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A Survey

García-Arenal, M.; Wiegers, G.A.

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Mercedes García-Arenal and Gerard A. Wiegers

The Iberian Qur'an and the Qur'an in Iberia: A Survey

Due to the long presence of Muslims in Iberia, both as inhabitants of the Islamic territories (al-Andalus and the Nasrid Kingdom of Granada) and as Muslim minorities in the Christian Kingdoms, the Iberian Peninsula provides fertile soil for the study of the cultural history of the Qur'an in Europe, the focus precisely of the EuQu project to which this book belongs. This book focuses on Christian Iberia. From the mid-twelfth to at least the end of the seventeenth century, the efforts undertaken by Muslim religious scholars and copyists on the one hand, and Christian scholars and converts to Christianity on the other, to copy, transmit, interpret and translate the Qur'an are of the utmost importance for understanding the significance of the Qur'an in Europe. But this book goes beyond the Early Modern period, exploring the significance and knowledge of the Qur'an in Iberia in Modern times and also in other Hispanic territories, demonstrating the long engagement with the Muslim Holy Scripture well after the times in which Muslim minorities inhabited the Peninsula.

As a result of the long process known as "Reconquest", the Northern Spanish kingdoms, slowly expanding their frontiers southwards throughout the Middle Ages, came to contain large minorities of Muslims, the so-called Mudejars (from Arabic *mudajjan*, i. e., he who has concluded a treaty after the surrender of his village or city), who were allowed, under certain conditions, to preserve and practice their faith. It was the first time in history that significant numbers of Muslims came to live under non-Muslim rule. There were other minorities, the Mozarabs or Arabized Christians, who lived in Muslim lands and remained as a distinct Arabized minority when they emigrated to Christian territory. Muslims (named Mudejars before the orders of conversion) and Moriscos (converted Muslims) interpreted and translated their sacred scripture for their own use as they were becoming increasingly at home in the Romance vernacular and losing the

Note: This book is part of a project that has received funding from the European Research Council (ERC) under the European Union's Horizon 2020 research and innovation programme (grant agreement no. 810141), project EuQu: "The European Qu'ran. Islamic Scripture in European Culture and Religion 1150 – 1850." We are grateful to Consuelo López-Morillas who polished the language of this essay and in so doing helped us also to better its content.

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knowledge of Arabic.[1] There were translations from Arabic to vernacular Castilian or Aragonese, written in the Latin alphabet or more frequently in what is called "Aljamiado", i.e., Romance vernacular in Arabic script. The first written evidence of such translations appears in Aragon dated in 1415.

A decade after the rendition of the capital city of Granada and conquest of the Nasrid Kingdom, the so-called Catholic Monarchs, Fernando and Isabel, decreed in 1502 the expulsion (to be avoided only by conversion) of the entire Muslim population of the territories belonging to the Crown of Castile. In the Crown of Aragon the Muslim population would be allowed to practice Islam until 1526, when they too were forced to convert to Christianity or face expulsion. The existence of numerous and firmly established Muslim communities in the Crown of Aragon (including Valencia) that were free to practice their faith from the eleventh to the early sixteenth centuries explains the fact that most of the translations and commentaries of the Qur'an were written and copied in the Aragonese territories, where Christian and Muslim communities had lived side by side for centuries and used a common language to communicate with one another. In Castile, the situation was different. Muslims were a much smaller part of the population, about 3%, against 30% in Aragon and Valencia. Christian Aragonese or Catalan scholars and clerics (from the famous examples of Ramon Martí and Ramon Llull up to Juan Andrés and Joan Martí de Figuerola) had easier access to Arabic or Islamic works than other European scholars interested in studying the Qur'an, and they had much greater opportunities to engage Muslim or formerly Muslim collaborators to help them study it than they would have had elsewhere in Europe. As far as is known, the earliest Romance Qur'an translation (now lost) was made from Latin into Catalan in 1382 at the behest of King Pere III el Ceremoniòs (Peter IV of Aragon, d. 1387).[2]

In Castile the period of collaboration between Christian scholars and Muslims was shorter. But we do have the famous example of the translation of the Qur'an made by Juan de Segovia in 1456 with the cooperation of the faqih and mufti ʿĪsa ibn Jābir, a Mudejar, not a convert, who died in Tunis and was buried there. This translation has not been found. The only complete translation of a

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1 There was another important minority, the Arabized Jews of al-Andalus, many of whom also migrated in a later period to the Christian territories. We will not deal with them here, as they do not seem to have participated at this point in translating the Qur'an.

2 Mikel de Epalza Ferrer, Josep V. Forcadell Saport and Joan M. Perujo Melgar, eds., *El Corán y sus traducciones. Propuestas* (Alicante: Servicio de Publicaciones Universidad de Alicante, 2008), 100–1.

Morisco Qur'an that has reached us, known as "El Corán de Toledo" was copied in 1606; one of its colophons is shown on the cover of this book.[3]

Forced conversion of Muslims to Christianity was completed by the 1520s; those who wanted to remain Muslim had to practice their religion in clandestinity and, from the 1530s onwards, under persecution by the Inquisition. By the end of the sixteenth century, Arabic was still spoken and written in parts of Spain (mainly Granada, Extremadura, Valencia and areas of Aragon) by this population of Islamic origin. Inquisition files contain highly detailed information on the use of Arabic until the expulsion of 1609. And that was so in spite of the fact that Felipe II, by means of a decree in 1567 in the Kingdom of Granada, had forbidden the oral and written use of the Arabic language. This final prohibition of Arabic in 1567 was the main cause of the Morisco revolt of the former Kingdom of Granada known as the War of the Alpujarras, a fierce and devastating two-year war. In effect it required a new Christian conquest of the kingdom, and its aftermath was the expulsion of the Granadan Morisco population to the Northern territories of Castile (1570 – 71).

This is the background of a long-term historical situation which makes Iberia a unique case study for the history of the translation of the Qur'an. On the one hand, no other area of Western Europe knew such an intense and enduring confrontation with Islam; and on the other, no other area had such a close and productive entanglement with Islam and with Muslims, to the point that arguments over Spain's Islamic past have been a fundamental element in constructing its national identity.

The religious confrontation produced polemics and disputations, but not only those, as this book will show. Rather, the term "polemics" covers a complex field of intellectual and religious activity in which the aims of knowing and confuting Islamic doctrine were intertwined and not only directed to Muslims, but also to Christians with the aim of separating clearly what was Christian and what was not.[4] Translation of the Qur'an for Christians was a tool to convert Muslims; for Muslims it was a protection from being converted, from losing oneself in a Christian majority.

In this book we have intended to consider all facets of the cultural and religious significance of the Qur'an on Iberian Christian soil: copies of the Qur'an,

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3 Toledo, Biblioteca de Castilla-La Mancha, MS 235 M-0190.

