Marcos Dobelio’s Polemics against the Authenticity of the Granadan Lead Books in Light of the Original Arabic Sources

van Koningsveld, P.S.; Wiegers, G.

Publication date
2019

Document Version
Final published version

Published in
Polemical Encounters

License
Article 25fa Dutch Copyright Act

Citation for published version (APA):

General rights
It is not permitted to download or to forward/distribute the text or part of it without the consent of the author(s) and/or copyright holder(s), other than for strictly personal, individual use, unless the work is under an open content license (like Creative Commons).

Disclaimer/Complaints regulations
If you believe that digital publication of certain material infringes any of your rights or (privacy) interests, please let the Library know, stating your reasons. In case of a legitimate complaint, the Library will make the material inaccessible and/or remove it from the website. Please Ask the Library: https://uba.uva.nl/en/contact, or a letter to: Library of the University of Amsterdam, Secretariat, Singel 425, 1012 WP Amsterdam, The Netherlands. You will be contacted as soon as possible.

UvA-DARE is a service provided by the library of the University of Amsterdam (https://dare.uva.nl)

Download date: 11 Oct 2022
The Iberian Peninsula has historically been an area of the world that fostered encounters and exchanges among peoples from different societies. For centuries, Iberia acted as a nexus for the circulation of ideas, people, objects, and technology around the premodern western Mediterranean, Atlantic, and eventually the Pacific. Iberian Encounter and Exchange, 475-1755 combines a broad thematic scope with the territorial limits of the Iberian Peninsula and its global contacts. In doing so, works in this series will juxtapose previously disparate areas of study and challenge scholars to rethink the role of encounter and exchange in the formation of the modern world.
We used the 2011 edition of Pascual, Señora mahometana, edited by Fernando González Muñoz. For further information about the purpose and style of the Antialcorano tradition, see Bunes Ibarra, "Enfrentamiento con el Islam." Interián de Ayala, Pintor cristiano y erudito. See also Angüich Gutiérrez, "Pintor cristiano y erudito." BNE MSS 8394, Pragmata historicas. In addition to Tirso de Molina’s work, I have looked at BNE MSS 4159, Felipe Colomos, Historia general de la real y militar Orden de Nuestra Señora de la Merced Redencion de cautivos, desde su milagrosa fundacion hasta nuestros dias (this was written in the second half of the sixteenth century, but the copy I consulted is from the eighteenth century); San Cecilio, Anales de la Orden de Descalzos; Torres, Regula et constitutiones; Zumel, Regula et constitutiones. Tirso de Molina explained how several Mercedarian friars were students of Jesuit schools and even how they had interesting discussions with Borgia about the conversion of Moriscos. See Tellez, Historia General, 471. Some of these relationships were studied in Taylor, Structure of Reform, 420. For a stylistic and formalist analysis, see Benito Goerlich, "Pintura recuperada"; and Benito Goerlich, "Vision de San Pedro Pascual," 2:30-31. Callado Enríquez, "Dia Pulcra et amia reus," For a complete analysis of Mercedarian iconography, see Zuriaga, Imagen devocional. García Gutiérrez, Iconografía mercedaria, 78-79. Interián de Ayala, Pintor cristiano y erudito, 419. For further information about other representations of this saint, see Mateu Ibars, "San Pedro Pascual." Burke, "How to Become a Counter-Reformation Saint," in Burke, Historical Anthropology. Feros Carrasco, "Retóricas de la Expulsión." Here I am following Ringbom’s ideas about the materialization of mental images and concepts in works of art in the medieval world. See Ringbom, "Devotional Images," and Ringbom, Images des dévotion.

Marcos Dobelio’s polemics against the authenticity of the Granadan Lead Books in light of the original Arabic Sources

Pieter Sjoerd van Koningsveld and Gerard Wiegers

Introduction

The Granadan Lead Books affair presents us with an excellent case study of a polemical debate about the relations between Islam and Christianity in Europe and North Africa. This interesting episode began in 1588 when, during the demolition of a tower located in the center of Granada, relics and a parchment were discovered. The Parchment contained prophetical texts in Arabic, Spanish, and Latin, the contents of which proved to be controversial. The tower in which these materials were found was allegedly of Roman origin and had been the minaret of the Grand Mosque in Muslim times. Beginning in 1595, the so-called Lead Books were discovered on the slopes of the Valparaiso hillock, which is known today as Sacromonte. The Parchment and Lead Books, which contain Arabic texts, describe the life and religious ideas of a group of Arabic-speaking Christians, who, in the company of the apostle St. James himself, lived in Granada in the first century CE and were martyred by the Romans. The Parchment describes a Granadan bishop, Cecilio, who committed to writing a prophecy of St. John about the end of time. This prophecy had allegedly been written by St. John in Hebrew and was translated into Greek and, for later generations, into Spanish, the language used in the Parchment, which also includes a commentary in Arabic.
that paraphrases the Spanish prophecy. The commentary states that its esoteric meaning would be explained by a servant of God at the end of time, "when the City of the Sea will be possessed by the Oriental." The document was to be hidden from the infidels—that is, the Moors (maur). The twenty-one Lead Books, which were discovered on the slopes of the Sacromonte between 1595 and 1599, refer back to the Parchment and the tower (the Lead Books refer to it as the Turpiana Tower) and present a collection of pseudo-Christian writings written by two Arabian brothers, one of them the aforementioned Cecilio. The brothers, who allegedly were miraculously cured by Jesus, present themselves as reliable witnesses of Jesus's life.

The Lead Books became the object of veneration, giving rise to pilgrimages and religious festivals, but opponents very soon claimed that they were Muslim forgeries and accused the Moriscos of concocting them. After a prolonged debate, they were sent to the Vatican in 1642 and examined there by committees of Arabists and theologians. In 1682, Pope Innocent XI condemned them for containing Muslim heresies. The Lead Books remained in the Vatican until they were returned by Pope John Paul II to Granada in 2000. The affair of the Parchment and the Lead Books has puzzled students of Spanish history and Muslim-Christian relations ever since they were discovered. In recent decades, the topic has generated a lot of scholarly interest. It was closely connected, for example, to the economic interests of Granada as a pilgrimage center, to its prestige as a sacred and historical site, and to the religious authority of the Granadan church and its archbishop.1

We will focus here on a particular case, the work and activities of Murqus al-Dubilib al-Kurdï (ca. 1572-1654), a man who in Spain became known as Marcos Dobelio. Unlike some of the Lead Books’ other early translators, Marcos Dobelio knew Arabic very well. He took part in the debates in Spain between about 1610 and 1638 in several ways. García-Arenal and Rodríguez Mediano consider his assessment to be one of the most important contributions to the debate about the Lead Books in Spain. In addition, his is an outright polemical contribution and one that is a straightforward attack on the authenticity of the Lead Books.

Probably an Eastern Christian of Kurdish origin who had lived for some time in Aleppo, Marcos Dobelio was well acquainted with both Eastern Christianity and Islamic thought and practice. In about 1597, he arrived in Rome, where he stayed in the neophytes’ college and also taught Arabic at the University of La Sapienza. In view of his excellent knowledge of the Qur’an and the Islamic tradition, we think it is very likely that he was a Muslim convert to Christianity. In October 1610, Dobelio traveled from Rome to Granada, having been summoned there by a committee assembled by King Philip III in 1609, which was presided over by the cardinal of Toledo,
review the case of the Lead Books and decide how to proceed with the evaluation process. In Granada, Dobelio had access to the original texts when he worked in the service of Archbishop Pedro de Castro. As mentioned before, Pedro de Castro was a staunch defender of the Parchment and Lead Books as orthodox, authentic early Christian documents. From 1595 onward, he tried to find translators who were not only capable of understanding and rendering the texts accurately but also inclined to interpret them in such a way that they confirmed his own views. The background of Dobelio's arrival in Spain seems to indicate, therefore, that it was not Castro who had requested him to come but rather circles in which there were critical voices who questioned the authenticity of these texts and advocated for the Vatican rather than the Spanish church or Castro himself to be responsible for their translation.

Dobelio's work on the Lead Books soon came to an end. After having translated the first two Lead Books that had been found, he informed Castro that he considered them to be forgeries. Castro broke with him. Needing money and increasingly frustrated, Dobelio apparently departed Granada in search of work. He tried to earn a living in the service of the Inquisition, teaching Arabic and studying, translating, and editing Arabic manuscripts and documents. García-Arenal and Rodríguez Mediano argue that Dobelio prepared several draft translations that he organized around the titles of some of the Lead Books he studied and commented upon in the years 1610-11. As we will see, on closer study, these drafts appear to date from a much later time, 1653, and do not include translations of several Lead Books but in fact only one, the Vita Jesus, Lead Book 7. We will return to this below.

On July 23, 1613, Dobelio wrote a letter in Arabic from Madrid to the great classical scholar Isaac Casaubon (1559-1614), in which he informs Casaubon about his services to the papal library and to the royal committee (for which, he tells him, a fee of six hundred escudos was promised) and tells him about the dramatic dénouement of his rift with Castro. He was considering going to England, where Casaubon lived at the time, but was still awaiting his payment. Dobelio never did end up going to England. In the following years, he apparently made a living by teaching Arabic to, among others, the Basque translator Francisco de Gurmendi, to whom we will return below. Dobelio possessed an important collection of Arabic manuscripts, so impressive that the Dutch Arabist Thomas Erpenius referred to it as one of the most important in Europe in his second inaugural lecture about the merits of the Arabic language, delivered in Leiden in 1624. Dobelio describes his private collection in a handlist, at the end of which is a short remark that he had left other manuscripts in Seville and Rome. The list may have been drawn up for the English Arabist Thomas Bedwell, as García-Arenal and Rodríguez Mediano maintain.

Dobelio's foremost contribution to the discussions about the Lead Books is the analysis he offers in his Nuevo descubrimiento de la falsedad del metal (The new unveiling of the falseness of metal), the introduction of which can be dated to 1638. In fact, this introduction is the only part of the work that is extant today, but it is a complete treatise in itself, and we do not know whether the author ever wrote any additional chapters. Of this text, the subject of the present chapter, at least three manuscripts are extant today. We are using here the manuscript at the Biblioteca de Castilla-La Mancha, Toledo.

In the following pages, we will first briefly discuss the sources of Dobelio's text, then discuss his analysis and compare his views to the original Arabic texts of the Lead Books, especially Kitäb mahbûsîn sayyidîn Ya'qûb wa ma`âjizihi wa-ummihi Maryam al-salîhâ al-walidah (Book of the Outstanding Qualities and Miracles of Our Lord Jesus and of His Mother the Holy Virgin Mary). Lead Book 7, henceforward referred to us as the Vita. We include an edition of the Arabic with an English translation of this hitherto unpublished and inaccessible text at the end of this chapter. In the third and fourth sections, we take a look at the broader perspective of the polemical debate about the Lead Books in Spain and in the Vatican and Dobelio's contribution to them. We will finish with some conclusions.

Sources of the Nuevo descubrimiento de la falsedad del metal

Dobelio bases his extensive analysis of the Lead Books mainly on three books—namely, (1) Kitäb qawwâl 'id al-dîn li-Tis'ûn ibn 'Antár, ilmîmî Tîs'ûn ("Book of the Fundamentals of Religion by Tis'ûn ibn 'Antár, a Disciple of James the Apostle"), or, as it was called in Latin on its now-lost cover, Liber Fundamenti Ecclesiae Salomonis characteribus scriptus (Lead Book no. 1 of the Sacromonte Abbey in Granada); (2) Kitäb li-Tis'ûn ibn 'Antár fî al-dhât al-karîmah ("Book by Tis'ûn ibn 'Antár about the Venerable Essence [hyp. of God]")], called, in Latin, Liber de essentia Dei (Lead Book no. 2); and
In his study of the Lead Books in the introduction to the *Nuevo Catéchismo Maior*, Marcos Dobelio presents useful drawings of some of the leaves, including their pictorial engravings. He also discusses at length a translation of another Lead Book, referred to by him as the *Oración y nómima de Jacob el Zebedeo el Apóstol*. This is in fact Lead Book number 3, entitled *Dua' wa-hira li-Ya'qób ibn Shamîkh al-Zabadîn al-hawari* (“Invocation and Armlet by the Apostle Ya'qüb ibn Shamîkh al-Zabaddîn”). In this case, his direct source was not his own work but a lecture about the Lead Books written by someone referred to as Morillo, who quoted a transcription made by Alonso del Castillo. The Morillo in question is probably Gregorio Morillo, a chaplain in the Collegiate Church of the Sacromonte and one of the defenders of the Lead Books. Alonso del Castillo (1525-1607) was one of the Granadan Morisco translators of the Lead Books and an official Arabic translator of the Qur’an, which he often cites in Arabic and apparently knew very well.

