jarric, *Akbar and the Jesuits*, 91–92.

to have her to wife; and the outcry he raised would have astounded anyone unused to the ways of the Industans.¹⁴⁴

Consequently, the governor of the town had to intervene in the matter since her family could not stop her following the Christian law instead of their own, she was asked why she had left the ‘Mohammadan law’ after all and according to Du Jarric’s narrations she believed the ‘Mohammadan law’ to be “worthless and full of untruths” and “because she was convinced that Jesus-Christ was the true God, and Saviour of the world.”¹⁴⁵

One may say that Du Jarric’s narration might hinder Muslims to convert to Christianity of fear they could experience the same with their families as the girl (Grace) in Du Jarric’s *Histoire* did. What benefits would it bring on a planned ‘world evangelization’ narrating these stories? Du Jarric does not leave out the courage of this young girl and how she fought for her rights and place to prove the worthiness of baptism and historical books, handbooks, polemics or Qur’an translations published by Jesuit priests were not published for every audience but explicitly for later Jesuit missionaries for further education and teaching. The Jesuits in India remained unsuccessful in baptizing the king but seemed to have baptized many others during their missions. These happened during the first and third missions at the court of Akbar whereas the second mission was an unsuccessful event in the Society of Jesus where they were banned to continue their mission in general. Being the soldiers of the Pope, humbled in their own doctrine and poverty, Jesuits were power hungry, for their targets in their missions seemed to have been politically and economically powerful people or people of high status. Not only did they try to take away a whole empire from the hands of the Muslims but also erase a tradition that became widespread and expanded over a short period of time. Their attempt to convert someone powerful both plotically and economically was more successful in Iberia where they converted the prince of Morocco with the hope that with his prominence more Muslims would follow his footsteps.

¹⁴⁴ Du Jarric, *Akbar and the Jesuits*, 93–94.

¹⁴⁵ Du Jarric, *Akbar and the Jesuits*, 95.

The court the Jesuits, or in this case Du Jarric, mention where, apparently, they held their discussions on religion was actually a building, a hall of worship also called *Ibadat Khana*. The *Ibadat Khana* was built by the Emperor Akbar himself, in 1575, next to the cell of Shaikh Abdulla Nyazi Sarhindi, a scholar of Arab origin who liberally opposed the non-Muslim during Akbar's reign.¹⁴⁶ The *Ibadat Khana* was first built and meant for a get together for worship and prayer among Sunni Muslims but its doors was, too, later opened for non-Muslims. These non-Muslims – Hindus, Buddhist, Sikhs, Jains, Zoroastrians, Jews and Christians - who were invited by the Emperor Akbar himself, were individuals of minorities who resided in the Mughal Empire. Thus, because of its 'cosmopolitan structure/form' that was established after 1567, the *Ibadat Khana* was known as the world's first "parliament of religions."¹⁴⁷ According to Du Jarric, Akbar's relationship to Sunnis was anything else but harmonic and he was accused to have become an apostate to Islam. The reason behind this was his invitation of non-Muslims and regular get together in the *Ibadat Khana*. Akbar was believed to have been influenced and manipulated by non-Muslim traditions because of his ongoing contact with them that he grew distant of the *Sunni Ulama*.¹⁴⁸ He was also accused by the *Sunni Ulama* to have converted to the religion of the 'kaffirs' – that's what people of non-Muslim religions were called by orthodox Muslims – because he was eager to learn about other traditions and rituals and also adopted some of their festivals, e.g. the Hindu festival of lights called *Dewali* or Christmas, and made them official holidays in the Mughal Empire. Akbar treated Muslims and non-Muslims equally in every matter. However, the orthodox wing of the Empire – also called the Mullas – did not favour the idea of Akbar treating Muslims and non-Muslims equally and felt a certain insult.¹⁴⁹ There were three stages of the *Ibadat Khana* before it took its 'cosmopolitan structure/form'. In the first stage, the *Ibadat Khana* was only accessible for Sunnis. In the second stage, Akbar opened its doors for sects of the faith and in the third stage, he invited Hindus and other faiths to the hall of worship. According to Makhanlal, Akbar adopted rituals and included the worship of sun and star in his daily life. Because of this and his adoption of the Parsee festival and introduction of the Solar Era – also known as

¹⁴⁶ Makhanlal Roychoudhury Sastri., *The Din I Ilahi Or The Religion Of Akbar*, 67.