4 And from our previous work, Mercedes García-Arenal and Gerard A. Wiegers, eds., *Polemical Encounters: Christians, Jews, and Muslims in Iberia and beyond* (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2019), and García-Arenal, Wiegers, and Ryan Szpiech, eds., *Interreligious Encounters in Polemics between Christians, Jews, and Muslims in Iberia and beyond* (Leiden: Brill, 2019).

translations, dissemination by way of teaching, interpretation and preaching, circulation, collections made by both Christians and Muslims. The contributors to the present volume reflect on a context where Arabic books and Arabic speakers who were familiar with the Qur'an and its exegesis coexisted with Christian populations, often sharing the same spaces, with Christian scholars and the centres of power and (religious) education. In Christian Iberia, the close proximity of Islamic tradition and sources, and the "availability" of informants (mostly, but not exclusively, converts), offered Christians interested in the Qur'an a privileged access to Islam. This is visible in a concept of Islam (even in anti-Islamic texts) that is much closer to the lived experience of Muslims than we find, for example, in early modern Northern European scholarship: a concept of Islam not limited to the Qur'an, but also more aware of the religious significance of tafsir (exegesis), and hadith (tradition) than in other parts of Europe, where that awareness was almost absent in this period. The collaboration and contacts between the two religions also produced reactions of separation and rejection on both sides; we will see these phenomena when dealing with the action of the Inquisition and the *Indexes of Forbidden Books*, or the fatwas issued to restrain Muslims from providing Qur'ans and tafsir to the Christians as well as helping them to understand their Holy Text. Both communities were engaged in drawing clear boundaries between them. But in this process the power relations between the different groups played a major role. Interesting in this regard are the continuous relations between Muslims in the Christian territories and their coreligionists in Muslim lands. Muslims from Christian territories performed the pilgrimage to Mecca and returned.[5] They also consulted muftis in Granada and in Cairo, and managed to obtain books from Algiers and Morocco.[6] We constantly see through all the phenomena and case studies analysed in this book that Iberia is a laboratory for the study of the construction, destruction, and blurring of religious, cultural and political boundaries. Finally, another important aspect of Iberia is its connection with Italy, which imports and then transforms this Islamic knowledge for Italians' own humanist and philological endeavours that will nurture nascent Orientalism, as we will see with Cardinal Egidio da Viterbo, among others.

It is, we believe, one of the important aspects of this book that it considers Iberian Qur'ans as studied by both Christians and Muslims. The different features and uses of the Qur'an in Iberia, its circulation, and the lives and works

5 See Pablo Roza Candás, *Memorial de ida i venida hasta Maka. La peregrinación de Omar Patón* (Oviedo: Universidad de Oviedo, 2018).

6 Carmen Barceló and Ana Labarta, *Archivos moriscos. Textos árabes de la minoría islámica valenciana 1401–1608* (Valencia: Universitat de València, 2009).

of those who wrote about it and the responses of their audiences, are the object of this book.

The first part of the book is dedicated to Iberian translations of the Qur'an into Latin. In it we have followed suit to the first volume of this series, *The Latin Qur'an, 1143–1500. Translation, Transition, Interpretation*, edited by Cándida Ferrero Hernández and John Tolan. This important recent volume explains the relatively small space that Latin translations occupy in the present volume. Nevertheless, those Latin translations are of utmost importance and deserve to be briefly introduced here.

In 1142 the head of the Cluniac order, Peter the Venerable, travelled to Northern Spain, where among other things he commissioned from the astronomer and mathematician Robert of Ketton a complete translation of the Qur'an. Therefore the first translation of the Qur'an into Latin was made somewhere in the Ebro valley in 1143, half a century after the conquest of Toledo (1085) and after Pope Urban II had launched the first Crusade (1095). A Muslim was involved in it as well, whom we know only by his *ism*, Muḥammad. A second translation was carried out in Toledo in 1210 at the time of the emergence of the Mendicant orders (Franciscans and Dominicans) in Italy and Spain, where they established themselves as the Church missionary arm committed to the evangelisation of Jews and Muslims. It was also the time when the Castilian Kingdom was engaged in an effort to stop the Almohad expansion. This second translation was made by Mark of Toledo, canon of the Toledo cathedral and a member of the entourage of Archbishop Rodrigo Jiménez de Rada, and probably patronised by him. Those two first translations arose, according to Davide Scotto, from personal and collective convictions in regard to the Crusades —or rather, at the intersection between translation and Crusade.[7] Charles Burnett offers here a slightly different interpretation. His chapter, the first in the book, is dedicated to these two translations and focuses on the different norms of translation used by Robert of Ketton and Mark of Toledo —one paraphrastic, or *ad sensum*, and the other literal— in a debate that was also being carried out in connection with the translation of the Bible. Mark of Toledo's translation provides a starting point for confronting the Arabic text directly. Burnett analyses how these norms of translation were applied and what effect the results had on their readers. In so doing he demonstrates the hermeneutical sophistication of both translation processes. As he pro-

7 Davide Scotto, "Translation in Wartime. Disseminating the Qur'an during the Crusades (Twelfth to Fifteenth Centuries)," in *Transfer and Religion. Interactions between Judaism, Christianity, and Islam from the Middle Ages to the Twentieth Century*, ed. Alexander A. Dubrau et al. (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2020).

poses, those translations reflect local concerns: mainly, the intention to persuade families who had accepted Islam or their descendants to revert to Christianity. Therefore Burnett reads these translations in the context of a mission to the Mozarabs, the Christian minority that was living in al-Andalus but also emigrating to Toledo. In the second chapter Teresa Witcombe examines how the Christian Castilians consider the Qur'an precisely in the period between the translations by Ketton and Mark of Toledo, showing that the term Qur'an (*Alchoran*) appears in Castilian chronicles only in the aftermath of Mark's translation. Before this point there are mentions of the "law" of the Muslims, as in the translation of Robert of Ketton who refers to *lex sarracenorum,* but the term Qur'an itself is not used. At the same time, the thirteenth-century chronicles from Castile contain considerably more detail about Islamic doctrine than their predecessors, and Witcombe links this fact clearly to Mark of Toledo's translation of the *Liber Alchorani* and the *Libellus* of the Almohad mahdī Ibn Tūmart. It means that the translation of Mark of Toledo had a wider diffusion, a bigger readership than has been hitherto known.