From the documents preserved in the Archive of the Sacromonte Abbey, it appears that in 1601, Dobelio transcribed parts of the Arabic texts of the Parchment and made attempts to translate them. We also find a sheet on which he wrote the first lines in Arabic of the *Gustachismo Mayor* (Arabic title: *Kitâb madnâyat al-hašra‘iyin*)—namely, Lead Book number 5. In conclusion, Dobelio’s work on the Lead Books and the Parchment is based partly on his own work on the original texts and partly on transcriptions and translations made by others. With regard to his most important source, the *Vita*, he had to rely on a translation only. But that was not all he had at his disposal.

Dobelio made extensive use of his wide readings in Islamic and Christian Arabic manuscripts in the Vatican Library, among them an Islamic version of the Psalms. He also refers to manuscripts kept in the library of the count of Humanes, Francisco de Eraso, and most important, to a collection of Andalusian Arabic manuscripts in the possession of the Inquisition that had been discovered in about 1622, hidden in a cave in or near the Castilian village of Pastrana. Pastrana had been a well-known center of Morisco economic, intellectual, and religious activity. Dobelio had probably come across the Pastrana manuscripts while he was in Madrid. He was asked by Don Pedro Pacheco of the Council of the Inquisition to make a selection of the best manuscripts among them for the library of the count-duke of Olivares. He refers, for example, to texts such as al-Qâṣîd’s *Kitâb al-shiff fi huṣayq al-Muṣannîb*, al-Bakrî’s very popular *Kitâb al-anwar*, and a magical text in which Solomon/Sulaymân plays an important role, *Kitâb al-arîr fi funun maḏhâhib al-asrâr wa-hum al-tayâlîq*. Dobelio also cites a Spanish polemical manuscript, the *Libro de la disputa contra los judíos y cristianos* (Book of the Disputation against the Jews and Christians), written by "an Arab Spaniard who was not only learned in the Holy Writ, but also in the Hebrew language." His use of these manuscripts in his interpretation of the Lead Books has been discussed by García-Arenal and Rodríguez Mediano. They convincingly argue that because the collections represent such a good cross section of the Morisco written heritage, they explain why Dobelio was able to argue that the Lead Books were written by Moriscos. In addition, Dobelio quotes extensively from the Qur’an, which he often cites in Arabic and apparently knew very well.

That Dobelio bases his argument on a translation rather than on the original Arabic text of the *Vita* is due to the fact that his break with Castro occurred before he was able to study this important book. Who was the author of that Spanish translation? The translation used by Dobelio is certainly not the one by Miguel de Luna, which we traced in the Archive of the Real Chancilleria de Granada, the only other contemporary translation known to us and discussed by us in the notes to the edition and translation of the *Vita* we include at the end of this chapter. Rather, Dobelio used a Spanish translation made by a Maronite interpreter named Sergio probably from about 1629-30, when Sergio is known to have worked in the service of the Marquis of Estepa. After Castro’s death in 1643, Estepa became one of the most important defenders of the Lead Books. In 1629, he obtained permission to use the original Arabic tablets to prepare a Spanish translation. His Spanish version would serve as the basis of Miguel Hagerty’s Spanish edition of the Lead Books, which has remained a standard reference work until today. It presented the Lead Books as Christian texts. As we know, this translation
was prepared under the supervision of Estepa by the aforesaid Sergio and a Morisco by name of Juan Bautista Centurión. That this is indeed the translation that served as the main source for Dobelio can be surmised from Morisco by name of Juan Bautista Centurión. That this is indeed the translation that served as the main source for Dobelio can be surmised from the examination of the notes, however, reveals that this assessment is incorrect. The manuscript includes two texts, both related to Morisco and Mudejar themes. First of all, it includes the Lumen fidei contra sectam Mahumeti et doctrinam Alcorani (Light of the faith against the Muhammadan sect and the doctrine of the Qur’án) by Johan Martín de Figuerola (1521), discussed by Mercedes García-Arenal in her contribution to the present volume. This treatise occupies folios 1-267r. The second text in the manuscript is a study by Marcos Dobelio, probably originally entitled Discurso sobre el libro que se halló en el monte de Valparayso y entitulado uida y milagros de Xro nuestro señor (Discourse on the book which was found on Mount Valparaiso entitled Life and Miracles of Christ Our Lord). It occupies folios 269r-387v, but the original order of the leaves has not been preserved. Most, if not all, the references in it to material in the Lead Books in fact appear to refer to one Lead Book only—namely, the Vita. The disarray into which the treatise has fallen perhaps explains why earlier researchers were unable to fully understand its title, text, and authorship. Dobelio makes clear that he had come across the translation of Lead Book number 7 in March 1631, when he was inspecting Arabic manuscripts at the Escorial Library on the orders of the Spanish king. That Dobelio was indeed working in the service of the king at that time is confirmed by the historian Luis Tribaldos de Toledo (1558-1656), who had been Dobelio’s close friend for more than twenty-six years (i.e., since 1607). Tribaldos writes in February 1633 that Dobelio “had been [Arabic] translator to Paul V in Rome and is now working in the service of His Majesty.” In fact, the part in the manuscript of the Real Academia de la Historia that can be attributed to Dobelio is a draft of his later Nuevo descubrimiento. We may therefore surmise that Dobelio conceived of writing both his Discurso and the Nuevo descubrimiento after he had come across Sergio’s translation.

In the Nuevo descubrimiento, Dobelio focuses on the Vita and far less on other books. He tells us that this decision was more or less forced by the fact that the first two books had already been claimed as the domain of sacred theology by his opponents, the “laminaries.” More than once, those involved in the debates about the Lead Books had been warned by religious authorities in Spain that Pope Clement VIII had forbidden in his Brief of 1595 any discussion of their theological contents.” It was the Vatican, they argued, that should be responsible for the evaluation of their doctrine. Offering a critique of the Vita implied analyzing a narrative, and not dogmatic doctrine, Dobelio argues.” Another, perhaps more important, reason may be that the Vita is a longer and richer text, which enabled Dobelio to make a much stronger case against the authenticity of the Lead Books.

Dobelio’s Assessment and the Original Arabic Texts of the Lead Books

We have seen above that Dobelio’s interpretation of the Lead Books, and primarily of the Vita, was not based on his knowledge of the entire collection. His knowledge stems rather from his analysis of some of the original texts, a few available transcripts, and the aforementioned translation, which he compared to Islamic sources such as the Qur’án, a number of Islamic Pastrana manuscripts, a number of Arabic Christian texts from his own collection, and others. All this was sufficient, as we will see, to convince him of what he saw as the partly Islamic, partly heterodox Christian polemical intentions of the Lead Books. Since space does not allow us to deal in an exhaustive way with Dobelio’s work, we will select a number of paradigmatic elements for closer analysis.

First of all, it is clear that Dobelio closely follows the narrative of Sergio’s Spanish translation. Very soon, he puts his cards on the table. He considers it to be a central idea of the Lead Books that they identify Muhammad as the savior promised in the Jewish and Christian scriptures—in other words, “the promised one” (prometido) is the Prophet Muhammad, while many elements of Jesus’s life and characteristics attributed to him are in fact derived from the sources about the life of Muhammad.” This idea (which we think is correct) returns in several places in Dobelio’s analysis. It is the paradigm that informs his entire interpretation of the Lead Books, which he derives from Sergio’s translation; his knowledge of the other Lead Books we mentioned; as well as his readings in the aforementioned Islamic and Christian Arabic manuscripts.
We will illustrate with a few examples how Dobelio uses Sergio’s translation. According to Dobelio, the text recounts that on the eighth day after his birth, Jesus was baptized, an act later repeated by John the Baptist. According to Dobelio, this first baptism serves to conceal the author’s true intention—namely, to introduce the Muslim (and Jewish) custom of infant circumcision.44 This is a bizarre argument, since the New Testament mentions Jesus’s circumcision explicitly (Luke 2:21). The original Arabic text of Lead Book 7 (fol. 10b) says circumcision, though the word has the same Arabic root as the word used for Jesus’s baptism in the River Jordan.45 Dobelio’s error may be due to the fact that Sergio’s version mistranslated the Arabic original and speaks of baptism instead of circumcision.46

The identity of the Blessed One, the promised Messiah (Ar. al-ma’li’), is discussed by Dobelio in reference to the translation of a passage we can find on folio 6a of Lead Book number 7. Here, Gabriel tells Mary that after Adam and Eve were expelled from Paradise, it was promised that they would be saved by the Blessed One, symbolized by the name ‘is’mi. Dobelio quotes this passage from Sergio’s translation and interprets the words ‘Aid Magid to be a faulty rendering of the Hebrew bi-mead meod, which he translates as vehementemente (exceedingly). In order to understand this expression, he then turns to an anti-Christian and anti-Jewish polemical treatise found in Pastrana, in which the author identifies this name as a reference to the Prophet Muhammad. Indeed, the words, found in Genesis 17:10, play a key role in anti-Jewish polemical texts. We find them, for example, in Samasal al-Maghribi’s well-known anti-Jewish polemic ‘fhhim al-jaahid.47 It is therefore very likely that the same sort of Islamic polemical argument was found in one of the Pastrana manuscripts.

On the subject of the death of Jesus, the Spanish translation that Dobelio used apparently said that when Jesus was betrayed and arrested in the Garden of Gethsemane, the disciples were dispersed with great fear and lost their faith, and that for that reason, “God admonished them and promised them the Kingdom,” without going into the question whether it was in fact Jesus who was crucified.48 According to Dobelio, the author was not very familiar with the Christian creed and the story of the passion.49 Here and later in his narrative, the author tries to convince his readers that they should not believe the Christian narrative of Jesus’s life and death. This becomes apparent in the way the author of Lead Book 7 presents Peter, who is said to have mourned and wept for seven years and three months after Jesus’s death.50 According to Dobelio, the author introduces this long period of mourning to create a temporal and doctrinal gap between Jesus’s life and the early Christian community. He believes that it is the Lead Book narrative and doctrinal views about Jesus’s life and death that fill this gap.51 Thus the readers are told that the disciples based their beliefs on faulty evidence: the only true witnesses to the life of Jesus are ‘Isa ibn ‘Amr and his brother Sa’iṣ al-‘Ayyah, the Cecilio who later became bishop of Granada. The Lead Book narrative posits, according to Dobelio, an Islamic view about Jesus’s life and death but also introduces innovations (novedades), such as the Solomonic symbols and the numerous references to magic practices, which Dobelio considers to be proof that the Lead Books were contemporary Morisco falsifications. Based on these insights, Dobelio asserts that the entire narrative of Jesus’s birth, life, and death as presented was composed on the basis of Islamic sources about both Jesus and the prophet’s lives instead of the canonical Gospels. We will now turn to the evidence of the Arabic texts—in particular, Lead Book 7.