¹⁴⁷ Makhanlal Roychoudhury Sastri., *The Din I Ilahi Or The Religion Of Akbar*, xlii.

¹⁴⁸ Makhanlal Roychoudhury Sastri., *The Din I Ilahi Or The Religion Of Akbar*, 127.

¹⁴⁹ Makhanlal Roychoudhury Sastri., *The Din I Ilahi Or The Religion Of Akbar*, 137.

Tarkh-i-Ilahi¹⁵⁰ – people believed that he converted and became a Zoroastrian. Assumably, Akbar found parallels between Zoroastrianism and Islam concerning the praising of the sun, for there is a whole chapter called The Sun (Surah Shams).¹⁵¹ In conclusion, it can be said that Akbar’s motives and intentions, i.e. why he invited non-Muslims to the *Ibadat Khana*, and why he treated every individual equally and even granted them freedom in the practice of their religion, the construction of places of worship, missionary activities and the growth of their religious community were both religious and political. His first and utmost intention was religious but there must have been definite political motives for diplomacy and ‘international relations’, e.g. the bridge to Europe. Additionally, his heritage or personal background seemed to have contributed immensely to his curiosity of the *other* in his Empire. He was born into a Hindu household and his mother was of Persian descent.¹⁵² Even though it was assumed that Akbar converted to another religion, e.g. orthodox Muslims (Mullas) accused him he became Zoroastrian, Shia, Christian, Hindu or Buddhist on numerous occasions but he actually never did. He was a seeker of knowledge, a liberal and open-minded ruler of a diverse nation and especially Jesuits thought that he was willing to get baptized, he never fully abandoned Islam. It appears that he abandoned typical Islamic rituals and traditions and formed an order (Sufi order) by himself also known as the *Din-i-Ilahi* which was promulgated in 1582.¹⁵³ Akbar himself never considered the *Din-i-Ilahi* as a new invented religion and he never forced his order and its virtues on anyone who lived under his reign.

¹⁵⁰ Makhanlal Roychoudhury Sastri., *The Din I Ilahi Or The Religion Of Akbar*, 151-154.

¹⁵¹ “In the name of God, the Lord of Mercy, the Giver of Mercy. By the sun it its morning brightness and by the moon as it follows it, by the day as it displays the sun’s glory and by the night as it conceals it, by the sky and how He built it and by the earth and how He spread it, by the soul and how He formed it and inspired it [to know] its own rebellion and piety! The one who purifies his soul succeeds and the one who corrupts it fails. In the arrogant cruelty, the people of Thamud called [their messenger] a liar, when the most wickeder man among them rose [against him]. The messenger of God said to them, ‘[Leave] God’s camel to drink,’ but they called him a liar and hamstringed her. Their Lord destroyed them for their crime and levelled them. He did not hesitate to punish them.” (Qur’an 91. The Sun, Surah Sahms) Abdel Haleem M.A. *The Qur’an (Oxford World’s Classics)*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008. Print.

¹⁵² Also see Makhanlal Roychoudhury Sastri., *The Din I Ilahi Or The Religion Of Akbar*.

¹⁵³ Makhanlal Roychoudhury Sastri., *The Din I Ilahi Or The Religion Of Akbar*, 279.

According to Max Müller, perhaps Akbar was the pioneer of the comparative study of religions.¹⁵⁴ In fact, he did venture such events in his court or *Ibadat Khana*, but it is a vialant statement of Müller, for Akbar seemed to have several and certain motives (religious, political and personal) for his interfaith dialogues with people of other faiths rather than intentionally introduce the comparative study of religions and making himself a pioneer of comparative studies in general. But for Max Müller, the comparison itself was of more importance than any strategy connected to the comparative study of religion.¹⁵⁵

Was the Jesuit mission in the Mughal Empire a failure? Jesuits did convert many individuals in the Empire but they did not succeed in converting the Emperor himself. However, the mission was not a failure after all. According to Makhanlal, Jesuits received permission to carry on their mission in the Mughal Empire and also build churches. Additionally, they encouraged other missionaries in Euorpe to continue their mission in the Mughal Empire to try their chance and luck to convert Akbar and more individuals in his state. Jesuits were permitted to build hospitals across the state and the Portugues were granted high prestige in the government.¹⁵⁶