As for the very convincing proposal by Charles Burnett (and also by Teresa Witcombe) to consider the translations of both Robert of Ketton and Mark of Toledo in the context of the need to instruct Mozarabs and Christian converts to Islam, it fits with the third chapter, penned by Anthony J. Lappin and also concerned with Toledo. At that time an important minority of Arabic Christians, the Mozarabs, lived in that city as in many others in al-Andalus. The question addressed by Lappin is whether the Mozarabs had also translated the Qur'an into Latin for their own use. Using indirect evidence for the existence of a Mozarabic Latin compilation of Islamic legal material, including legal sections of the Qur'an, Lappin argues that this was the case. He also, most interestingly, establishes the contacts of the Toledan Mozarabs with Peter the Venerable, abbot of Cluny, who was responsible for the creation of the Corpus of texts related to Islam known as the *Corpus Cluniacense*. Lappin concurs with Burnett and Witcombe in linking the first translations with the need to keep Mozarabs within the Christian realm.

A new, complete translation of the Qur'an into Latin was completed in 1456 by Juan de Segovia in close cooperation with a faqih of Segovia, Yça de Gebir.[8] This translation is lost except for a few fragments in other manuscripts. We know that it was a trilingual endeavour, with parallel texts in Arabic, Castilian and Latin. Only the prologue has survived and through it we know that Juan de Se-

8 Yça de Gebir, ʿĪsā b. Jābir, Yça Gidelli. See Gerard A. Wiegers, *Islamic Literature in Spanish and Aljamiado: Yça of Segovia (Fl. 1450), His Antecedents and Successors* (Leiden: Brill, 1994).

govia, a prominent theologian and participant in the council of Basel (1431–39), prepared this trilingual Qur'an in the Benedictine convent of Aiton. Davide Scotto, who has done previous important work on Segovia,[9] dedicates his contribution to this volume to Juan de Segovia's reports on the disputes between himself and three Muslims that took place in Medina del Campo starting in October 1431. In his accounts, written at the Aiton monastery more than twenty years after the Castilian encounters, Segovia made a number of references to the Qur'an. Scotto uses these reports to reconstruct the political and cultural context in which the disputes took place and the arguments made in those interreligious conversations. Scotto concludes that these disputes convinced Segovia of the need to have a translation of the Qur'an for his strategy of converting the Muslims peacefully —per *viam pacis et doctrinae*, as Segovia says in his epistles. While in fact he read the Qur'an only much later, he projects his knowledge of the book back in time to those disputes in Medina del Campo.

The last contribution in this part, authored by Ulisse Cecini, presents another fascinating chapter in the story of Latin translations in the Iberian Peninsula. He deals with the one written in the El Escorial monastery by the Franciscan friar Germanus de Silesia, which was concluded, after many versions and revisions, in 1664. It is not only a Latin translation of the Qur'an but also a presentation and discussion of Islamic exegesis, in Latin translation and at times also in Arabic transcription. Cecini's essay sheds light on another aspect of the Iberian Qur'an, the connections between Rome/Italy and the Iberian Peninsula in the seventeenth century. He also discusses the work done on Arabic manuscripts at El Escorial, where Felipe II had established his Royal Library in the early 1570 (Real Biblioteca del Monasterio de El Escorial).

The second part of the book is dedicated to the Muslim production of Qur'ans in Christian Spain, mainly during the sixteenth century, both in Arabic and translated from Arabic into Romance vernaculars written in the Arabic alphabet (Aljamiado). It begins with a chapter by Gerard Wiegers on the responses that the office of four chief qadis of Mamluk Cairo, representing the four Sunni schools of law (*madhāhib*), issued at the request of Mudejars from Aragon a decade before the forced conversion of the Aragonese Muslims to Christianity. One of the questions the Mudejars addressed to the qadis was whether or not it was legitimate to translate the Qur'an into non-Arabic languages. The responses vary according to

9 Davide Scotto, "'Neither through Habits, nor Solely through Will, but through Infused Faith': Hernando de Talavera's Understanding of Conversion," in *Forced Conversion in Christianity, Judaism and Islam. Coercion and Faith in Premodern Iberia and beyond*, ed. Mercedes García-Arenal and Yonatan Glazer-Eytan (Leiden: Brill, 2019).

the different approaches of the four schools, but they are all in accord about the legitimacy of vernacular tafsirs, that is to say that translating in the sense of commentary is approved. The fatwas seem to aim at limiting the ritual and visible use of Romance vernaculars and literal translation, but they take a non-rejective view of the possibility of Islam living in a minority position with the limitations that such a position entails. This first chapter is important for understanding the features of the translations made by Mudejars and Moriscos considered in the subsequent chapters of this section. We may assume that translations already circulated among the Mudejars well before the said fatwas were given. The last chapter of the section, by Mercedes García-Arenal, draws on a wide range of Inquisition trials in which the culprit is accused of having a Qur'an, or of copying, reading, studying, memorizing, or carrying it. Scrutiny of Inquisition material shows how widely copies of the Qur'an circulated in sixteenth- and seventeenth-century Spain. The abundance of Qur'ans demonstrates that the Holy Book continued to be the backbone of Morisco Islam up to the years of the general Expulsion of the Moriscos (1609–14). This is important because the Qur'ans in both Arabic and Aljamiado that have reached us are only a small corpus —many perished in the fires of the Inquisition or were taken by Moriscos into exile. Many were hidden in false floors and walls, and discovered after the expulsion and up to the nineteenth century. We also have Arabic Qur'ans copied throughout the Morisco period up to the beginning of the seventeenth century; some of them are rich and well-decorated manuscripts that reveal the patronage of wealthy Muslim families and the existence of copyists, calligraphers and illustrators, access to good paper and ink, etc. A good example of this is a *Muṣḥaf* preserved in Madrid, Real Academia de la Historia, copied in 1597 by Muḥammad b. Muḥammad Ballester in Aranda de Moncayo.[10]

Therefore the first and last chapters of this section frame the Mudejar and Morisco Qur'ans as caught between Muslim and Christian legislation, both of them seriously curtailing (or trying to destroy completely, in the case of the Inquisition) the efforts of Iberian Muslims to possess, circulate, and translate the Qur'an. These efforts by Muslims —but also by Christians, as we will see in the next part of the book—were aimed at establishing distance and clear boundaries between the two religious communities, to avoid any porosity, including knowledge of the other. We will return to this aspect later on.

As this part shows, Spanish Muslim versions of the Qur'an differ greatly in the amount of exegesis that they contain. Mudejar and Morisco translations of the Qur'an often include longer or shorter passages of tafsir, or are presented

10 RAH, MS Codera 288/1110619.

chiefly in the form of tafsir: i.e., the translations are actually paraphrasing the Arabic and clearly do not intend to function as a literal, word-for-word rendering. Works of Muslim exegesis circulated among the Moriscos sometimes in compendiums of different authors of tafsir; others are transmitted in complete versions, such as the one by Ibn Abī Zamanīn, translated into Romance in Arabic script (Aljamiado).