A comparison of Dobelio’s Nuevo descubrimiento with the original Arabic text of Lead Book 7 as preserved in the Sacromonte Abbey, published here for the first time, immediately makes clear that he was in many ways headed in the right direction. We are indeed dealing with a Gospel text in which many Islamic elements have been interwoven into a polemical narrative. These Islamic elements serve to represent Jesus as a sort of proto-Muhammad, denying his crucifixion while suggesting that the savior was the Prophet Muhammad himself. However, the Spanish translation that Dobelio used lacked the precision that would have allowed him to come to entirely reliable conclusions about the content of the Lead Books. One example must suffice here: the crucifixion. As we have seen above, Dobelio posited that the Vita casts doubt on the crucifixion, but he did not find any passages in Sergio’s translation that flatly denied it. However, the original Arabic text is clear. Using a wording that is clearly inspired by sura 3:54-55, it says about Jesus that God completed his time through the angel (tawaffâhu Allâhu bi-al-malak) when he was arrested in the Garden of Gethsemane. In the text following this passage, the possibility is left open that the person who was crucified was not Jesus but another.52 It therefore implicitly denies the crucifixion. This, however, remained unclear to Dobelio because Sergio’s
translation reads differently. According to Dobelio, the discourse of the Lead Books was, in many respects, frank and open but hidden and ambiguous in others. It was hidden and ambiguous in the sense that, even though the text of the Vita followed the broad pattern of Jesus's life as described in the canonical Gospels, the subtext in fact often made use of elements from the life of Muhammad as described in Muslim sources. And this is entirely correct, as our edited text shows.

On the subject of the Trinity, Dobelio argues that the Lead Books express not Trinitarian beliefs but rather a form of Christian heterodoxy that he deems to be close to Muslim ideas. The words Lā ilāha illā Allah are taken by him as an expression of the rejection of the Trinity. He bases his argument on a work by al-Ghazālī on the Trinity and a lengthy discussion of the first two Lead Books. Here, he accuses the authors of being ambiguous and vague, with the goal of sowing doubt among Christians in order to prepare them to accept Muslim ideas without expressing outright any Muslim beliefs. Dobelio's inclination to see the Lead Books as Islamic lore also holds true for his interpretation of the expression Lā ilāha illā Allah and the accompanying letters: mīm and nā found in Lead Books 2 and 6. Most critics (as well as Dobelio) interpret this as an abbreviated or cryptic reference to the Islamic confession of faith—Lā ilāha illā Allah; Muhammad Rasūl Allah ("There is no God but God; Muhammad is the Envoy of God")—and Dobelio is of the opinion that the authors of the Lead Books were exploiting the fact that mīm and nā could be read as al-mūsul rāḥ. Allah (Jesus is the spirit of God) as well as Muhammad rasūl Allāh in Lead Book no 2 and in the other Lead Books, in which this combination of letters occur. He thinks that the intention of the authors of the Lead Books, again, was to refer covertly to Muhammad.

Dobelio and the Broader Perspective of the Polemical Discussions about the Lead Books in Spain

The interpretation that Dobelio defends in his work, he tells us, had been thoroughly rejected by those he refers to throughout his text as the "laminaries" (laminarios)—that is, the defenders of the authenticity of the laminas, the Lead Books—and as the "theologians," a label that he applies to them because they argue that those without a theological background lack the expertise required to judge the Lead Books. Dobelio's opinions caused him great difficulties, starting with the rift with Castro, especially since the latter had spread many rumors about him. The "laminaries" even went so far as to threaten their opponents, and Dobelio was not the only target. In his Nuevo descubrimiento de la falsedad del metal, he mentions one of the others who was persecuted by name, Ludovico de Malta. It is interesting to observe, however, that in his Discurso of 1633, Dobelio also includes Sergio, the author of the Spanish translation, among the translators who were unable to express themselves honestly about the contents of the Lead Books. According to him, Sergio had, for financial reasons, dissimulated (Spanish: disimular) in his translation from the Arabic. Evidently, Dobelio's Islamic, messianic, and eschatological interpretation of the contents of the Lead Books propelled him into the midst of a heated polemical exchange in the decades preceding the Lead Books' transfer to the Vatican. In that polemical exchange, matters of religious and political authority played an important role. The "laminaries" apparently accused him of lacking the appropriate theological background, but they made only two of the books (Kitāb ādām and Kitāb fī al-dhāt al-karbāma, Lead Books 1 and 2) available to the common people (el vulgo), while he himself also knew other texts, which, he added, the "theologians" had always kept secret. However, with the support of the Council of the Inquisition, Dobelio was now, in this text, going to demonstrate that in order to understand the true (Islamic) nature of the Lead Books, it was not enough to be a theologian. The authors of the Lead Books were, in Dobelio's opinion, Moriscos, and he mentions explicitly Miguel de Luna and Alonso del Castillo as the two authors. He repeats this allegation various times throughout his book, but remarkably, nowhere does he give any proof for it.

It is clear that Dobelio's text was meant as a contribution to a debate that had already turned intensely polemical. Around 1617, translations of Lead Books 1 and 2 were circulated and made public. These translations were probably made by the Basque student of Marcos Dobelio, Francisco de Gurmendi. Gurmendi served as an Arabic, Persian, and Turkish translator to King Phillip III. He had close ties to other opponents of the Lead Books—in particular, the humanist Pedro de Valencia—and at some stage, he became a member of the circle that Valencia founded. Gurmendi seems to have come into the possession of a transcription of the two Lead Books after the death of his protector and employer, Don Juan de Idiáquez (1540–1614).
who is said to have been the transcription's original owner, Juan de Idiáquez had been chairman of the Council of the Military Orders, a member of the Council of State, and for some time, secretary of Philip II. It was probably Phillip III who commissioned the translation from Gurmendi in the latter's capacity as the royal translator. Gurmendi's translation appeared along with the equally critical theological commentary written by the Jesuit theologian Martín Derrotarán y Mendiola. The defenders of the Lead Books, probably led by Pedro de Castro, reacted to it by publishing at least two anonymous polemical pamphlets. It is in particular the first of these pamphlets that concerns us here. From this anonymous pamphlet, in which the name of the authors' opponent is also not mentioned, we can extrapolate some of the positions taken by Gurmendi in his translation. As we will see, these positions seem to have been very close to those of Dobelio. Not only are the ideas that are refuted identical to the ones expressed by Dobelio and analyzed here. Let us first briefly discuss the contents. At the very start, the polemicist mentions the fact that the king had received a translation into Romance of two Lead Books by the translator of the two books, accompanied by a "comment against them." He then sets out to argue why the king should disregard that assessment right away. The polemical attack is entirely directed at the Spanish translator (Spanish: interprete), Gurmendi; the commentary plays no role at all. In fact, the polemicist states that the translation and commentary were written by one and the same person. According to the polemicist, this translator—his opponent (whose identity he says he does not know)—lacked the necessary expertise (and orthodoxy) to prepare such a translation, since he was not a theologian, nor did he have the philological competence to translate the books adequately. The polemicist states that the translator's interpretations of the Arabic were wrong and that he had not studied the original texts but only drafts (bordaderas). They are labeled mere nonsense, disparates (a word, it should be noted, that was also frequently used by Castro to refer to interpretations he disagreed with). The translator is even mocked: would a noble, learned, and pious person such as Archbishop Castro spend a fortune on Islamic lore? The archbishop, he states, might as well have put a statue of the Prophet Muhammad above the altar of the church of the Sacramonte between the ashes of the Granadan martyrs. And why, he continues, did the critic ignore Pope Clement VIII's brief prohibiting any further discussion of this sacred matter? According to the translator of the two books, the authors of the Lead Books were Moriscos, and the language they were written in was the corrupt Arabic used by Moriscos. But according to the author(s) of our pamphlet, Miguel de Luna and Alonso del Castillo were among those who best understood these texts, and De Luna considered them to be very ancient. The translator had also asserted that the contents of the books were derived from the Qur'an, but because of his lack of expertise, he had failed to see that Arabic Christian texts were known to have included doctrinal expressions similar to those of the Lead Books. This even held true for the Trinity, which, according to the anonymous translator, was denied in the Lead Books. Not so, according to the author of the pamphlet. The archbishop himself had used the Arabic language to pronounce the confession of faith in Arabic in the presence of Oriental Christians.

At this point, we note that a number of passages attributed to the anonymous translator are in fact entirely identical to Dobelio's arguments. We are referring especially to the discussion about the words wa-kafä bi'llah shuhidan allâh thalika, la ilaha ila 'llah, mim ra', which occur in both Dobelio's text and the text attributed to Gurmendi. This holds true for the quotation of the first words, the creed (interpreted as a denial of the Trinity), and the letters mim ra'. The first part of the sentence refers to the preceding passages of the Lead Book ("And let it be enough that God is [my] witness on that, there is no god but God, Muhammed [is the Messenger of God] or "Jesus is the Spirit of God"). According to Dobelio, the words about God as a witness are derived from the Qur'an, sura 12. Both Dobelio's Nuevo descubrimiento and the translation attributed to Gurmendi see the creed as a denial of the Trinity and the letters mim and ra' as references to the Islamic creed about Muhammed as God's Envoy (Rasül). Both Dobelio and Gurmendi seem to offer an extensive discussion about the meaning of the Arabic word tahara (purity), interpreted as a reference to Islamic rituals: partial ablution (wudu) and circumcision (khitan). In conclusion, it seems clear that the labels, arguments, accusations, and terminology used in the polemic that we find in Dobelio's Nuevo descubrimiento of 1658 were already present in the debates between Gurmendi and the circle around Archbishop Castro in 1617, which centered on one question: Could the Parchment and Lead Books be considered authentic early Christian documents? How is this similarity to be explained? Dobelio respected Gurmendi very much. He knew Gurmendi
had translated Kitab qawa'id al-din and Kitab fi l-dhat al-karima and had rejected them as Morisco fabrications. Gurmendi also refers to Dobelio as an expert in the matter. We think that Gurmendi owed many of his ideas to Dobelio, who not only had a far superior knowledge of Arabic and Islam but had worked with the original materials, whereas Gurmendi only had a transcription. Long after Gurmendi published these ideas in 1617, Dobelio expressed them again in his Nuevo descubrimiento de la falsedad del metal, in 1638.

Dobelio and the Condemnation of the Lead Books in Rome

While it is probably true that the most influential arguments against the authenticity of the Lead Books in the debates that took place in Spain between 1595 and 1638 were made by Dobelio, especially in his 1638 treatise, his views were only partly based on firsthand knowledge of the original Arabic texts of the Lead Books. That he was able to come to argue that the books were Islamic forgeries was also the result of his access to various collections of Arabic manuscripts (in the Vatican, the Escorial, and the Pastrana collection) and the manuscripts he had collected himself. In this regard, Dobelio was one of the first Arabists who worked in a truly European context. In fact, the highly polemical discussion in which he took part in Spain was only partially based on expert and direct knowledge of the Arabic texts, access to which remained very restricted. Added to this were the papal restrictions on discussions about the contents of the Lead Books. This becomes even clearer when we now take a look at the last stage of the discussions, when, after a prolonged debate, the books were finally transferred to Rome in 1642 and were submitted to a Vatican committee for evaluation.

In the year 1666, one of the foremost experts on the Vatican committee, Ludovico Marracci (1612–1700), presented a study of 128 folia as his votum to the Vatican evaluation committee, entitled Disquisitio laminarum Granatensium quinque partibus comprehensa. Marracci was an Italian Arabist who was the chair of Arabic at La Sapienza between 1656 and 1699. He was involved in two major projects: the publishing and printing of the Saiz Biblia Arabica (1671) and the assessment of the Lead Books. He was an influential figure at the Vatican, also serving as Pope Innocent XI’s confessor between 1676 and 1689. Marracci was openly polemical in his intentions, as can be seen from the translation of the Qur’an he published. His votum is by far the most thorough and extensive of those of the nine assessors of the evaluation committee preserved in the Vatican Archive file dedicated to the Lead Books. Marracci’s views were influenced by the work of Dobelio, which he must have had in front of him, although he does not mention his name. The resemblance between the language and ideas of the Qur’an and other Islamic sources, on the one hand, and the Lead Books, on the other, was demonstrated by Dobelio with a long series of examples from the Vita. Marracci applied Dobelio’s method to the whole collection of Lead Books and demonstrated that his views were valid for all of them. Marracci integrated the examples adduced and the Islamic sources quoted by Dobelio, adding to them a long list of additional examples from the books Dobelio had not mentioned. Dobelio discussed his points in the order in which they occur in the Vita. Marracci’s work, on the other hand, is an analytical study based on all the Lead Books.