2. The Celebrity in the Society of Jesus: The *Jesuit Sultan* Baldassarre de Loyola Mandes

The Society of Jesus was known for the aim of ‘world evangelization’, to baptize infidels, pagans, people who followed a sect and among them Muslims. One of their methods was to achieve the baptism of extraordinary people, prominent people who had political and economic power, people who were known throughout the Iberian Peninsula. Jesuits were unsuccessful in north India at the court of Akbar trying to convince the King Akbar to baptism but they were successful in Iberia. One of the most important cities in the ‘Islamic west’ was the city of Fez, which was an important center

¹⁵⁴ Phiroze Vasunia, “Akbar’s Dream: The Mughal Emperor in Nineteenth-Century Literature,” *Regimes of Comparatism*, October 31, 2018, 284–317.

¹⁵⁵ Vasunia, “Akbar’s Dream.”

¹⁵⁶ Makhanlal Roychoudhury Sastri., *The Din I Ilahi Or The Religion Of Akbar*, 197.

for economic and political development as well as for its Islamic culture, tradition and intellectual life. The Sa'adian sultan Ahmad al-Mansur received power in 1578 and just after he wanted to announce Marrakesh the capital of his kingdom, turmoil emerged in Fez, i.e. a dynastic crisis, and in the middle of this turmoil a prince was born. The prince of Fez Mohammed el-Attaz was born in Fez in 1631 and according to some sources about his genealogy, he must have been the grandson of the sultan Ahmad al-Mansur but due to the crisis it is hard to provide sufficient information about his genealogy after all and one can only assume. According to Emanuele Colombo, Mohammed el-Attaz was an expert in the Qur'an as a child and married to a girl called Fatima when he was fourteen years old.¹⁵⁷ They had three children together. The fact that he married at such a young age may have been common in medieval Islamic west but that he was an expert in the Qur'an is a vague exclamation and broad statement. Mohammed el-Attaz seemed to have been sufficiently educated in the Islamic law and the Qur'an but only as much as that of an ordinary Muslim. Hence, he certainly did not have the same knowledge like a well-educated Islamic scholar or *Faqih*.

In the Islamic west, the dominant school of thought (Arab.: *madhhab*) was the school of Maliki, especially in Al-Andalus and North Africa. The schools of thought within the Islamic jurisprudence (*Fiqh*) differ in specific legal opinions (*Fatwa*) within the Islamic law. Thus, the Maliki school of thought's legal opinion about pilgrimage whether major (*Hajj*) or minor (*Umrah*) prohibits or discourages both if the person who attempts to do the pilgrimage could be in jeopardy during a "long-distance travel from western periphery to the central Islamic lands."¹⁵⁸ This may have been the case with Mohammed el-Attaz who, at the age of twenty, decided to make the pilgrimage to Mecca against the will of his parents. On his way to Mecca, the Knights of St. John captured Mohammed el-Attaz alongside other Muslims who accompanied him where he was imprisoned in Malta for five years. The year 1656 was the year his life had changed in favour of the Society of Jesus. Despite of the ransom that had been payed to free him from his captivity in Malta, he decided to stay due to a vision he had on the same day

¹⁵⁷ Emanuele Colombo, "A Muslim Turned Jesuit: Baldassarre Loyola Mandes (1631-1667)," *Journal of Early Modern History* 17/5–6 (January 1, 2013): 481.

¹⁵⁸ For more research about the legal opinions on pilgrimage and long-distant travel in the Maliki school of thought see Jocelyn Hendrickson, "Prohibiting the Pilgrimage: Politics and Fiction in Mālikī Fatwās," *Islamic Law and Society* 23/3 (July 19, 2016): 161–238.