Most of the copies of Mudejar and Morisco Qur’ans that have reached us date from the sixteenth century, and constitute either a part or excerpt of the Qur’an or what is known in the scholarly literature since Eduardo Saavedra as “abridged Qur’ans”. More recently, Nuria de Castilla has called the standard selection of chapters and verses “the Morisco Qur’an”.[11] In fact, it is remarkable that there is only one complete Qur’an translated during the Mudejar-Morisco period that has reached us, the already mentioned BCLM MS 235 (known as the Toledo Qur’an), copied in 1606 in Castilian language and Latin script from a copy written in Aljamiado.[12] We have two copies made outside the Peninsula in Salonica (Thessaloniki), where there was an important community of Iberian exiles, Moriscos and Sephardic Jews. One of the Thessaloniki Qur’ans was translated by the Aragonese Ybrahim Izquierdo in 1568; it contains an interlinear translation in Arabic and Castilian, and is held at the Bibliothèque nationale de France where it was donated by the French Orientalist Antoine Galland. The other was made by Muhamad Rabadan in 1612, also in Salonica, and is written in Aljamiado. Both are abridged or abbreviated Qur’ans, of which we have nearly thirty examples. These consisted of a selection, always the same, of the chapters and verses most recited in daily prayer, generally arranged by the length of the suras, the longest suras selected first. The chapter by Adrián Rodríguez Iglesias is dedicated to these manuscripts and their typologies. We have also another type of abridged Qur’an in Arabic, organized in reverse order, which seems to have been used for learning the book by heart. Adrián Rodríguez and Pablo Roza Candás devote a chapter to this newly discovered reverse-order Qur’an and to the role of memory and memorizing in the religious life of Mudejars and Moriscos. The copies they study have all been found in the Aragonese village of Calanda, where, as they demonstrate, a school of copyists existed. In his other chapter

11 Eduardo Saavedra Moragas, “Discurso que el Excmo sr. Don Eduardo Saavedra leyó en Junta pública de la Real Academia Española el día 29 de diciembre de 1878 al tomar posesión de su plaza de académico de número,” *Memorias de la Real Academia española* 6 (1889); Nuria Martínez-de-Castilla-Muñoz, “Qur’anic Manuscripts from Late Muslim Spain: The Collection of Almonacid de La Sierra,” *Journal of Qur’anic Studies* 16, no. 2 (2014).

12 Edited and studied by Consuelo López-Morillas, *El Corán de Toledo. Edición y estudio del manuscrito 235 de la Biblioteca de Castilla-La Mancha* (Gijón: Trea, 2011).

Pablo Roza Candás offers an overview of dialectal and lexical variations in different Morisco translations of the Qur'an and links these variations to the sociocultural contexts in which they arose, mainly in Aragon. Considering the Qur'an of Salonica translated by Izquierdo (who was a member of a well-known Aragonese family), and analyzing its linguistic features that he also finds in Sephardic works from the same Greek locality, Roza suggests a fascinating world of relations and contacts between different Hispanic minorities in Iberia and, most importantly, in exile around the Mediterranean.

According to the contributions in this section, the typical Spanish Qur'an made by and for Iberian Muslims is found in anonymous sixteenth-century manuscripts, but these translations appear to be copies of versions made earlier. What were the originals, and who made them? When was the Qur'an first translated in Spanish? Most of these questions remain unanswered. The chapters in this section demonstrate that Mudejars and then Moriscos read, copied and preserved more than one version of the Qur'an in Spanish. The genetic or genealogical relationships that may exist among surviving versions of the Spanish Qur'an are of the utmost interest and, though scrutinized here, remain in need of further study. As for who made them, the clear protagonists of this section of the book are the so-called *alfaquíes* (from Arabic *al-faqīh*), important figures in their communities, respected persons with religious knowledge: the "guardians of Islam", who had preserved a tradition of Quranic learning and exegesis.[13] The role of the *alfaquíes* in the Christian territories of Castile and Aragon cannot be overestimated, nor can the contacts among them and the networks they established. They played a central role, for example, in reading the Qur'an to their communities and explaining it in the vernacular. The aurality of the Qur'an is important and worth taking into account. Inquisition trials testify to the *alfaquíes'* activity of reading and commenting on the Qur'an to their flocks (García-Arenal), and Christian polemicists knew very well the importance of hearing the Qur'an read aloud. This fact is attested in the chapters contained in the third part of this book, dedicated to the Romance translations made by Christians during this same period of the sixteenth-seventeenth centuries, and in particular the genre known today as *Antialcoranes* (even though in reality only one of these treatises, that by the Erasmian scholar Bernardo Pérez de Chinchón, bore the title *Antialcorano*).

Despite firm evidence of Romance translations of the Qur'an among Christians in the late fourteenth to mid-fifteenth centuries, the earliest surviving trans-

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13 Kathryn A. Miller, *Guardians of Islam: Religious Authority and Muslim Communities of Late Medieval Spain* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2008).

lations of the Qur'an into Romance are those circulating among Mudejar and Morisco populations. Bridging the gap between these two separate streams of Romance translations, the Christian and the Muslim, is the figure of Juan Andrés, the converted *alfaquí* who worked in the service of preaching against Islam as part of the Christian missionizing effort of the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries.

The third part of the book focuses on these sixteenth century translations. Between 1502, when Isabel of Castile banned the Islamic religion in her kingdom, and 1526, when her grandson King Carlos V imposed a similar decree in Aragon, various authors wrote polemical works and sermons aimed at the evangelisation of the forcibly converted Muslim populations. There was a messianic idea that this conversion, which would become universal under the aegis of Fernando and Carlos (both of whom bore the title "King of Jerusalem"), would be completed in about two generations.[14] The authors and patrons of those polemical works, the object of our third section, believed that would be so. Those works were particularly aimed at refuting the Qur'an; or, in other words, at basing their refutation of Islam solely on the Qur'an. Their precedent can be considered the Spanish translation of the work by Riccoldo da Monte di Croce titled *Refutación del Alcorán*, printed in Seville in 1502 under the auspices of Archbishop Hernando de Talavera of Granada. The Latin edition of this same book had also been printed in Seville two years earlier financed by King Fernando of Aragon. We can see different strategies of conversion patronized by Castile and Aragon (as considered here by Scotto, Bernabé Pons, and Tottoli), still to be elucidated. It was not Talavera (though he was invested in using Arabic for missionary endeavours) who was directly involved in the promotion of works on the Qur'an, but another bishop also confessor to Queen Isabel, Martín García.[15] Most of the authors of the *Antialcoranes* were connected to this Martín García —canon at the Zaragozan see, inquisitor in Aragon, later bishop of Barcelona— who had been asked by the Catholic Monarchs to come to Granada to begin missionizing and pastoral work there soon after the conquest of the city.