In the first part, Marracci demonstrates that the Lead Books are replete with Islamic words, sentences, fables, and errors. He then demonstrates, in the second part, that the Lead Books contain many elements that deviate from sound (Christian) doctrine in a way that often parallels Islamic error. Following up this same line of thought, he shows in the third section that the Lead Books often deviate from the holy (biblical) and ecclesiastical traditions while concurring with Islamic traditions. After presenting in section four various notes that do not fit under the subject headings of one the first three parts, Marracci concludes his Disquisitio with a masterly summary in chapter 5, dealing with the artifices of the Lead Books and the purposes of their author. In this last section, he argues that the origins of the Lead Books are to be found in the Ottoman conquest of Cyprus in 1571 and its repercussions for the Moriscos in Habsburg Spain. Marracci had transcribed and translated the original plates of all the Lead Books, while Dobelio appears to have been mainly directly familiar with the Arabic texts of the first two books only while having to rely upon a translation (in Spanish) of the Vita, which was the main text upon which he based his views. However, the conclusions of both scholars were the same, and through the work of Marracci, Dobelio’s insights were to form the basis of the official condemnation of the Lead Books in 1682.
Conclusions

We have seen how Dobelio became involved in the Lead Books affair in 1610, when he was summoned to Granada by the committee headed by the cardinal of Toledo. There, he worked for some time on several Lead Books, as well as on the parchment of the Turpiana tower, until he told Castro that he believed they were Morisco forgeries and Castro dismissed him. From that moment onward, he no longer had access to the original texts and had to rely largely on available transcriptions and translations. In the 1610s, his ideas became known among opponents and supporters of the books, including Gurmendi. We have argued that there are close parallels between the ideas expressed by the latter and those of Dobelio, which can be explained by assuming that Gurmendi was aware of Dobelio’s views. Gurmendi’s translation and the anonymous refutations of it make clear that as early as 1617, the relations between critics and defenders (laminarios) had taken the form of a fierce polemic. Like Gurmendi, Dobelio pointed to De Luna and Castillo as the two most likely forgers. Dobelio’s contribution to the debate was highly polemical, something that can be explained as an expression of his frustration about the situation in which he found himself. As we have seen, in about 1616, two “parties” seem to have emerged: the “laminarios,” supported by Archbishop Pedro de Castro, and the group that argued against the authenticity of the Lead Books, among them Martín Derrotarán y Mendíola, Diego de Urrea, Pedro de Valencia, Marcos Dobelio, and Francisco de Gurmendi. That the circle around Castro chose to react anonymously to Gurmendi’s translation, commissioned by the king himself, was probably due to the papal brief forbidding further discussion of the Lead Books. This debate pit- ted scholarly expertise against religious authority. Could the “theologians’ claim expert knowledge on the sacred matter of the Lead Books, or were they out of their depth? The “laminarios,” on the other hand, cast doubt on their opponents’ scholarly, ethical, and religious expertise in an attempt to undermine their credibility. These are all well-known tricks of the polemical trade: to attack not only the sources but also the opponent as an individual person. Dobelio compensated the paucity of his direct acquaintance with the original Arabic texts in an original way—namely, by reading widely in Morisco literature (i.e., the manuscripts of Pastrana) and by using other Arabic manuscripts, including those in his own collection. We have shown how part of the Pastrana collection found its way to the Vatican Library. In 1633, Dobelio came across the Spanish translation of the Vita made by Sergio, the Maronite translator working in the service of the Marquis of Estepa in 1629-30. He found out about it when he was inspecting Arabic manuscripts in the service of the Spanish king. The Discurso, preserved in the manuscript of the Real Academia de la Historia in Madrid, shows that around that time, he started to work on a polemical text that was eventually made public in the Nuevo descubrimiento. In it, he tried to convince his readers of the Islamic contents of the Lead Books and the errors of the laminarios. Thanks to the fact that we now have access to the Arabic texts of the Lead Books, we know that Dobelio and Marracci were right. The Lead Books should be seen as forged proto-Islamic texts whose purpose was to legitimize the presence of Arabic speakers in the Iberian Peninsula by fabricating the existence of an early Arab “Christian” community at a time when the crypto-Muslim community was under threat, and establishing a link with an alleged ancient, proto-Islamic past would have provided this community with a historical and religious genealogy that they lacked and needed to survive. Where modern scholars would differ with them is perhaps that they, and especially Marracci, considered not only the Lead Books but also the Qur’an itself and, by extension, Islam to be cunning devices (Latin: technas): according to Marracci, the aim of Islam was no less than the destruction of the Gospel—that is, Christianity.16 Another conclusion we may draw from a comparison of the actual Lead Books and the various works they spawned is that very little progress was made in elucidating their true nature while the Lead Books were still in Spain because first-hand knowledge of the plates was rare and the discussion fraught with censorship. The progress made by Dobelio in his Nuevo descubrimiento of 1638 was due far more to his work on the Arabic Islamic manuscripts we described above and far less to an extensive knowledge of the Lead Books themselves. He used Sergio’s Spanish translation of the Vita, even though he was convinced that the translator had not been faithful to the original Arabic text. Only in Rome would the full scope of the Lead Books become clear to the evaluators after they had been duly studied outside the sphere of public polemics. But it would take another four hundred years before the texts would be made available for research.

220

PART II AROUND THE FORCED CONVERSIONS

AGAINST THE AUTHENTICITY OF THE GRANADAN LEAD BOOKS 221
Section on the Arabic Text: "..."
He had four male and three female children. The names of the males were Tään, Sa’dän, I, Täin, and Ibn al-Rädî; the females were Shamsa, Yağita and Dürriya.

I was created blind. My brother Ibn al-Rädî was created deaf and dumb. Our father was sad about us, and when he heard news about our Lord Jesus, the Trustworthy Spirit of God, and about how he cured the blind born, the lepers, the deaf, the blind and the lame, and how he cast out the devils from people and revived the death in the Holy Land, so that [people] traveled towards him in search of his blessing, he prepared the necessary provisions and servants, and put myself and my brother Ibn al-Rädî on two camels. He set out by night to the Land of Galilee, where he found him and his disciples in the company of seventeen men he had cured of leprosy.

At that occasion, Säîih said to him: "My Lord, I took the roads towards you from the town of Daws, lest you cure for me these two children from blindness, dumbness and deafness. I see you are a great wonder-worker [s]a. I put my trust in you and I am confident that without any doubt no one in the world but you can cure them."

Jesus said to him: "Säîih, your faith is strong, and I will fulfill your wish."

He then took some earth in the palms of his hands, stamped it with his saliva and put it on my eyes, thereby returning to me (my) eye-sight. He ordered me to wash it off in the place for purification (al-masjid). He then put his hand on the head of my brother Ibn al-Rädî, blew into his mouth three times, cured him and filled him with knowledge, so that he (even) talked different languages. The first thing he said was: "I testify that there is no god but God and that you are the Trustworthy Spirit of God."

Thereupon our Lord Jesus said to him: "You are (from now onwards) Sâîis al-Ayah." Thus that name was imposed upon him by our Lord Jesus, meaning: 'preacher of the faith, making it victorious.' He then looked at his disciple James the Apostle—our master—and said to him: "These two are your holy pupils in order to assist (our) faith, take them under your care and provide them with the necessary (knowledge/means) for that purpose."

At that occasion, our father Sâîih ibn Aṯârīr donated our Lord Jesus a hundred Arab pieces of gold, putting them into the hands of Peter the Apostle by his order and asked him to buy for him a house so that he would dwell near to him. He then traveled to the town of Daws ([b]) in order to bring to him his whole family, leaving us (and our) sisters in his care and in (the care of) our master James.

8. Literally: "seeing," but the opposite meaning is implied here.
9. In Arabic: Rùh: al-Âthîr, Jesus is referred to in the Qur'an as "a spirit from Him"—that is, of God (surah 4:77)—which, from an Islamic point of view, would allow to call him Rùh Alläh, as he is also occasionally referred to in the Lead Books. In the Qur'an, the expression "a spirit from God" (without the explicit attribution of the Spirit to God), however, refers to Gabriel (Djabrä'ïl) and to Jesus (al-Amïn) as an almost standard expression. Therefore, in his translation of 1596, Miguel de Luna, misinterpretating its Islamic tendency, concealing its Islamic tendency, systematically translates this expression in "Nuestro Señor Jesus hijo de Dios" and occasionally referred to in the Lead Books.

10. In the Qur'an, the expression trustworthy spirit (without the explicit attribution of the Spirit to God), however, refers to Gabriel (Djabrä'ïl) and to Jesus (al-Amïn) as an almost standard expression. Therefore, in his translation of 1596, Miguel de Luna, misinterpretating its Islamic tendency, concealing its Islamic tendency, systematically translates this expression in "Nuestro Señor Jesus hijo de Dios" and occasionally referred to in the Lead Books.

11. De Luna: "Que vos masisa va hijo-verdadero." Dobelio (fol. 231 r): "El desp.-No haí Dios, latínus spiritu de Dios es propriamente la negativa de la santísima trinidad y de la Divinidad de la la persona." To substantiate this view, Dobelio quotes al-Ghazzàlî "en el libro ii escribiendo de la fe, tratado r parte 2," where al-Ghazzàlî explains, among other things, that the formula la iure ilâh (that implies a detail of the Trinity as professed by the Christians). Dobelio also quotes Abû Bakr Muhammad al-Juhûn al-Fanzîn in his explanation of the word al-Ayah in sura 12:18 (fol. 153). Exactly the same information is provided by Marracci (fol. 332-b), including the necessary quote.

12. In the Arabic original, the name is written in two separate words, Sâîis, Sa’is. If it had been intended as a mere transcription of "Cecilio," it would likely have been written as a simple word. It is possible to understand the name Sa’is al-Ayah in Arabic as a pun meaning "lauda of the sign." De Luna writes, "CYC Gzelyt."
At that occasion, Jesus ordered Peter to distribute that money as a charity to those turning to him. Thereupon Peter said to him: "My Lord, to which of those turning to us shall I give it as a charity, as they are many? Those who are turning to you are destitute, poor, sick and aiming at attending (your) admonition. (Moreover,) the owner of that money is alive; how shall I give it away without his permission, while he wishes to buy a house?"

Our Lord Jesus answered him: "The world is a house for those who have no house! Give that money during the life of Sâlih to whoever asks you, even if he comes on a horse and asks for it," so that it will be a living work, because that which belongs to God will never perish and the reward of those who do well will never get lost."

Do not you know that to give charity during one's life is a living work, because the best gift is before passing away. And I say unto you that the charity that reaches God is given during life and this appeases the Lord's wrath. He who gives charity is near to God and God is with him in every place." He then [4a] gave away that money as a charity to those asking for it.

At that time my father came to him and all his family and asked him: "My Lord, did you buy for me the house?" He answered him: "Sâlih, I indeed built a house for you in Paradise," so that you will live near to me in this world and in the Hereafter, because your intention is beautiful and your faith is great and it is accepted by God." He then brought him to his house, where he caught a fever and passed away after three days. Our Lord Jesus said unto him: "Blessed are you, Sâlih! You lived a blissful life and I say unto you that the charity that reaches God is given during life and this appeases the Lord's wrath. He who gives charity is near to God and God is with him in every place." He then [4a] gave away that money as a charity to those asking for it.

Therefore, we are in need of the grace of our Lord Jesus and of my master who commanded me to write down his noble character and high descent, his life and his miracles until his death. In doing that, I write down what I eyewitnessed (myself) and other matters which I did not witness, related from him and from his mother, the Holy Virgin Mary, from Joseph, her husband, as well as from all the apostles, his disciples, until his ascension to Heaven, and afterwards, including the last report necessary to chronicle the truth. All that will be for the glory of God and the admonishing of his servants. Amen.

Chapter on His Noble Character (nasab), His High Pedigree (nasab), His Country, and the Miracles Connected to His Being Conceived

Our Lord Jesus, the son of Virgin Mary, was a Hebrew. The house of the parents of his mother from the side of her father was from Batlân, both of which were belonging to the smallest towns in the Holy Land. As a human being he was of an outstandingly noble character and of the highest pedigree among the Israelites. He was born in a row of forty-two venerable prophets who were announcing the Blessed One (al-masîm) in the Tawrât, the best of the descendants of Adam, sent as a martyr (shahîdan). You left your family in a blessed state." And again also after three more days my mother Rebecca, his wife, passed away. After them, because of the miracles of our Lord Jesus, our brothers and sisters and our family believed in him and belonged to the holy.