where he was expected to depart to his homeland. His vision also led him to accept baptism and become a Christian and his conversion positively changed the attitude of the Knights of St. John towards Mohammed el-Attaz. With his conversion he also changed his name to Baldassarre Loyola de Mandes to honor the founding father himself and accepted the name of Ignatius de Loyola. After his conversion, he dedicated his life into missions and baptized Muslim slaves within three years (1664 – 1667) mostly in Genoa and Naples. Baldassarre de Loyola (Mohammed el-Attaz) did not join the Society of Jesus right after his conversion when he was a captive in Malta but when he went to Sicily where he came into contact with other Jesuit priests and missionaries only to join the Society of Jesus three years later. Despite his prominence and visions, which will be closely discussed later in this section, the Society of Jesus only accepted him to the Roman novitiate of Sant'Andrea al Quirinale (a Roman Catholic church build in Rome and for the Jesuit seminaries) and ordained him a priest in 1661. Baldassarre never received the title of a saint even though his visions should have had given him this privilege but because of his former life as a Muslim, which automatically made him a Morisco after his conversion, it seems that other Jesuits and Superior Generals were 'still skeptical' and careful because he could renounce his former religion and go back to his old *modus vivendi*. Within the Society of Jesus, Baldassarre de Loyola Mandes was seemed to be the only economic and political powerful Muslim ruler who converted to Christianity and joined the Society of Jesus in Medieval Europe. Additionally, he never seemed to have seen his children and wife ever again after his conversion because of several reasons that are 1) in fear he could leave Christianity and convert back to Islam and 2) in obeying and pleasing the Superior General and Christ in fulfilling his missions to convert as many Muslim slaves as possible. Because of his remarkable life and his conversion which is a phenomenon in the history of conversion, several fellow Jesuits dedicated their effort to mention them in their literary works such as 1) Tirso González in his *MCM* who wrote an account about his conversion, 2) the Spanish writer, poet and dramatist Pedro Calderón de la Barca in his infamous play *El gran principe de Fez* (The great prince of Fez)¹⁵⁹ and 3) the biography of Loyola's Life¹⁶⁰

¹⁵⁹ Pedro Calderón de la Barca's sacred drama *El gran principe de fez* is based on historical sources and fiction and depicts the life of Baldassarre de Loyola and his conversion. The depiction of the Muslims is against them throughout the drama with their aggressiveness towards the protagonist (Baldassarre de Loyola) after his conversion and the many murder attempts. This drama's purpose is to prove the

written by Domenico Brunacci S.J. and published in 1692. Despite his unpopularity in present times, especially in the academic realm, a very broad amount of sources can be found about Baldassarre de Loyola. One of them is his autobiography, which he wrote after his conversion in a collection of memoirs.

From Visions and Dreams to Conversion

Baldassarre de Loyola's autobiography helps us to understand why he chose to convert to Christianity and what led him make such a sudden decision. One may assume that Jesuit priests and priests of other religious orders who were active in Malta preached to him the Christian doctrine and convinced him to baptism and catechism. Such information is neither present in his autobiography nor other Jesuit works. Hence, that is what makes Baldassarre de Loyola admirable inside the Society of Jesus. There was no missionary interference during his captivity in Malta but rather through his visions and dreams he wished to be baptized, which took place in the Jesuit church at Valetta during a grand ceremony. The vision Baldassarre de Loyola received were those of Christ himself and the Virgin Mary inviting him to salvation and encouraging him to spread the Christian faith through missions. The majority of dreams contained dreams about his former life, his family, his relatives and his homeland which he believed where demonic dreams and interferences by the devil tempting him to abandon eternal salvation through Christ and follow the false doctrine of Muhammad. In *El gran principe de Fez*, Calderòn de la Barca refers to these as 'Bad Genie' and 'Good Genie'. Besides his vision he had shortly before his conversion and after which he wrote down in his autobiography, Baldassarre also believed he received vision when he was a child that he claimed to had been prophecies. He mentions an event during his childhood where he heard the names of Virgin Mary and Jesus and he repeated them. His mother overhearing it asked him who taught him these and told him not to use them, for these

superiority of Christianity over Islam with Baldassarres struggle and steadfastness towards the Christian faith. De la Barca does not leave out any historical details and adds some fictional features. He emphasizes on the spiritual journey, which Baldassarre de Loyola shared in his autobiography and his visions are also of great significance. For further research also see Carmen Melendez Tercero, "Free Will in El Principe Constante of Pedro Calderon de la Barca," accessed: February 13, 2020.

¹⁶⁰ This work if fully entitled as *Vita del Ammirabile P. Baldassarre Loiola de Mandes della Compagnia di Gesù. Prodigio della Divina Gnazia* preserved in The Roman Archive of the Society of Jesus containing six hundred pages.

are words against Muhammad.¹⁶¹ Thus, fellow Jesuits and Baldassarre himself believed that even in his childhood, he was prepared to become a Christian and a missionary.