14 Mercedes García-Arenal and Yonatan Glazer-Eytan, eds., *Forced Conversion in Christianity, Judaism and Islam: Coercion and Faith in Premodern Iberia and beyond* (Leiden: Brill, 2019); García-Arenal and Stefania Pastore, eds., *Visiones imperiales y profecía. Roma, España, Nuevo Mundo* (Madrid: Abada, 2018).

15 Mònica Colominas Aparicio, "Profecía, conversión y polémica islamo-cristiana en la Iberia alto-moderna (siglo XV): Alfonso de Jaén y el círculo del obispo Don Martín García," in *Visiones imperiales y profecía. Roma, España, Nuevo Mundo*, ed. Mercedes García-Arenal and Stefania Pastore (Madrid: Abada, 2018).

García gathered a group of people who became engaged in campaigns for converting Muslims in Granada, Valencia and Aragon, and who were writing treatises between 1515 and 1555: Juan Andrés, Bernardo Pérez de Chinchón, Lope de Obregón, Martí de Figuerola. In a limited span of time a considerable number of works came into being. The writings of Martín García, particularly his sermons, and those of his group of collaborators were constructed according to the same principles, using direct dialogues which question Muslims ("próximo mío de Moro", something like "my dear fellow" or "my good neighbour"), and refer solely to Muslim sources. In reality, of course, the underlying discourse was a Christian polemical one, deeply but not exclusively immersed in the medieval tradition. This was the strategy of the aforementioned work by Riccoldo da Monte di Croce, which had a wide diffusion in its Castilian translation. But the authors of *Antialcoranes* plunged also into different medieval traditions, as Luis Bernabé Pons, scrutinizing the work of Joan Martí de Figuerola, shows, especially regarding the influence of Ramon Llull. Direct access to the Scriptures was for this group of scholars, much immersed in Erasmianism, an important principle. Bernardo Pérez de Chinchón's work, in particular, was not only directed against Islam but also aimed to spread Erasmian ideas at a time when those ideas were already controversial.

All the *Antialcoranes* contain numerous qur'anic quotations which are recorded in Arabic transcribed into the Latin alphabet (i. e., in inverse Aljamía), accompanied by a Spanish translation and the pertinent exegesis provided by the authors of tafsir. Ryan Szpiech explores the role of transliteration in Martín García's work in comparison with later writers of the *Antialcoranes* genre — from Juan Andrés and Martí de Figuerola to Bernardo Pérez de Chinchón and Lope de Obregón. Because those works cultivate a dual focus on language and doctrine that combines attention to the Arabic language with discussion of the qur'anic content, Szpiech explores the question of what role the ability to read Arabic —either silently or aloud— played in the missionary campaign of García and his circle. He argues that written transliteration plays a valuable role in highlighting the place of oral presentation of the Qur'an in campaigns of preaching to Muslims and Moriscos from Granada to Valencia. Whereas earlier polemical writers sought authority in the presentation and translation of content from the Qur'an, authors of the *Antialcoranes* also used transliteration as a rhetorical tool to appeal to listeners through the sound of their Arabic sources. In so doing they were counting on the oral modality of Muslim engagement with the text. Ryan Szpiech demonstrates that Martín García was not consulting a written Qur'an to make his transliterations, but was instead relying on oral information from a Muslim or former Muslim who knew the material by heart. This interpretation reinforces what Roza Candás and Rodríguez Iglesias explored in

the previous section of this book: the immense role of memorisation and orality in Morisco Islam. Also transversal to both these sections of the book is the question of transliteration: Romance in Arabic letters by the Muslims, Arabic in Latin letters by the Christians. Szpiech calls this second form of transliterating, or inverse Aljamiado, "Anti-aljamiado". He uses this term to stress that transliteration is not a neutral or transparent action, and to propose that in his view, putting the Qur'an into Latin letters in this sixteenth-century Iberian context is inherently a polemical gesture. The question of transliteration is, no doubt, in need of being explored further. It is obvious that in this context changing alphabets is not neutral, but rather a tool of identity formation or of undermining identity formation. Szpiech's suggestion that one community transliterates in order to express and defend identity, while the other employs transliteration to undermine that identity formation, deserves further exploration.

The first work in the series of what have come to be known as *Antialcoranes* is *Confusión o confutación de la secta Mahomética y del Alcorán* ("Confusion or Confutation of the Muḥammadan Sect and of the Qur'an"), published in 1515 in Valencia and attributed to Juan Andrés, allegedly a faqih from Xàtiva who had converted to Christianity. Juan Andrés, in the preface to his *Confusión*, claims to have converted to Catholicism in 1487 and to have preached to his former co-religionists in both Valencia and Granada, where he was a canon of its cathedral. He further states in the preface that in about 1510 he translated the Qur'an and the the Sunna. This project was undertaken at the behest of Martín García. Juan Andrés was familiar with exegetical works, quoting freely from those of al-Zamakhsharī and Ibn ʿAṭiyya and citing Ibn Abī Zamanīn, who was known to the Moriscos (see Tottoli and Sellin).

Six years later, and before the Aragonese decree of conversion, Joan Martí de Figuerola, a priest who was also from a nearby region of Valencia and also worked under the auspices of Martín García, finished his *Lumbre de fe contra el Alcorán* ("Fire/Light of Faith against the Qur'an"), which presents a similar exposition against the Qur'an. Both authors include hundreds of qur'anic passages in their works, quoting the Qur'an in Arabic in phonological transcription and in Spanish translation, and referring to tafsir authorities to explain each passage. Figuerola, whose work is extant in only one manuscript and has not yet been printed, also includes illustrations as well as the Arabic text of his citations written out in Arabic script. Martí de Figuerola does not use Juan Andrés's translation, but prefers to rely on sources from the Islamic tradition provided to him by Juan Gabriel, a recently converted *alfaquí* from Teruel, who translated parts of the Qur'an for him and accompanied him on his campaigns. The abundant Arabic passages found in the *Antialcorán* literature deserve to be studied, not only in the context of the history of polemical writing against Muslims, but also as an

important source informing the translation of the Qur'an in the Early Modern period. Contributors to this section include Roberto Tottoli, who offers the first detailed and complete study of the Arabic quotations in Figuerola. In this regard an important intermediate source is the Qur'an of the Italian Cardinal Egidio da Viterbo, again a Latin translation.

We need to refer in more detail to the qur'anic project of Egidio da Viterbo, since the contributions by Katarzyna K. Starczewska and Maxime Sellin are connected to it. As Starczewska's contribution tells us, the original of his Latin translation is lost. What we have is a copy of the original (then at the Royal Library at El Escorial and probably lost in the fire of 1671) made in 1621 by the Scottish Orientalist David Colville, who for many years worked, as Germanus de Silesia did, in that library. In a three-page preface to his copy, Colville provides information about the context of the translation and about the people intellectually involved in its preparation. Colville mentions three individuals: Cardinal Egidio da Viterbo himself, Juan Gabriel of Teruel (Ioannes Gabriel Terrolensis) and al-Ḥassan al-Wazzān or Leo Africanus, famous for his work *Della Descrittione dell'Africa*. Leo Africanus had been captured at sea in 1518 and converted under the patronage of Egidio da Viterbo.