We then thanked God, I, as well as my brother Ibbâl al-Ra'idh, for having been saved from error and having been given the greatest of faiths. We stayed in the service of James, who favored us [4b] over all his disciples and he chose us from among them for the benefit of his affairs in the obedience of God.

The author suggests that this is the ancient Arabic name of Nazareth. Compare Jerusalems for "Jerusalem" and Bethâlâm for "Bethlehem." All these names are repeatedly used in our text as well as in the Parchment and the other Lead Books. Do not translate this expression consistently as "Messias." Occasionally also of "Messias prometido." The author uses the Qur'ânic name of Nazareth. Our text as well as our family believed in him and belonged to the holy.
to realize the victory announced by the Gospel,22 God's Trustworthy Spirit and Redeemer from sin by mediation (al-shaf') and salvation (al-fatal). All of them belonged to the descendants of the Prophet, son of Shaykh al-Radî, Abraham, the Friend of God,23 who was strengthened with the Holy Spirit.

Holy Mary said that Gabriel told her: "When God created the angels in the most beautiful shape, and when they disobeyed their Lord out of jealousy bled" so that the intimate angels became fearful." And when He had put our father Adam [5a] and our mother Eve in Paradise, they ate whatever they wished, but He forbade them (to eat from) the tree. They lived in everlasting bliss and were wearing jewels and tunics24 the value of which is known to God only. They did not experience the evils of the world, but they were not thankful to God for that bliss. Thus, their pudenda became apparent to them," because of their lack of thankfulness, though they were not aware of it. Then they were overcome by temptation towards sin and disobedience. That was the cause of their pleasure to (commit) the diabolous sin, because God is wise and just, and by that justice He decides whatever He wishes. Thus they ate the fruit of the forbidden tree. And when they disobeyed the commandment of their Lord,25 once again the Throne and the earth trembled a second time and the angels feared, and He expelled them from Paradise [6a], and God attached him to a place in his Creation of His choice, which none of His servants would find without His will.

"They descended to the earth, where they became repentant to the extent that the color of them both blackened because of the sin. Stretched out on the earth, they cried about it. They did not interrupt their weeping until their eyelids were consumed and the flesh of their faces lacerated, saying: "Our Lord, we have harmed ourselves. If you do not accept our repentance and forgive us and grant us mercy, we will be lost."26 Then the angel Gabriel descended to them and brought them the good tidings of their salvation. He wrote on the back of Adam: Hîd Mîd, (meaning:) he is your mediator, and the mediator of your offspring.27 He also said: Adam, stand up, you and your wife, God has heard your prayer and accepted your repentance and forgiven you on the condition of faith, thankfulness for blessings, as well as the atonement of (your) sins. You should (also) expect the Blessed One written [on your back]."28 From that time, the prophets announced among their people the good tidings of the Blessed One, (who would come) to intercede for [6b] men, as well as to admonish them about intercession and salvation.

When the time came for Holy Mary to conceive of him,29 in other words, she said that when the angel Gabriel descended to her and informed her that she was going to conceive of him, while she was reading the Book,30 he said to her: "Holy Mary, who receives the mercy (of your Lord), God is with you, you are blessed among the women." This blessing was because of her being untouched by the original sin which was not attached to her because God had chosen her for this task, while all others who came after Adam were affected by faults because of the sin, but she was not affected thereby, as she had remained unimpaired by it. This was consented upon in the Council of the Apostles as we described in the Book of the Foundations of the Faith.31 Whosoever dissent from it, will be lost.

27. For this expression, Marracco (fol. 216) refers to the Qur'än: "Alcor, Sect. 6 Alâshîq" and "Alcor, Sect. 19 Tab. 112." 28. This concept seems to refer to the theological issue of whether the sin of Adam was committed out of free will or because it had been premediitated by God. In his translation, De Luna chooses the latter possibility, translating "El pecado contingente." This is also the position of our text, as will become clear in various passages. 29. Dobelio (fol. 6b): "Todo esto lo dijeron los autores Mahometanos."
Joseph felt shocked but did not talk about that shock. Thereupon the angel came to him while asleep that night, and he told him who our Lord Jesus was. So he said to the angel: "Make me a sign for that." He answered: "The sign is: in radiant light there will be written on his back: 'Jesus, the Truthful and Trustworthy Spirit of God.'" He thanked God for that.

[Chapter on His Birth and the Miracles Thereof]

My master James told me from the Holy Virgin Mary, from the angel Gabriel that he had said to her concerning the blessings and virtues of our Lord Jesus and his that God had shown parts of the Well-Preserved Tablet. He saw fitting (for that purpose) [8a] to Moses on the Mountain of Al-Tis. Moses said to Him: "My God and my Lord, I see in the Tablet a nation invoking one (punishment) for an evil deed, but ten (rewards) for a praiseworthy deed."

He answered, speaking to him: "Moses, that (nation) will be in the end of time."

He said: "My God, I see in the Tablet a nation upon whom your full mercy descends."

He answered: "Moses, that (nation) will be in the end of time."

He said: "My God and my Master, I see in the Tablet a nation reading the faults of all people, while the people (themselves) do not read their defects."

He answered: "I purposed them until the end of time, because they are my servants and I do not want to inform the people about their faults, and also lest their bodies remain on the earth only a few days."
He said: "My God and my Lord, I see in the Tablet the One Blessed by You (mentioned) in the Tawrat. To which people in the world are You going to send him?"

He answered: "Moses, I will send him to the people mentioned (and) shown in the Tablet to you."

He said: "My God, describe to me their merit."

[8b] He answered: "Moses, his merit over you is like your merit over your nation and over all the prophets (before you)."

He said: "My God and my Lord, make me one of his family, so that I can obtain part of his superiority."

He answered: "Your wish will be fulfilled, Moses."

He said: "My God and my Lord, I ask from Your grace that you show me that I am seeing you."

He answered: "Moses, you should know that it is preordained in My knowledge that no human being will see me in the world with outward eyes, and I only speak unto him by revelation or from behind a veil."

He said: "My God and my Lord, show me part of Your Light."

At that moment God radiated on the mountain from the light of His venerable face the amount (of light) that shines through the eye of the needle. Thus, the angels passed him by in his bewilderment [8b]. Therefore, the angels passed him by in his bewilderment. When he had recovered from his bewilderment, he said: "My Lord, I regret to you; if you do not accept my repentance, forgive me and have mercy upon me, I will be lost."49

Moses fell down on the ground dumbfounded [and was it not for the grace granted to him before the Tablets that God had made for him, he would have been broken by the rays of that light].48 Thus, the angels passed him by in his bewilderment [8b]. He said: "My God, describe to me their merit."47

God answered him: [9a] "Moses, I elected you through My message and my speech. Take with firmness what I have given to you, and do not neglect the invocation of God, and belong to those who are grateful." Admonish My servants and announce them the Blessed One (mentioned) in the Scriptures as I have commanded you to do, and take with you your brother Aaron for that cause. I will fill you with light and knowledge through the Holy Spirit."

At that moment, the heavens and the earth trembled from fear of God, and all this points to our Lord Jesus, and after him, to the Spirit by the descending of God's mercy upon (the gathering of the apostles).53 Because in his conception in the eastern part of the Holy Land in Nárrán, and his cradle in Batlán, in other words: in the place where Holy Virgin Mary gave birth to him in al-šīrīn (=7),54 the angel Gabriel descended upon her, while with her was her husband Joseph. And that house was filled for them by the angels with heavenly light and mercy. The Throne, the heaven and the earth trembled, the divine mercy descended on earth and she begot him as a virgin [9b], while his birth took place in the month of al-miład.

After he had been sent Joseph said he wanted to witness his masculinity. Thus Joseph put his left hand on his pubescent, but his [vir's] right hand with held Joseph (from looking) out of shame, lest he would be uncovered. So he gave up (pursuing) this purpose.55

47. Qur'ānic.
48. The passage between square brackets left blank.
49. At this point, Dobelio (fols. 7ob-75b) gives a closer parallel of 'Alcorano sect. 6 §19' as the source for Moses's repentance. He adds that elsewhere in this book, the same prayer is put into the mouth of others like Solomon and Peter (see fols. 6a and 12a in our Arabic text and translation).
50. In the Arabic: 'dhikr. De Luna: "El camino de mi amor.
51. Dobelio (fols. 7ob-75b) draws a comparison between 'Abdus 31 and sura 6, concluding that the author follows the Qur'ānic version of the story of Moses in his conversation with God, especially in his assumption that Moses had sinned by asking God's permission to see Him, a view absent in the source for Moses's repentance. He adds that elsewhere in this book, the same prayer is put into the mouth of others like Solomon and Peter (see fols. 6a and 12a in our Arabic text and translation).
52. De Luna: "Y la venida del mismo Espíritu humillada, que va a dar a luz a Maria, no es en la celebridad de la virgen, sino en su concepción. Como se dice en la decimoséptima parte y sexta del libro de la historia de la Virgen, es la misión de donar a la virgen el Espíritu Santo, que va a dar a luz a Maria. De Luna: "El camino de mi amor."
53. Marracci (fol. 20a) adds that elsewhere in this book, the author follows the Qur'ānic version of the story of Moses in his conversation with God, especially in his assumption that Moses had sinned by asking God's permission to see Him, a view absent in the source for Moses's repentance. He adds that elsewhere in this book, the same prayer is put into the mouth of others like Solomon and Peter (see fols. 6a and 12a in our Arabic text and translation).
54. De Luna: "En el pesebre."
His birth took place in extreme cold and snow had fallen that night. The angel had informed the shepherds who were around that dwelling place in order to witness that place. And in their presence Gabriel wrote with radi-ant light on his back: "There is no god but God, Jesus is the Truthful and Trustworthy Spirit of God."

And it is related from Joseph that he said: "The angel Gabriel informed Holy Virgin Mary that the name of the Blessed One had been written with radi-ant light on the trunk of the Throne, before God created heavens and earth, and it means: the Saviour of Mankind. And when he created it and the angels asked God about him, He related to some of them his mission, who were unable to endure that, which was the cause of their fall," as we described in the book.

He has another name in the Well-Preserved Tablet, Truthful and Trustworthy Spirit of God.21 [20] He has (also) a name in [the Leaves]11 of Abraham.14 'Hid Miร Guide of Men towards (eternal) Bliss. It (also) contains another name, 'Fariق Jamî, which means: the one who separates between truth and falsehood.23 Among the prophets he is called 'Tabâhî, which means good, good. In the Tawârt he is called the Blessed One (al-Manîm), which is the one who leads men out of the darkness to the light. Then also his name is Al-Mâji, which means the one who wipes out infidelity from the world.

56. The Arabic text has "that they should not" (slla).
57. De Luna: "Le mostró Gabriel aquella luz referida sobre él que decía no as eterno Dios sino Dios, Jesuc hijo de Dios, una verdad trajéd de la Mundo," Dobelio (fol. 37b) refers to Al-Bakrî as Al-Anwâr by Al-Bakrî, donde se puede ver todo lo que el autor habla de nuestro señor Eebra, en de Mahoma encubierto debaxi del nombre de Bhoua." Dobelio stresses that the manuscript used by him had been copied in 654 Hijja in Denia. Similarly, see Marracci on fol. 245, with additional sources.
58. De Luna: "En la presencia divinai con luz resplandente," concealing the throne and its trunk.
59. This is probably a reference to Kitâb Qawä'id, where the punishment of the angels is dealt with at the very beginning. However, the same subject is dealt with in other Lead Books as well—for example, in LP 9. De Luna: "Aquí como tenemos referido en escritura.
60. De Luna: "Spíritu de Dios verdadero que quiere decir mensajero de la verdad al Mundo.
61. Left blank in the translation of De Luna.
62. Qur'än and Islamic concept par excellence.

In addition to this he has in the books of the prophets, apart from his name written on his back,15 fifteen names.16 And in the universe17 (he has) seventy-seven names, but God knows best about His hidden world. To God belong the attributes which are innumerable. No one can count them but God (Himself).