Even though Baldassare de Loyola never had the desire to go back to his homeland and back to his family and relatives with the fear he could go back to his former religion and traditions or perhaps also because he feared for his life that they would execute him because of his conversion, his passion to convince the *SG* with his *litterae indipetarum* to let him set out to India and carry his mission to the court of the Mughal Emperor. The *SG* rejected his proposition in fear he might be persecuted or converted back to Islam and suggested him to carry his mission to Genoa and Naples.¹⁶² He received the approval of the *SG* later during his mission to set out to India but never made it passed Spain where he became ill and died of its consequences. In his autobiography, Baldassarre claimed that he saw the Virgin Mary in a dream or vision where she invited him to continue his mission in India and assured him he would die as a martyr there.¹⁶³ According to secondary sources about the life and conversion of Baldassarre de Loyola Mandes, he converted about eight hundred souls during his time as a Jesuit. According to his letters, he converted 370 in Genoa and 400 in Naples and counting all the other baptisms of Muslims and non-Muslims on their deathbeds and in

¹⁶¹ “[...], molte volte udeva una voce interna nel mio cuore, la quale biasimava Mahometto e la sua fede, io quando tornavo in me stesso, all’hora mi dispiacevano assai quelle biestemie, mi pareva che il mio cuore non voleva accettare quelle cose di quella fede e mi pare all’hora che io mancai di fede, dimandava all’hora perdono a Dio, e Mahometto di quelle biesteme, et un’altra volta essendo io con la mia madre io pigliavo una collera, non so perché, e mi uscii dalla mia bocca con una grandissima dolcezza di cuore queste santissime parole: Gesù Maria, senza sapere che cosa sono queste parole perché io non gli avevo sentito mai, però non le ho dette tanto chiare come adesso perché la prononzia [...], era forestiera. Era con me la mia madre, udiva queste parole, e mi disse che parole sono queste? Io le rispondei, non so, ed essa mi stringeva assai forte, voleva sapere chi mi insegnò queste parole ed io non sapevo che rispondere in questa materia fuorché la verità, Signora nascevano dalla mia bocca senza che io sapevo che significavano, per che li christiani non intrarono nella città di Fes nel tempo mio, né mercadante né altra cosa, e la mia madre mi mortificò assai con la sua lingua, mi disse: queste parole sono parole delli christiani, avertite non dite mai più ecc. Essendo la mia madre non voleva mai lasciarmi dormire in alcuna camera fora della sua camera con essa, ma separata dal letto; essendo io una notte nella camera con la mia madre nel, [...]” Gregorian Archives Text Editing (GATE), APUG 1060 II, 16-17.

¹⁶² Colombo, “A Muslim Turned Jesuit,” 499.

¹⁶³ “[...], etto svegliato con i miei occhi corporali vidi due raggi come raggi del sole combattendo supra la mia testa uno della parte destra, l’altro della parte sinistra, che usciva dal loro lume che illuminò tutta quella camera, io non sapevo cosa erano quelli, però, temevo assai di quelle cose mettevo supra il capo mio la coperta, acciò che non li vedessi, con tutto ciò li vedevo come non havesse havuto la coperta supra la mia testa e molte altre volte con gli miei ochi corporali mi veddi delle donne bellissime vestite di bianco nella mia camera che erano con grandissimi splendori. Et molte volte in sonno mi veddi che io in altra parte del mondo, che volava in aria; et molte altre volte in sogno mi veddi che io era in altra parte del mondo pigliavo il martirio per la fede di, [...]” Greogorian Archive text Editing (GATE), APUG 1060 II, 18.

churches; some researchers claim he converted an unreliable account of 3000 souls. (Gregorian Archive Text Editing, APUG 1060 I)