The sequence of work on the text, as explained by Colville, was that Egidio da Viterbo first commissioned Juan Gabriel to translate the Qur'an, but that translation was later corrected by Leo Africanus. Colville, when copying the translation, maintains all the versions. Thus Colville's manuscript contains a translation from Arabic into Latin, which had been commissioned by an Italian cardinal from a scholar of Spanish Muslim origin, who in turn lived in the Iberian Peninsula. The same text was then edited and reworked by another convert from Islam to Christianity, Leo Africanus, also of Muslim Iberian (Granadan) stock, who lived in Italy.

Martí de Figuerola also describes in detail how he worked together with Juan Gabriel and, again, how they had recourse to Hadith and the Sira of Muḥammad. Figuerola was also involved in trying to convince the authorities in Aragon, as well as the Pope, to decree the conversion of the Muslims of Aragon. To this end he went to meet the new papal legate, the very same cardinal Egidio da Viterbo, when Egidio arrived in Barcelona in June 1518 together with Adrian of Utrecht. The role of Adrian (1459 – 1523) in Habsburg politics towards the Mudejars is still to be considered further. Adrian was a mentor of Carlos, who was about to inherit the Hispanic Monarchy and become the Emperor. Carlos brought Adrian of Utrecht with him from the Low Countries when he came to Spain at the time of the death of his grandfather Fernando. Carlos made Adrian cardinal of Tortosa, General Inquisitor of Aragon, and elected papal legate and sent him in 1516 to Cardenal Cisneros, who for a short time was the regent of the Kingdom.

Adrian also accompanied Carlos to Zaragoza where he was recognized as king by the Aragonese Cortes in 1618 and where he apparently met Joan Martí de Figuerola. Shortly afterwards Adrian was elected Pope by the Roman Curia. When Adrian of Utrecht was elected pope as Adrian VI, he happened to be in Vitoria; he departed for Barcelona, from where he planned to set sail for Rome. He was accompanied by Cardinal Egidio. In passing through Aragon he remained in Zaragoza for two months and so, in 1522, Zaragoza briefly became a pontifical court. This interlude shows the context of the intertwined, complex and not always harmonious relations of the Crowns of Aragon and Castile with Rome as regarding the conversion of Mudejars and later the Expulsion of Moriscos.[16] We have already referred to this fact when Fernando and Isabel adopted different strategies of conversion. The Catholic Monarchs were united in a single new polity, and also shared a vision of religious uniformity. But the limits of obedience to royal authority, and the relationship of that authority to the Papacy, were also in play. We want merely to sketch here a set of problems which are the context to the different trends and directions that the conversion and evangelization of the Moriscos happened to undergo through the first part of the sixteenth century. Cardinal Egidio was part of the papal retinue. While in Spain, Egidio commissioned a translation of the Qur'an and also other works, as Starczewska explains in her contribution.

The last chapter of this section, by Maxime Sellin, is dedicated to a manuscript of the Qur'an which can be connected to the purchases of Egidio. It is the so-called Qur'an of Bellús, Bellús being a village near Valencia where it was copied in 1518, precisely the year in which Egidio was in Spain. The manuscript has interlinear translations and glosses in Latin, Castilian and Catalan, demonstrating that the Bellús Qur'an came into the hands of Christian scholars who wanted to use it as a tool for studying Islam's sacred book. The Bellús Qur'an is another important testimony we have about the process of collective and individual study of the text of the Qur'an: it preserves traces of all the phases and figures involved in this process, from the initial work of the Muslim scribe who produced a careful professional copy, to the insertion of explanatory glosses in the margins and the marking up of parts of the text that were considered of interest and that would later be used in sermons and different kinds of works written with the goal of converting Muslims. This copy of the Qur'an, during its circulation outside of Spain, appears in Egidio da Viterbo's intellectual circle. All evidence points to its ownership by the Orientalist Johann Albrecht von Wid-

16 Mercedes García-Arenal and Gerard A. Wiegers, eds., *The Expulsion of the Moriscos from Spain: A Mediterranean Diaspora* (Leiden: Brill, 2014).

manstetter (1557) of Heidelberg, who would have acquired it from the library of Egidio da Viterbo following the latter's death.[17] Therefore we can infer that this copy was used in the preparatory work for the translation commissioned by Cardinal Egidio. We can see through the example of Egidio how interest in Morisco knowledge arose in Italy: not only because of the collaboration of an Aragonese Mudejar in the ambitious intellectual endeavours of an Italian cardinal, but also because Martí de Figuerola's work was brought to Italy (and copied there), together with a number of Aljamiado and Morisco Arabic manuscripts, by another papal legate, Cardinal Camillo Massimo.[18]

The stories of Egidio and many others before him (from Robert of Ketton to Juan de Segovia) prove that, in order to understand the Qur'an at a time when dictionaries and grammars were lacking, it was necessary to have the collaboration of a Muslim or a convert. And those were generally *alfaquíes*, the persons who had an education in qur'anic and religious sources. The collaboration of Muslim *alfaquíes*, converted or not, was fundamental to the enterprise of the *Antialcoranes*. We have seen that Juan Andrés was a convert, and Bernardo Pérez de Chinchón, the author of the extensive and elaborate *Antialcorano* written around 1528, worked, as he himself says, on the Qur'an with *alfaquíes* in Valencia like the qadi of Valencia (whom he calls Moscayre or Mangay) and the *alfaquí* of Zumilla. Martí de Figuerola had collaborated with the converted *alfaquí* of Teruel. At the same time, as Ryan Szpiech shows in his contribution, the authors of the *Antialcoranes*, with their strategy of exhibiting the text and orality of the Qur'an to reinforce their authority, were probably targeting the *alfaquíes* they were addressing; it is through them that they sought to implement conversion. All evidence indicates that the authors of *Antialcoranes* considered *alfaquíes* as a group to be the best intermediaries through which to convert their communities, and the ones most susceptible to following and understanding their theological messages. This is not to say that we want to use the concept of "reception" in the sense that it may suggest some sort of homogenous intellectual entities in the engagement with Islam. In fact, the different types of Qur'an translations made in sixteenth-century Spain show how different registers of discourse could be employed for different audiences. For example, the authors of the *Antialcoranes* do not all use the same translation of the Qur'an, and they use qur'anic material in a different manner. They were probably consulting different works of tafsir. While Juan Gabriel's translation is almost certainly based on a previous Romance version, it is Juan

17 See Robert Jones, *Learning Arabic in Renaissance Europe (1505–1624)* (Leiden: Brill, 2020).
18 Mercedes García-Arenal, "The Double Polemic of Martín de Figuerola's *Lumbre de fe contra el Alcorán* (1519)," in *Polemical Encounters*; and García-Arenal and Fernando Rodríguez Mediano, "Los libros de los moriscos y los eruditos orientales," *Al-Qanṭara* 31, no. 2 (2010).