He also said: "In that site that night in which he was born, they did neither see cold nor heat, but when anyone of them left the place, he believed to freeze to death. Yet, that same night dry wood thrived notwithstanding the extreme cold, and it bore fruit after seven years. And water bubbled up in its well, after ten years. Moreover, the silent angels talked in various spoken languages with beautiful voices (roh), praising God for this event. Mercy descended upon them, and the sun and the moon were shining beyond (their) limit. The trees bowed to him, (the) jinn were revoked,18 men put on clothes of purity in their hearts, while the demons were chased away. Idols were collapsing in the prayer-halls, while the stars were hitting one against the other.19 The hearts of the misguided became fearful.20 Herod rallied his assembly of scholars and informed them that an impostor of his law had been born in his land, and that he was confused, not knowing what to do.21"

Let us now return to our Lord Jesus: he was circumcised on the eighth day of his birth in fulfilment of the religious precept.

Holy Virgin Mary said that the Trustworthy Gabriel informed her that God on the day He created heavens and earth had created a star the like of which he had not created among the (other) stars. He hid it (somewhere) in Heaven until He sent our Lord Jesus. When he was sent, that star rose at the oriental horizon. Three [i.e.] kings from the people of Midian saw it, who were informed by way of the ancient stories of their ancestors, the signs whereof were that star. So they gathered and agreed to undertake a mission
(following) those signs. They prepared for themselves and their people and came out of the eastern parts of the earth to look for him. After they had traveled distance of one day, the angel Gabriel appeared to them in their dream: “Follow the star which will guide you to your purpose. Wherever it will stand still, you will fulfill your mission.” So traveled towards the western parts of the earth to look for him. Wherever it will stand still, you will fulfill your mission.

They saw a star in the East as a sign of his birth and we came to adore him in the land of which the star stood still. They asked the people: “Where is the place the lord of the rightly guided Israelites was brought to?” They prepared for themselves and their people and following those signs. They prepared for themselves and their people and came out of the eastern parts of the earth to look for him.

Therefore his servants together with his council went out to pursue him. Joseph was making himself familiar with the manufacturing of ladles, while Virgin Mary assisted him, so that both of them would refrain from idleness. They paid through (those ladles) the amount they were obliged to pay and it was distributed as alms among the poor. They remained in that cave dwelling for seven years and three months, without anyone taking notice of them. Joseph was making himself familiar with the manufacturing of ladles, while Virgin Mary assisted him, so that both of them would refrain from idleness. They paid through (those ladles) the amount they were obliged to pay and it was distributed as alms among the poor. They were adoring God night and day, without neglecting of that. The earth opened and a delicious well sprang up for those who wanted to drink. Jesus wore a dress of heavenly silk. He concealed with God’s permission so that, with God’s permission, no one could take notice of them. He reserved them (there) until a time, He would command whatever He wished.

They said: “The people passed by days after that [124] matter; we will not be able to reach them.” They thus returned from behind him by God’s will whose order cannot be turned off. Thus Joseph and Mary traveled until they land of Egypt on the [. . . ] of a mountain in front of which there was a plain. Mary wept vehemently because of her exile and her need of everything, as hunger and thirst and the separation from her family exhausted her. Nevertheless she said to God: “My God and my Lord, I am patiently obeying your commandment and you know about my patience.” Joseph wept similarly. Then the Trustworthy Gabriel descended to them and said to her: “Mary, do not despair; God is with you.” Thereupon the mountain trembled and by the will of God the construction of a house was opened. At its door a tree grew which stilled their wish. The earth opened and a delicious well sprang up for those who wanted to drink. They said: “The people passed by days after that [124] matter; we will not be able to reach them.” They thus returned from behind him by God’s will whose order cannot be turned off. Thus Joseph and Mary traveled until they land of Egypt on the [. . . ] of a mountain in front of which there was a plain. Mary wept vehemently because of her exile and her need of everything, as hunger and thirst and the separation from her family exhausted her. Nevertheless she said to God: “My God and my Lord, I am patiently obeying your commandment and you know about my patience.” Joseph wept similarly. Then the Trustworthy Gabriel descended to them and said to her: “Mary, do not despair; God is with you.” Thereupon the mountain trembled and by the will of God the construction of a house was opened. At its door a tree grew which stilled their wish. The earth opened and a delicious well sprang up for those who wanted to drink. Jesus wore a dress of heavenly silk. He concealed with God’s permission so that, with God’s permission, no one could take notice of them. He reserved them (there) until a time, He would command whatever He wished.

My master James told from Joseph that he had said: “By God, I never saw a more beautiful odor than the odor of Jesus, neither a figure superior to his, a nicer smile than his smile, or a more radiant light than his light and splendor than his light, or a better person than he.” They remained in that cave dwelling for seven years and three months, without anyone taking notice of them. Joseph was making himself familiar with the manufacturing of ladles, while Virgin Mary assisted him, so that both of them would refrain from idleness. They paid through (those ladles) the amount they were obliged to pay and it was distributed as alms among the poor. They were adoring God night and day, without neglecting of that anything, even during the twinkling of an eye. And they nourished themselves from the tree that fully provided them their provisions every day.


73. De Luna: “Una parte de tierra llana”: Hagerty: “Sobre la cima de un monte.”


75. De Luna: “Y venía con ellos y la gente.” 

76. Arabic: al-akhirâ, for parallels to these qualities of Jesus—especially his odor—in descriptions of Mohammad.
Our lord Jesus used to play on the mountain taking into his hands a poisonous snake, that did not bite him. He (also) walked on the sea in it. When his mother finished her religious exercise, he lowered his eyes, took his right leg and walked on the sea in it. He was commanded to be righteous towards God and you. My merit lies not in (my) faith, but my merit from God lies in my obedience towards Him and you.” He never interrupted the holy invocation of God. When he slept, he was sleeping on his right side, and he put his right hand under his right cheek and his left hand on his left thigh. His sleep was light, and Gabriel and the angels were protecting him with love by the commandment of God from everything feared to be ominous.

When the assigned time was fulfilled, the angel Gabriel said to them: “Return to the Holy Land, because God has wiped out your enemy and your dwelling-place will be Nasrân.” At that moment Joseph lost his fear that had surrounded him (all the time).

My master James told from Holy Virgin Mary that she had said: “I took Jesus by my hand and Joseph took my hand by his hand. [rjb] Gabriel traversed the earth and immediately we arrived at Nasrân. We entered it, without anybody recognizing us, until we informed the people about our journey. They rejoiced, and the maternal cousins Jesus and John embraced each other, so that nothing failed them both at all after their spiritual separation and (due to) the love through God’s blessing that had been awarded to them both before. But God protected him in the best land, like He preserved Jesus in order to do whatever He wished as it was preordained in His knowledge of old.”

Again also my master James said from Holy Virgin Mary that she had said: “From the day he entered Nasrân, our Lord Jesus, as a human being, did not stop invoking God, because he was in reality a human being. Most often, he would eat dates, bread of barley, and honey. Apart from that, he did not stop invoking God, so that nothing failed them both at all after their spiritual separation and (due to) the love through God’s blessing that had been awarded to them both before. But God protected him in the best land, like He preserved Jesus in order to do whatever He wished as it was preordained in His knowledge of old.”

Our lord Jesus used to play on the mountain taking into his hands a poisonous snake, that did not bite him. He (also) walked on the sea in it. When his mother finished her religious exercise, he lowered his eyes, took his right leg and walked on the sea in it. He was commanded to be righteous towards God and you. My merit lies not in (my) faith, but my merit from God lies in my obedience towards Him and you.” He never interrupted the holy invocation of God. When he slept, he was sleeping on his right side, and he put his right hand under his right cheek and his left hand on his left thigh. His sleep was light, and Gabriel and the angels were protecting him with love by the commandment of God from everything feared to be ominous.

When the assigned time was fulfilled, the angel Gabriel said to them: “Return to the Holy Land, because God has wiped out your enemy and your dwelling-place will be Nasrân.” At that moment Joseph lost his fear that had surrounded him (all the time).

My master James told from Holy Virgin Mary that she had said: “I took Jesus by my hand and Joseph took my hand by his hand. [rjb] Gabriel traversed the earth and immediately we arrived at Nasrân. We entered it, without anybody recognizing us, until we informed the people about our journey. They rejoiced, and the maternal cousins Jesus and John embraced each other, so that nothing failed them both at all after their spiritual separation and (due to) the love through God’s blessing that had been awarded to them both before. But God protected him in the best land, like He preserved Jesus in order to do whatever He wished as it was preordained in His knowledge of old.”

Again also my master James said from Holy Virgin Mary that she had said: “From the day he entered Nasrân, our Lord Jesus, as a human being, did not stop invoking God, because he was in reality a human being. Most often, he would eat dates, bread of barley, and honey. Apart from that, he did not stop invoking God, so that nothing failed them both at all after their spiritual separation and (due to) the love through God’s blessing that had been awarded to them both before. But God protected him in the best land, like He preserved Jesus in order to do whatever He wished as it was preordained in His knowledge of old.”

Our lord Jesus used to play on the mountain taking into his hands a poisonous snake, that did not bite him. He (also) walked on the sea in it. When his mother finished her religious exercise, he lowered his eyes, took his right leg and walked on the sea in it. He was commanded to be righteous towards God and you. My merit lies not in (my) faith, but my merit from God lies in my obedience towards Him and you.” He never interrupted the holy invocation of God. When he slept, he was sleeping on his right side, and he put his right hand under his right cheek and his left hand on his left thigh. His sleep was light, and Gabriel and the angels were protecting him with love by the commandment of God from everything feared to be ominous.

When the assigned time was fulfilled, the angel Gabriel said to them: “Return to the Holy Land, because God has wiped out your enemy and your dwelling-place will be Nasrân.” At that moment Joseph lost his fear that had surrounded him (all the time).

My master James told from Holy Virgin Mary that she had said: “I took Jesus by my hand and Joseph took my hand by his hand. [rjb] Gabriel traversed the earth and immediately we arrived at Nasrân. We entered it, without anybody recognizing us, until we informed the people about our journey. They rejoiced, and the maternal cousins Jesus and John embraced each other, so that nothing failed them both at all after their spiritual separation and (due to) the love through God’s blessing that had been awarded to them both before. But God protected him in the best land, like He preserved Jesus in order to do whatever He wished as it was preordained in His knowledge of old.”

Again also my master James said from Holy Virgin Mary that she had said: “From the day he entered Nasrân, our Lord Jesus, as a human being, did not stop invoking God, because he was in reality a human being. Most often, he would eat dates, bread of barley, and honey. Apart from that, he did not stop invoking God, so that nothing failed them both at all after their spiritual separation and (due to) the love through God’s blessing that had been awarded to them both before. But God protected him in the best land, like He preserved Jesus in order to do whatever He wished as it was preordained in His knowledge of old.”

Our lord Jesus used to play on the mountain taking into his hands a poisonous snake, that did not bite him. He (also) walked on the sea in it. When his mother finished her religious exercise, he lowered his eyes, took his right leg and walked on the sea in it. He was commanded to be righteous towards God and you. My merit lies not in (my) faith, but my merit from God lies in my obedience towards Him and you.” He never interrupted the holy invocation of God. When he slept, he was sleeping on his right side, and he put his right hand under his right cheek and his left hand on his left thigh. His sleep was light, and Gabriel and the angels were protecting him with love by the commandment of God from everything feared to be ominous.

When the assigned time was fulfilled, the angel Gabriel said to them: “Return to the Holy Land, because God has wiped out your enemy and your dwelling-place will be Nasrân.” At that moment Joseph lost his fear that had surrounded him (all the time).

My master James told from Holy Virgin Mary that she had said: “I took Jesus by my hand and Joseph took my hand by his hand. [rjb] Gabriel traversed the earth and immediately we arrived at Nasrân. We entered it, without anybody recognizing us, until we informed the people about our journey. They rejoiced, and the maternal cousins Jesus and John embraced each other, so that nothing failed them both at all after their spiritual separation and (due to) the love through God’s blessing that had been awarded to them both before. But God protected him in the best land, like He preserved Jesus in order to do whatever He wished as it was preordained in His knowledge of old.”