Arabic sources about the life and conversion and the life after the conversion of Baldassarre de Loyola Mandes was found and evaluated, which give researchers and readers another perspective to the phenomenon of conversion. Almost all the accounts of the baptisms and catechisms of Muslims and their conversion experiences before and after were reported by European priests of different religious orders, hence presenting a Christianized version of Muslim conversion experience. Arabic sources give the privilege to provide us with more information about Baldassarre's past life, which he even did not provide in his autobiography himself. According to European sources, Baldassarre is referred to as 'Muley-Mohammed-el-Abbas' or 'Sidi Mohammed' which they claimed he was called before his baptism. However, according to Arabic sources, his former name was Muhammad al-Tāzī or Mohammed el-Attaz and his father was 'Abd al – Wāhid al – Tāzī. Baldassarre's conversion was celebrated by Catholics 'Europe – wide' that they also called him 'al – sultan al Yasū'ī (the Jesuit Sultan) and referred to him as the 'personal Muslim of the Jesuits'. According to some Arabic sources his conversion even reached his homeland with the help of some letters written to Baldassarre by a *tālib* (student) of the Sufi lodge called Imhammad ibn 'Abd al-Salām who asked Baldassarre for help. In some of these letters, Imhammad's message of Baldassarre's conversion reached his father, his friend and his family however, since Imhammad needed help from him for an unknown and certain reason he never judged Baldassarre's decision to convert to Christianity.¹⁶⁴ After his conversion, Baldassarre made more pilgrimages as a Jesuit priest than as a Muslim and visited St. Rosalia in Palermo, St. Gennaro in Naples, the Shroud in Turin, the Madonna della Quercia in Viterbo, the Sacro Corpale in Orvieto, the wedding ring of the Virgin Mary in Perugia, and the shrine of Loreto, which is also said to be an anti-Muslim shrine.¹⁶⁵ Baldassarre did not have a copy of the Qur'an and remembered the verses in his mind for he is said to have known the Qur'an by heart, i.e. a *hafidh* ('guardian' or 'memorizer'), which

¹⁶⁴ For more information about Arabic sources in the conversion of Baldassarre de Loyola Mandes see Nabil Matar, "Two Muslim converts to Catholicism in Arabic sources, 1656-1667," *The Seventeenth Century* 0/0 (January 8, 2020): 1–17.

¹⁶⁵ Colombo, "A Muslim Turned Jesuit," 491.

seems to be a true statement about him because Baldassarre was said to have learned the Qur'an at a very young age.¹⁶⁶ However, a *hafidh* does not give one the authority to be well educated in Islamic jurisprudence like that of a *Faqih* (Islamic Jurist), which was never mentioned in any sources about him.

Since almost all of the sources on the history of conversion in the Islamic west and Iberian Peninsula are mostly of European clergy who present a Christianized version of Muslim conversion experience, the other perspective and sources from third parties give a different understanding about the phenomenology of conversion of significant and prominent figures in the Islamic West. Despite the widespread celebration of Baldassarre's conversion among Catholics and his contribution to the Society of Jesus and missionary activities, passion and motivation, his prominence seemed to have been faded throughout the centuries. Interestingly, he was never entitled as a saint despite his visions and dreams about Jesus Christ and the Virgin Mary and his 'uninterferred' conversion. He may have been a famous figure in seventeenth century Europe but his fame disappeared. Baldassare de Loyola de Mandes died in Madrid on September fifteen 1667 on his way to the *avant-garde* mission in India.

¹⁶⁶ Ibid., 493.

CONCLUSION

“I have other sheep that are not of this fold. I must bring them in as well, and they will listen to my voice. They there will be one flock and one shepherd.” (John 10:16) These are one of many other commands to evangelize the world, which evoked different reactions within the missions throughout the centuries. After Juan de Segovia pointed out that the Crusades did not bring success to the Christian faith but rather a short-lived advance, missions, baptism and catechism were the ‘new divine weapon’ to win over hearts. With the rise and approach of the Ottoman Turks, European missions became quickly ‘world missions’ or ‘world evangelizations’. The *Errores Sectae Machumeticae*, a term commonly used among missionaries in medieval and early modern times, seemed to be prevalent in present times. However, *Errores Sectae Machumeticae* needs to be re-considered, i.e. not only did medieval and early modern missionaries and priests tried to prove the ‘Muhammadan sect’ to be false but also argued that the ‘Muhammadans’ themselves misunderstood their law. That indicates that Catholic priests and missionaries of several religious orders urged a reformation in Islam which is still a common and most discussed topic today. Christian scholars and politicians in Europe believe that a reformation is necessary in Islam.