Andrés's *Confusión* that offers transliterations and translations of Arabic material to a vast group of polemical writers. All the *Antialcoranes* of the sixteenth century, including those that do not include Arabic text, recognize Juan Andrés as a foundational source. A comparison of Juan's treatment of Arabic with that of subsequent Christian authors —in particular Martí de Figuerola and Lope de Obregón— shows that the *Antialcoranes* make use of Juan Andrés's text in divergent ways. It is more productive, we suggest, to think in terms of clusters of people or networks within which individual texts circulated, and particular contexts in which these texts were then assigned meaning.

Coming back to García-Arenal's contribution at the end of the second part, we perceive that around the 1530s the whole perception in Catholic Spain of the evangelization of Muslims varied dramatically. In that decade there was a strong shift in the means of achieving conversion. After the demise of the Erasmian Grand Inquisitor Manrique in 1533 and the work of the council of Trent in the 1540s, a significant ideological change took place in Iberian Christendom that among other things, curtailed the direct access of believers to sacred texts, including the Bible, whose Romance translations had been shun from the times of the Catholic Monarchs. Now it was considered dangerous to be using and publishing so much information about Islam that the Moriscos could easily access it and learn from it about their own religion and Holy Book. It was even recommended that accusations of the culprits appearing in the Inquisition's *autos da fe* not specify what the person punished had done, and what were his or her rituals and beliefs.[19] The Arabic language was now totally identified with Islam.[20] It seemed that conversion was not possible through the means of persuasion considered by Hernando de Talavera, Martín García and their followers a few decades before.

With the Inquisition's harsher attitude towards converted Muslims came a pessimistic feeling regarding what was felt as a failure in their conversion.[21] Involvement with the Qur'an, whether by Muslims or Christians, was considered dangerous, and the *Antialcoranes* contained so much qur'anic material that they could

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19 Mercedes García-Arenal, "Reading Against the Grain, Readings of Substitution: Catholic Books as Inspiration for Judaism in Early Modern Iberia," *Jewish History* 35 (2021).

20 Mercedes García-Arenal, *Is Arabic a Spanish Language? The Uses of Arabic in Early Modern Spain*, The James K. Binder Lectureship in Literature 10 (La Jolla: University of California, San Diego, 2015); García-Arenal, "The Religious Identity of the Arabic Language and the Affair of the Lead Books of Granada," *Arabica* 56 (2009).

21 Mercedes García-Arenal, "'Mi padre moro, yo moro': The Inheritance of Belief in Early Modern Iberia," in *After Conversion: Iberia and the Emergence of Modernity*, ed. M. García-Arenal (Leiden: Brill, 2016).

be (and in fact were) used by some Muslims who had little access to the Qur'an or difficulty in understanding it in Arabic. Therefore, the *Antialcoranes* were banned and listed in the *Indexes* of forbidden books from 1559 onwards. The Bible in Romance translation appears in this same *Index* of 1559 as well. The possession of Arabic Qur'ans became dangerous for Christian bibliophiles and collectors as well, as García-Arenal also shows. But this position, which came to predominate and had important consequences, was not homogeneous, but full of contradictions. One contradiction was that Felipe II, the king who had forbidden Arabic, was at the same time forming an impressive collection of Arabic manuscripts in his Royal Library, which even today is one of the most important repositories of Arabic works in Europe. Felipe II began by depositing the collections of Juan Páez de Castro and Diego Hurtado de Mendoza; the latter had brought from Italy an important collection of Arabic manuscripts that he had acquired through his friendship with the exiled Hafsid prince Muley Hassan.[22] An ambiguous attitude towards Arabic books appears in many individual stories: the Flemish humanist Nicolaus Cleynaerts, in his letters directed to colleagues back in Louvain, relates that in the 1530s Francisco de Vitoria, a professor at Salamanca, had asked him to translate the Qur'an into Latin as the sole means of converting the Moriscos. But Cleynaerts, who went after Salamanca to Seville and Granada, even with the help of the Governor of this city, Luis de Mendoza, and of the bishop of Burgos (who was in Granada in 1537 for the burial of Empress Isabel of Portugal) was not able to obtain from the Inquisition Arabic books that the Holy Office had confiscated. The difficulty of accessing Qur'ans and Qur'an translations enhanced still more the usefulness of the *Antialcoranes*. We know that Moriscos bought them and used them as an aid to reading the Arabic Qur'an. In 1510 Hernando Colón, son of Christopher Columbus, who had collected an immense library, bought a rich and beautifully decorated Qur'an that he describes in his catalogue. The same catalogue entry includes Riccoldo da Monte di Croce's *Refutación del Alcorán* which Colón, who knew very little Arabic, probably used to guide himself through the qur'anic text. Even King Felipe II bought a copy of an *Antialcorán* in Valencia in 1541.[23]

Felipe II's enforcement of the prohibition of the Arabic language and texts throughout the Peninsula in 1567 effectively ended the growth of the *Antialcorán*

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22 Javier Castillo-Fernández, "Hurtado de Mendoza: humanista, arabista e historiador," *El Fingidor* 21 (2004). Braulio Justel Calabozo, *La Real Biblioteca de El Escorial y sus manuscritos árabes. Sinopsis histórico-descriptiva* (Madrid: Instituto Hispano-Arabe de Cultura, 1987); Daniel Hershenzon, "Traveling Libraries: The Arabic Manuscripts of Muley Zidan and the Escorial Library," *Journal of Early Modern History* 18, no. 6 (2014).

23 José Luis Gonzalo Sánchez-Molero, *Felipe II. La educación de un 'felicísimo príncipe' (1527–1545)* (Madrid: Polifemo, 2013), 671.

genre and altered the strategies for evangelising Moriscos in the mid-sixteenth century. It also ended the study of the Qur'an in Iberia. Nonetheless, the material organised and employed in the *Antialcoranes* provided a basis for subsequent discussions of and attacks on Islam outside the Peninsula. Arguments similar to those of the authors of *Antialcoranes* can be found repeated in later writers such as Tirso González de Santalla, Manuel Sanz, and Ludovico Marracci in the seventeenth century, and Manuel de Santo Tomás de Aquino Traggia in the eighteenth. Juan Andrés was a pioneer in the writing of anti-Muslim polemic, and his book marks a number of important firsts in the European encounter with Islam. Juan Andrés's work was extremely influential, in both Spain and Europe: it was printed in Spain in 1515, 1519, 1537, and 1560. The first translation into Italian appeared in Venice in 1537, and another five editions followed, also in Venice, up to 1597. There was one translation into French (1574) and two into German (printed in 1598 and 1685), three editions of the Latin translation, one into English, and one into Dutch (1651). The work was forbidden in Spain by the *Index* of 1559. As has been said, other *Antialcoranes* suffered the same fate.