Again also my master James said from Holy Virgin Mary that she had said: “From the day he entered Nasrân, our Lord Jesus, as a human being, did not stop invoking God, because he was in reality a human being. Most often, he would eat dates, bread of barley, and honey. Apart from that, he did not touch any food. When he felt appetite, he ate, but when he had no appetite, he left it.” On him was the odor of bliss. [14a] That odor would remain in any place he had entered, without ever being extinguished.”
Our Lord Jesus answered him: “I say that (indeed), but I do not say that because you said so. Leave me alone, you cursed one!”. At that moment he ascended the mountain, to adore God there. And he fasted on it for forty days and nights, without being saturated by any food.

When he had completed that fast, Satan tempted him (again) saying: “Jesus, you are now overcome by hunger and need. If you are God’s Spirit,” he asked him. Jesus answered him: “Man lives not by bread alone, but his life is in the Word of God. Leave me alone, you cursed one!” He then parted from him.

And he attempted to seduce him two more times in various ways of seduction. But he chased him away.

Holy Virgin Mary said: “By God, had he answered the call of Satan, after him none of the holy servants of God would be saved from falling to shame. But God rescued him from that temptation.”

When having finished this, he started to preach the obedience of God the Exalted and the entrance of Heaven. He went down to the coast of the Lake of Galilee at Tiberias. He chose seventy believing men similar to the seventy men Moses chose to keep him close company. From them he privileged one of Galilee at Tiberias.” He chose seventy believing men similar to the seventy men Moses chose to keep him close company. From them he privileged, of whom Moses crossed the sea.

He called apostles, similar to the twelve runners of Galilee at Tiberias.” He chose seventy believing men similar to the twelve runners of Galilee at Tiberias.” He chose seventy believing men similar to the twelve runners of Galilee at Tiberias.” He chose seventy believing men similar to the twelve runners of Galilee at Tiberias.” He chose seventy believing men similar to the twelve runners of Galilee at Tiberias.” He chose seventy believing men similar to the twelve runners of Galilee at Tiberias.” He chose seventy believing men similar to the twelve runners of Galilee at Tiberias.” He chose seventy believing men similar to the twelve runners of Galilee at Tiberias.” He chose seventy believing men similar to the twelve runners of Galilee at Tiberias.” He chose seventy believing men similar to the twelve runners of Galilee at Tiberias.” He chose seventy believing men similar to the twelve runners of Galilee at Tiberias.” He chose seventy believing men similar to the twelve runners of Galilee at Tiberias.” He chose seventy believing men similar to the twelve runners of Galilee at Tiberias.” He chose seventy believing men similar to the twelve runners of Galilee at Tiberias.” He chose seventy believing men similar to the twelve runners of Galilee at Tiberias.” He chose seventy believing men similar to the twelve runners of Galilee at Tiberias.” He chose seventy believing men similar to the twelve runners of Galilee at Tiberias.” He chose seventy believing men similar to the twelve runners of Galilee at Tiberias.” He chose seventy believing men similar to the twelve runners of Galilee at Tiberias.” He chose seventy believing men similar to the twelve runners of Galilee at Tiberias.” He chose seventy believing men similar to the twelve runners of Galilee at Tiberias.” He chose seventy believing men similar to the twelve runners of Galilee at Tiberias.” He chose seventy believing men similar to the twelve runners of Galilee at Tiberias.” He chose seventy believing men similar to the twelve runners of Galilee at Tiberias.” He chose seventy believing men similar to the twelve runners of Galilee at Tiberias.” He chose seventy believing men similar to the twelve runners of Galilee at Tiberias.” He chose seventy believing men similar to the twelve runners of Galilee at Tiberias.” He chose seventy believing men similar to the twelve runners of Galilee at Tiberias.” He chose seventy believing men similar to the twelve runners of Galilee at Tiberias.” He chose seventy believing men similar to the twelve runners of Galilee at Tiberias.” He chose seventy believing men similar to the twelve runners of Galilee at Tiberias.” He chose seventy believing men similar to the twelve runners of Galilee at Tiberias.” He chose seventy believing men similar to the twelve runners of Galilee at Tiberias.” He chose seventy believing men similar to the twelve runners of Galilee at Tiberias.” He chose seventy believing men similar to the twelve runners of Galilee at Tiberias.” He chose seventy believing men similar to the twelve runners of Galilee at Tiberias.” He chose seventy believing men similar to the twelve runners of Galilee at Tiberias.” He chose seventy believing men similar to the twelve runners of Galilee at Tiberias.” He chose seventy believing men similar to the twelve runners of Galilee at Tiberias.” He chose seventy believing men similar to the twelve runners of Galilee at Tiberias.” He chose seventy believing men similar to the twelve runners of Galilee at Tiberias.” He chose seventy believing men similar to the twelve runners of Galilee at Tiberias.” He chose seventy believing men similar to the twelve runners of Galilee at Tiberias.” He chose seventy believing men similar to the twelve runners of Galilee at Tiberias.” He chose seventy believing men similar to the twelve runners of Galilee at Tiberias.” He chose seventy believing men similar to the twelve runners of Galilee at Tiberias.” He chose seventy believing men similar to the twelve runners of Galilee at Tiberias.” He chose seventy believing men similar to the twelve runners of Galilee at Tiberias.” He chose seventy believing men similar to the twelve runners of Galilee at Tiberias.” He chose seventy believing men similar to the twelve runners of Galilee at Tiberias.” He chose seventy believing men similar to the twelve runners of Galilee at Tiberias.” He chose seventy believing men similar to the twelve runners of Galilee at Tiberias.” He chose seventy believing men similar to the twelve runners of Galilee at Tiberias.” He chose seventy believing men similar to the twelve runners of Galilee at Tiberias.” He chose seventy believing men similar to the twelve runners of Galilee at Tiberias.” He chose seventy believing men similar to the twelve runners of Galilee at Tiberias.” He chose seventy believing men similar to the twelve runners of Galilee at Tiberias.” He chose seventy believing men similar to the twelve runners of Galilee at Tiberias.” He chose seventy believing men similar to the twelve runners of Galilee at Tiberias.” He chose seventy believing men similar to the twelve runners of Galilee at Tiberias.” He chose seventy believing men similar to the twelve runners of Galilee at Tiberias.” He chose seventy believing men similar to the twelve runners of Galilee at Tiberias.” He chose seventy believing men similar to the twelve runners of Galilee at Tiberias.” He chose seventy believing men similar to the twelve runners of Galilee at Tiberias.” He chose seventy believing men similar to the twelve runners of Galilee at Tiberias.” He chose seventy believing men similar to the twelve runners of Galilee at Tiberias.” He chose seventy believing men similar to the twelve runners of Galilee at Tiberias.” He chose seventy believing men similar to the twelve runners of Galilee at Tiberias.” He chose seventy believing men similar to the twelve runners of Galilee at Tiberias.” He chose seventy believing men similar to the twelve runners of Galilee at Tiberias.” He chose seventy believing men similar to the twelve runners of Galilee at Tiberias.” He chose seventy believing men similar to the twelve runners of Galilee at Tiberias.” He chose seventy believing men similar to the twelve runners of Galilee at Tiberias.” He chose seventy believing men similar to the twelve runners of Galilee at Tiberias.” He chose seventy believing men similar to the twelve runners of Galilee at Tiberias.” He chose seventy believing men similar to the twelve runners of Galilee at Tiberias.” He chose seventy believing men similar to the twelve runners of Galilee at Tiberias.” He chose seventy believing men similar to the twelve runners of Galilee at Tiberias.” He chose seventy believing men similar to the twelve runners of Galilee at Tiberias.” He chose seventy believing men similar to the twelve runners of Galilee at Tiberias.” He chose seventy believing men similar to the twelve runners of Galilee at Tiberias.” He chose seventy believing men similar to the twelve runners of Galilee at Tiberias.” He chose seventy believing men similar to the twelve runners of Galilee at Tiberias.” He chose seventy believing men similar to the twelve runners of Galilee at Tiberias.” He chose seventy believing men similar to the twelve runners of Galilee at Tiberias.” He chose seventy believing men similar to the twelve runners of Galilee at Tiberias.” He chose seventy believing men similar to the twelve runners of Galilee at Tiberias.” He chose seventy believing men similar to the twelve runners of Galilee at Tiberias.” He chose seventy believing men similar to the twelve runners of Galilee at Tiberias.” He chose seventy believing men similar to the twelve runners of Galilee at Tiberias.” He chose seventy believing men similar to the twelve runners of Galilee at Tiberias.” He chose seventy believing men similar to the twelve runners of Galilee at Tiberias.” He chose seventy believing men similar to the twelve runners of Galilee at Tiberias.” He chose seventy believing men similar to the twelve runners of Galilee at Tiberias.” He chose seventy believing men similar to the twelve runners of Galilee at Tiberia...
of the sun eclipsed, and the earth and the garment lightened up like snow. There had appeared Moses [r6b] al-Kalîm at his right and Elijah at his left side. He told them: "With which good tidings have you been sent to the world?"

They answered: "With (the message) that you are the Spirit of God (and) the Mediator of Men through the Venerable Gospel." They then saw a veil in the clouds which radiated a dazzling light. The mountain trembled and an angel voiced, and lo a call from near God was saying: "This is my Spirit and my pleasure!" When they heard that, they fell to the earth, dumbfounded and frightened. He said to them: "Stand up, and fear not, because God is with you." They lifted their face and only saw our lord Jesus alone between them. Then, when they ascended the mountain, he commanded them to preserve this secret which they had seen, until after the resurrection of the Son of Man.

Peter the apostle said: [r7a] "Our lord Jesus did not take any moment rest from the times of prayers. And he only performed a miracle for the reason of (providing) proof of his mission, like on the day when he fed five thousand hungry men, without (counting) the children and women, with five loaves of barley bread and two fishes.

"Nothing was asked from him without him complying with the person's request. Whenever he was asked to administer justice, he applied the religious rules according to the essence of the Law. He never uttered a light-hearted word, but he cured the blind born, the lepers, the blind, the lame, the hump-backed, the deaf and the thumb. He forgave sins, revived the death, cured the distemper of Pharaoh was a miracle which signifies his miracles to cure the hearts.

Nobody can describe his miracles [r7b] their causes and their virtues, or write them down in a book. Holy Virgin Mary said about him that he told her (providing) proof (of his mission), like on the day when he fed five thousand men from the people. He fathomed the greatest of secrets in their hearts."

Chapter on His Good Qualities and His Morals, as Well as of His Mother Mary

My master James said that Holy Virgin Mary was asked about the morals of our lord Jesus. She answered: "If you want to know his morals, you should know that they are (identical) to the Gospel. If you know it, you know Jesus' morals, all of them." Thus also Joseph, her husband, said about the angel Gabriel that he informed him that the children of Adam and his wife Eve were of outstanding form and the most beautiful morals, because God created them, formed them both with the hands of His might and blew into them both (His) spirit. David, the prophet of God, was similar to them, and Joseph the son of Jacob was also similar in nature and morals. (Also) Zidîbah was similar to Eve in nature and morals. [Ab] Jesus and his mother Mary surpassed all of them by far as both of them were attached to all the prophets in nature and morals, and in knowledge and speech. Not (a single beautiful) young man could ever equal them. His stature was straight, his backside wide, his breast high, his face round, his skin wheat-colored, his hear had the color of ripened dates. His face was beautiful, his gaze full of mercy, both in public and in the deepest of secrets. No human being would meet him without his heart being inclined towards him. He would only leave him against his own will.

The following physical descriptions of Jesus find their origin directly or indirectly in various hadiths. See EQ, s.v. "Jesus", "physical description (Robinson)." Dobelio (fols. 126a, 128b-131a) refers here to many parallels in descriptions of Muhammad in Kitâb al-shifâ' and al-Ghazâlî.
Also his mother's stature was straight, her skin wheat-colored, her face round, her breast high, her hair had the color of the hair of her son. Her excellent qualities and her morals were like those of him. Nobody would wish a meeting with her to be devoid of her presence, unless against one's own will.

Chapter of His Demise

When our Lord Jesus had completed his preaching, he entered Jarjallān (19a) and said to the Apostles: "Don't you know that the announced time has come for the son of man to be crucified?"