In the history of conversion, Jesuit priests and priests of other confessed orders used a different method of framing in their polemics and during their sermons. They addressed specific and apparently the same discussions and compared them with the Christian law and seemed to try to demonstrate that there was no place for Islam and any other non-Christian religions in Europe. Twenty-first century politicians use a different framing in their political campaigns and speeches and use Media and Newspaper Magazines as a tool whereas the only media in Medieval Europe among missionaries were letters, literature and sermons. Accordingly, both in history and present times the framing methods seem to be effective religiously and politically. In

Medieval Europe, it was the religion that did not fit the western narrative where Islam was seen as a threat and the Qur'an 'devil's work'. Today, it is the 'culture' that comes with the religion to Europe, i.e. clothing, names, customs, appearance and education. The Eurocentric attitude has been adapted from Medieval Europe and still continues today. Another difference between historical and today's polemics is the scholarly advantage in the study of languages. Languages are easily accessible today than in the middle ages. Only a handful of educated men had access to Middle Eastern languages in order to have better access in the study of the exegesis. However, scholars in the Middle East, according to John H. Hobson, already had translations of Greek mythology and philosophy in their libraries. Medieval interfaith dialogues differed from those held today due to the accessibility of a vast number of literary sources present today than the limited sources in Medieval Europe.

Medieval Jesuit literature, especially polemics, deserves more academic attention and better access in different languages. However, many Christian scholars questioned the reliability and argued that medieval and seventeenth century Jesuit literary works were too apologetic. For instance, Du Jarric's *Histoire* does not fall in the category history but rather religious work. Nor is it a treatise on history but its theme and treatment are religious and a collection of Jesuit missions rather than the history of the Mughal Empire. Thus, the reliability of such sources is to be questioned but nevertheless a brilliant asset to academic research. Ironically, today's western political campaigns and their polemic display against Muslim refugees and Islam are not any less apologetic than historical polemic records. Although, the approaches differentiate between history and present day hostility towards the *other*, we can fairly assert that today's Eurocentric attitude originates from Medieval Europe. Another aspect worth mentioning is the Jesuits' missionary approaches outside Europe. Their missions in Muslim ruled lands may be justified in order to prevent an 'islamisation' in Europe but their missions in Native America is as controversial as their missions in the far East, for neither Native Americans nor Asians were not to be considered an 'invasive threat' in Europe. However, the Turkic problem, i.e. the force and possible invasion of the Ottoman Turks in Europe might as well be seen in the Mughal Empire, a great Empire,

that the Pope and the Jesuit priests saw it fit and necessary to prevent another possible 'Muslim invasion' in Europe.

Religious disagreements between Christianity and Islam appeared long before the first contact between the two religions. When Islam first emerged in the Middle Eastern peninsula, universalism allowed Christians and Muslim to reside together, despite their different opinions. However, once Islam arrived in Mesopotamia, altercation began alongside Eurocentricism or Orientalism and expanded in Europe throughout the centuries. According to Hobson, "Europe is seen as autonomous or self-constituting on the one hand, and relational/democratic on the other, making the breakthrough all by itself."¹⁶⁷ Carefully, it can be asserted that the missionaries intentions, and in retrospect of the chapters, were to bring an 'autonomous self-constitution' to countries that were viewed otherwise. Max Weber's Orientalist view of the East also asserts that the Occident's (modernity) ethic and the emergence of the rationality of the individual emerges from Protestantism whereas the orient's (tradition) is repressive religions and the predominance of the collectivity.¹⁶⁸ Weber's view of Orientalism is still present today. With his assertion that the orient does not have 'free and independent cities' but rather political/administrative camps shows that even today right-wing politicians and nations believe a 'political islam' will overrun the Christian Occident and its 'free and independent cities'.

Even in Medieval Europe, as we can see above, successful Iberian Muslim scholars, or those who even converted to Christianity, were nothing else but a "mere librarian", only useful for translations and knowledge in specific topics. Some were even briefly mentioned by Jesuit authors, but they did not receive enough credit and attention after all despite their intellectuality and contribution in comparative study and history of religion.¹⁶⁹ Because of their heritage, former Muslims who converted to Islam did not receive enough credits despite their prominency, education and their effort in the Jesuit missions. Hypothetically, it can be assumed that most of the knowledge of the Jesuits about Islam and its customs recorded in their literary works come from the

¹⁶⁷ Hobson, "The Eastern Origins of Western Civilisation," 11.