The fourth part of the book focuses on modern times. There is no doubt that the action of the Inquisition curtailed further attempts at knowing, possessing or translating the Qur'an. A couple of centuries later it had to be "rediscovered" in Spain, but the translations made then were translations from the French, as the contributions by Juan Pablo Arias, and Fernando Rodríguez Mediano and Isabel Boyano show. This second contribution unearths a hitherto unknown nineteenth-century manuscript translation in verse made by Filiberto Portillo in 1850 for Queen Isabel II. In this translation we perceive the traces of a new European phenomenon: toward the end of the eighteenth century Europeans began to view the Qur'an in a new light, as a masterpiece of world literature and a reflection of poetic genius. New translations sought to capture this genius. Already in the late eighteenth century there were attempts to convey the poetry of the Qur'an in new European translations, as part of a broader exploration of Islamic art and culture. An exploration that would continue until the Romantic period, whose relationship with Eastern cultures would give new meaning to the very concept of "Orientalism", just when colonial expansion was producing a radical change in the world political and cultural order. Here again Spain forms a contrast with the rest of Europe. Spanish Romanticism interrogates the role of Spain's Arabic past in its national identity, but at the same time, since Spain occupies a second rank among the European powers, Spanish culture depends strongly on that of other countries, France in particular. We have observed that some Qur'an translations studied here are essentially indirect versions made from French. Spain's unique role in the nineteenth century, at once

obsessed with its Arab past and strongly Gallicised (*afrancesado*), also explains the singular character of Spanish Africanism and the country's small but intense colonial venture in North Africa—essential for understanding Spain's history in the twentieth century.

While the Moriscos were producing their Qur'an, at the other side of the globe the "Moros" of the Hispanic Philippines were producing their own translations, which depended in this case on Malay exegetical writing in Jawi, another form of Aljamiado.[24] At the end of the nineteenth century the situation was very different, and Jesuits in the Philippines wrote qur'anic suras, including Spanish translations in both Latin and Jawi script, into their texts dedicated to the instruction of Moros.

This book contains much that is new and suggests that connections between Muslim and Christian translations of the Qur'an are of great interest. The enormous holdings of archival documents extant in Christian Spain allow us to know a great deal about Iberian Islam, in a way that stresses its unique character. Inquisition sources, though biased, shed light on these lived religious practices. Christian Iberia offers insight into an Islam that is in a sense devoid of the Islamic authority structures that support most of the Islamicate world. At the same time, the study of the Christian Qur'an allows us to delve further into the debates and different phases of conversion and mission, and how these debates are bound up with issues of governance and the nature of royal authority. Also on display are the tensions between the two Crowns (of Castile and Aragon), relations with Rome, and the relationship of the Catholic Monarchs to the Spanish Arabo-Islamic past.

Another important contribution of this book is that it unveils a number of aspects that appear in need of further or deeper consideration, including the unearthing of new materials. We see new materials in several contributions to this volume, such as those of Adrián Rodríguez Iglesias and Pablo Roza Candás, Fernando Rodríguez Mediano and Isabel Boyano, and Isaac Donoso. The work carried out and now in progress by the EuQu team for its Data Base is constantly incorporating new findings.

With what we already have, among the issues that appear most promising for further research are the relationship between translations and missionizing, notions of alteration of texts (taḥrīf) and exegesis (tafsir), and the relationship between translation and defining the religious contours of the community that produces it. Also ripe for exploration are the interactions between patrons and

24 Sibgatullina and Wiegers, "Aljamiado" in *Encyclopaedia of Islam, THREE* (forthcoming).

(convert) translators across religious boundaries, including concepts of language, subjecthood and orthodoxy.

Is there a relation or an overlap between the qur'anic translations made by Muslims for Muslim use, and the qur'anic translations made by Christians for their mission of conversion to Christianity? Does the fact that Muslims and converts from Islam collaborated with Christians in these translations produce similarities between the two, or do Christians draw on translations made by Muslims? As we have seen, Morisco translations incorporate exegesis and shun literal translation. But the selection of qur'anic material differs: the suras selected in the abridged Qur'ans and the suras chosen by the authors of *Antialcoranes* rarely coincide. *Antialcoranes* selected qur'anic material on matters shared with Christianity, such as Jesus or the Virgin Mary, or on contradictions between different suras, or narratives that Christians considered unbelievable. The abridged Qur'ans have a different function: they provide prayers, and specially funerary prayers, selected to counteract the fact that Moriscos are living in a Christian society, they live their religion in clandestinity and are obliged to comply with Christian ritual. These abridged Qur'ans are a stronghold of Muslim identity. What can be learned, then, from the fact that they are contemporary in time and made by almost the same kind of people? Given how few texts and translations are extant, and what limited circulation they had, special scholarly efforts should be made to reconstruct their circulation and shared production between Christians and Muslims. This pursuit would reveal exciting episodes and entanglements across time and space (such as the Figuerola-Juan Gabriel-Egidio da Viterbo nexus that we have considered), and would be much more instructive methodologically than mere surveys or even analyses of tropes in themselves.

On a different note, some of these chapters inspire the need to enrich our discussion of censorship, authorship and dissimulation in Early Modern Europe, including challenging questions about co-authorship, reciprocity and power dynamics, since collaboration between members of opposing religious communities was often based on the subordination of one of the two subjects involved.

Material and linguistic aspects of the texts will also be in need of further development: for example, the questions produced by the existence of multialphabetism and interlinearity, multilingualism and multiple authorship. The process of the shaping of a language by the alphabet of another is still in need of further scrutiny, and we have added in this volume the very interesting case of the Aljamiado Philippine Qur'ans. We also need to continue our exploration of the impact of the translation of holy texts on the construction and definition of new vernaculars.

Other aspects to be considered are the collection and circulation of Arabic manuscripts among Christian scholars and bibliophiles, the potential prestige

as well as the risks for their owners in a country in which Arabic is necessary—these pursuits were prestigious but also dangerous. Arabic books were simultaneously collected and prized, but also persecuted, censored and destroyed. Qur'an manuscripts held religious (including talismanic) value for Muslims, of course, but also for Christian collectors: for noblemen and kings, and as prestigious gifts in diplomatic missions. Another whole new volume of essays begs to be written on the noble and royal libraries of Spain, Italy, the Low Countries, Germany and England and their Arabic collections, most especially the Royal Library of El Escorial.

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