¹⁶⁸ Hobson, "The Eastern Origins of Western Civilisation," 16.

¹⁶⁹ Hobson, "The Eastern Origins of Western Civilisation," 174.

background knowledge of former Muslim scholars who joined the Society of Jesus. According to Hobson, “any technological or economic developments that were made in the East are immediately as inconsequential.”¹⁷⁰ Not only does this apply to technological or economic developments but also to intellectuality and education in certain subjects, i.e. philosophy, religion and sociology. The intellectuality of Muslim scholars or former Muslim scholars was made inconsequential and without the help of Yca Gidelli, Baldassarre de Loyola, Juan Andrés – to name a few – western Jesuit priests would never have crossed the line into publishing and printing their polemic literary works against Islam and its customs. Before the Society of Jesus was founded, Islam and Judaism was already present in Medieval Europe, yet Jesuit priests sold their knowledge in a way that Islam was ‘something new’ and ‘evil’. In other words, they somehow let people believe to have brought forward a ‘phenomenon’ and ‘virgin birth’ of having discovered ‘something new’ that is a jeopardy to the Occident at the same time despite the ‘exoticness’.

It seems that Jesuit were not well informed/educated about Islam and the Muslim community. For instance, Ignatius’ encounter with a Saracen proves just that by accusing the Saracen to have insulted the Virgin Mary with his own words. However, little did Ignatius know that it was not the Saracen actually speaking or blaspheming but he what he knew from the Qur’an and that the Qur’an contains a whole chapter named after Mary and the abundant times Mary is mentioned in the holy scripture. Additionally, one of the vows of the Society of Jesus Jesuit members had to keep was their vow to poverty. Jesuits were known to be independent on alms. However, the vast amount of gifts they - let alone - received from the Mughal Emperor proves otherwise, i.e. they misused one of the strictest law of the constitution of the Society of Jesus. Jesuit literary works, e.g. Tirso González’s MCM, appear to have a vast amount of gaps of sufficient information. When González describes the Muslims in LX. And LIX., he gives a description of Shia Muslims and Sufis, so it seems without even knowing the differences. With the help of written Jesuit works, i.e. the collection of Jesuit missions across the world, and the missions itself are enough source to link them all together. There is a high chance that González’s took the information from collected Jesuit works

¹⁷⁰ Hobson, “The Eastern Origins of Western Civilisation,” 19.

that reported about the mission in India and the Middle East (e.g. Syria, Lebanon). There is no other indication of possible sources González might have taken his information from.

While the motive of the missions was more religious for the Jesuit priests, the motive for the Father Generals was more political. For instance, the missions in the Mughal Empire were religious for Jesuit priests but political for the Father Generals who resided in Goa and directed the missions in India. Political, because it seems that there was a constant fear of a possible invasion of Muslim Indians like the fear of a possible invasion of Ottoman Turks that was prevented nonetheless. This is only an assumption. Whether Jesuits were successful in their missions around the globe or not is a vague statement. The missions were not failures but a fruitful asset and historical information. Even if the Jesuits' aim was to baptize politically powerful figures, in which they seemed to have been unsuccessful, they did gain other advantages, i.e. to baptize citizens of the country, to expand their doctrine, to build churches, schools and other buildings and they received the privilege to live in a diverse state. Interestingly, Jesuits only preached the Christian doctrine but never the *Spiritual Exercises* or the virtues of the Society of Jesus unless these were Jesuit students intending to become a priest. Nor did they include it in the discussions with Muslims or in their literary works. That is, perhaps, they were only the instrument of the Pope, his 'divine' soldiers, only to put the Christian doctrine, Christ and the Pope above the Constitution of the Society of Jesus. If they were to include their *Exercises* into their missions, the Church could not have taken the Society of Jesus into their pinion for this would have been considered heresy through and through.

Interestingly, Jesuit priests of the Society of Jesus may have been familiar with Muslims in general or with Islam and the Qur'an and what they studied sufficiently enough to be 'informed' about the religion. However, especially during this research, it is considerably important to mention that Jesuit priests, superior generals and missionaries were not familiar with the schools, groups and perhaps Islamic heresies that had and still have different customs and traditions and even none were mentioned in their letters specifically or in their literature.

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