It was the Feast of the Sheep. Thus he took dinner with them at a table. After he had divided the bread, he gave them from it, saying: "Eat, because this is my body." And after having finished eating, he took a large glass144 and said: "Drink, this is my fresh blood shed in the glass' book."

He then said to them: "In this night the shepherd will be taken away and his sheep will be dispersed."

Peter asked: "Who is the shepherd?"

He answered: "That is me."

Peter said: "I will (only) leave you in death."

He answered him: "In this same night you will deny me three times, before the crowing of the cock."

In that time the ruler in Rome was Tiberius Caesar and his governor in Jarjallān was Pilate. The Pharisees looked for Jesus to crucify him by false winesses. (19b) When they entered the garden, viz. the place where he used to invoke his Lord, the Apostles dispersed and lost all their confidence. But God completed his time through the angel.166

The one who sold him for a fixed price of silver, Judas, said to them: "Take the one kissed as the person sold." So they took the one kissed who was his breast with a stick and gave him his head, putting a turban of thorns on his head. He then said to them: "In this night the shepherd will be taken away and his sheep will be dispersed." He then said to them: "In this night the shepherd will be taken away and his sheep will be dispersed."

Peter asked: "Who is the shepherd?"

He answered: "That is me."

Peter said: "I will (only) leave you in death."

He answered him: "In this same night you will deny me three times, before the crowing of the cock."

In that time the ruler in Rome was Tiberius Caesar and his governor in Jarjallān was Pilate. The Pharisees looked for Jesus to crucify him by false winesses. (19b) When they entered the garden, viz. the place where he used to invoke his Lord, the Apostles dispersed and lost all their confidence. But God completed his time through the angel.166

The one who sold him for a fixed price of silver, Judas, said to them: "Take the one kissed as the person sold." So they took the one kissed who was exemplified in the Tawrät and they carried him to the governor, but he found no cause against him. However, the Jews demanded him to be whipped, and Pilate chastised him, putting a turban of thorns on his head. He told him: "Don't you know that I can crucify you if I wish, and set you free if I wish?"

He answered him: "You have no power over me, apart from the (might) given to you by Him who dwells in Heaven."

So, because of the obstinate Jews, he sent him to be crucified, and he was crucified between two thieves, as (20a) was their customary penalty. They opened his breast with a stick and gave him myrrh and vinegar to drink." Before his time (had come), he said: "My God, my God, why hast thou forsaken me?" And he said: "It is fulfilled." At that moment the earth trembled enormously, the sun sank, darkness spread and the new moon appeared. The stars were hitting each other and the veil of the prayer-hall tore down, while the dead were revived from their graves. But the people feared and were bewildered, saying: "Undoubtedly, this was no one else than the Spirit of God, but we have done great injustice to ourselves."

After this, his family took him by permission and laid him in the grave. They informed about him after three days but did not find him. Then our lord Jesus appeared to the Apostles saying: "Did I not say to you when I was living among you that whoever will see me after my demise will have seen me truly?" They answered: "Yes." He answered: "I am your teacher, teach the Gospel" to all men in the world. Whosoever repents, believes, is baptized with water and performs good deeds, will be saved. But whosoever does not do that, will perish.

Holy Virgin Mary said: "The first he visited was she." After that, during forty days he visited her every night,194 and other people God wished (to be visited by him) after that. When that period had been completed, he ascended to heaven.

134 Arabic: qawllul see CODA, x. 19<sup>3</sup>.
135 At this place, there is a hole in the original, allowing for (no more than) two letters. De Luna: "Esas es mi sangre del nuevo testamento."
136 We read "Wo-bāltān [ha-dā]tnwalla šabū [wa-gūllū], Allāh w db haw, Allāh, which in fact = wa-waλū in 50a, Allāh, God completed his time through the angel. This is clearly inspired by the Qur'ān (cf. 5:32-33).
137 Marginal annotation by De Luna: "En cambio las hebreas. Miguel de Luna." In fact, after the word al-malak, a space was left open in the original of about one word.
138 De Luna: "Sin duda ninguno este es hijo de Dios."
139 Marginal annotation by De Luna: "En el original de este libro en este lugar se une paré escribe en cuatro letras, no se entienden ni leen porque no son ningunas parecen hebras. Miguel de Luna." In fact, after the word al-malak, a space was left open in the original of about one word.
140 In accordance with Islamic doctrine.
141 De Luna's remark is a mystification.
142 In accordance with Islamic mourning customs.
(And it was transmitted) from Idrîs to the Apostle that he had said: “When Peter realized his sin of denying (him), while Jesus during his life had told him: ‘You are a stone and on this stone I will found my Holy House,’ I give you the vicariate (al-khalîfa) on earth to loosen and to bind, as well as the keys of heaven. Whomsoever you will justly bind will be bound in heaven, and whomsoever you will loosen, will be loosened,”—he was overcome by repentance and of his face stuck to his bones by fasting. His prayer was: ‘My God and Lord, I

Below all these events there are marvelous mysteries and a great enigma (al-khilâfa) to finish this book, though the writing of it was completed by myself but I hid it because of a necessity which God served me to finish this book, whereas my goal was to describe the intention of the work and its theory of the Islamic background and its author.

There is no god but God, Jesus is the Spirit of God!”

To God belongs the Unity!
لا يمكنني قراءة النص العربي المقدمة. أنصح بالتحقق من الصورة وإعادة تقديم النصية باللغة العربية الصحيحة.
The text is in Arabic and does not seem to contain any natural language that can be translated into English.
One would have expected...
فانذكيرنا إلى بعض كتابات هذا القسم، فإن الاختلاف في الطرق التي تُعدهن تلك المكتبة، فإن الاختلاف في الطرق التي تُعدهن تلك المكتبة. إن الاختلاف في الطرق التي تُعدهن تلك المكتبة، فإن الاختلاف في الطرق التي تُعدهن تلك المكتبة، فإن الاختلاف في الطرق التي تُعدهن تلك المكتبة. هناك بعض اختلاف في الطرق التي تُعدهن تلك المكتبة، فإن الاختلاف في الطرق التي تُعدهن تلك المكتبة، فإن الاختلاف في الطرق التي تُعدهن تلك المكتبة، فإن الاختلاف في الطرق التي تُعدهن تلك المكتبة.
List of Abbreviations Used in the Edition of the Text

CDDA = Libro de las excelencias de nuestro Señor Jesús, y sus milagros, y de su madre María la bendita virgen. Annotated translation by Miguel de Luna. Dated March 11, 1596. Archivo de la Real Chancillería, Granada, N° 2429-14, fol. 147v-150v.

Dobello = Marcos Dobelio, Nuevo descubrimiento de la falsedad del metal. Biblioteca de Castilla-La Mancha, Toledo, MS 285.


EQ = Dammam McAlpine, Gilliot, and Graham, Encyclopaedia of the Qur’an. Hagerty = Hagerty, Libros Piombos.

Notes

1. Parchment of the Torre Turpiana, Archive of the Sacromonte Abbey.

2. See the historical aspects, see the recent study by Odá, Fingering the Past.

3. Their source is the Dobello manuscript in the Real Academia de la Historia in Madrid. The research of Grand-Wiengs received funding from the HERA project encounters with the Orient in Early Modern Scholarship (FOS) and the European Research Council under the European Union’s Seventh Framework Programme (FP7/2007-13) / ERC Grant Agreement number 343165, project CORPI: "Conversion, Overlapping Religiosities, Polerics, Intersection: Early Modern Iberia and Beyond.


7. There is no MS Gayangos 19-4-35, RAI. See García-Arenal and Rodríguez Mediane, Oriente español, Archivo General de Simancas, Legajo 2645.

8. But see Harvey and Wiengs, "Translation from Arabic," 65: "Marco Dobelio, que fue intérprete de Paulo Quinto en Roma, y lo mandó hacer el rey Phelipe 30," and a few lines later, he mentions the name of his president, the cardinal of Toledo, Bernardo de Borja y Sandoval, leaving no doubt that it was this committee.


9. See García-Arenal and Rodríguez Mediane, Oriente español, Archivo General de Simancas, Legajo 2645. Among those drafts, they state, there is a draft translation entitled the Vida de milagros de Cristo, nuestro Señor y Madre de Dios (1618), but it does not seem to correspond to the actual translation included in the present chapter.

9. In fol. 16, he mentions "haciendo sídor llamado por orden de la mujer que mandó hacer el rey Philipo 30," and a few lines later, he mentions the name of its president, the cardinal of Toledo, Bernardo de Borja y Sandoval, leaving no doubt that it was this committee.
inversión Morisca, y cosa indigna de apoyarse por buena, y al Ayohaya le dijo que no era Sábado por eso, y en el día los escudos y le despidió. "Here, the fee is said to have consisted of no more than one hundred escudos.

19. Levi della Vida, "Manoscritti arabi di origine spagnola" (= Studi e Testi 220).

We have been able to trace five Parthian manuscripts mentioned by Dobelio in the Vatican Borgia ARCHIUM. Manuscripts described by Levi della Vida: (1) BORG. ARCHIUM 143: Al-Balqat, Kitâb al-anwär, dated 694/1059, pp. 113-115, 190-193; (2) BORG. ARCHIUM 110: Zaid al-adîd i wa-nafâ al-adîfî, dated 659/1260, pp. 172-175; (3) BORG. ARCHIUM 171: "Letter of Ibn jum a a from Fez (87 al-ahdār)," pp. 119-121; (4) BORG. ARCHIUM 193: Mahfâla ma'â al-pâkîdî, dated 786/1384, pp. 159-161, 321-322; (5) BORG. ARCHIUM 225: "Porteau d'Arabic translation of Sâ'adîs Gâmm, pp. 273-274, 390-391.

MS 285, Toledo, fol. 36v. On this text, see Albericano Navarro and Martínez Ruiz, Medina, farmacopea y magia. 50. "Un árabe español docto no solo en la sagrada escritura, pero también de la lengua hebrea," MS 285, Toledo, fol. 360v.

The original of this book is lost—that is, it is not found among the Lead Books that were returned to the archive of the Sacromonte Abbey by the Vatican. Transcriptions are extant in MS A 1, Archivo del Sacromonte de Granada, and documents about the evaluation process preserved in the Vatican archives.

Miguel de Luna, "Libro de las excelencias de nuestro Señor Jesús y sus milagros, y de su madre María la bendita Virgen," 35. MS 19, 2-2 36, RAH. 36. This title is found on fol. 298r.

The translation of the Lead Books is found in the Mafjar by the Moroccan mufti Ibn Bu'jam's found on fol. 34v (67), but in fact, the translation of the Jewish was done by Dobelio as part of his Diccionario Arabic manuscript containing it was found in the Pametsa collection, and from his remarks, it seems clear that he is indeed referring to that particular manuscript. This same manuscript was among those that were later transferred to the Vatican Library, as we have seen. Dobelio interpreted the existence of such a Jewish and its circulation among the Moriscos as evidence for the Morisco authorship of the Lead Books. This translation was analyzed by Rosa-Rodriquez, "Simulation and Distillation," 143-145. The author of this article did not identify the role of Dobelio. Dobelio mentions the falsaf that is in the Mafjar y el descubrimiento as well (MS 285, Toledo, fol. 360v).

MS 19, 2-2 36, RAH. 37. Harvey and Wiggers, "Translation from Arabic," 63.

40. Floristán, "Francisco de Gurmendi," 366. 41. MS 285, Toledo, fol. 41v. The anonymous and telephatic pamphlet against Gurmendi's translations of the Lead Books is found in a codex, BNE MS 1275, fols. 14v. 42. This manuscript includes the complete translation of the Lead Books.
46. MS 285, Toledo, fol. 91v: "Después de
49. MS 285, Toledo, fol. 135v: "El autor
42. This is an important difference with the
45. The Arabic text of the Lead Book reads
50. Lead Book 7, fol. 21a.
54- MS 285, Toledo, fol. 165v.
55. See, for example, MS 285, fol. 3or.
53. As rightly observed by Bernabé Pons,
51. MS 285, Toledo, fol. 146r-147r.
y les prometió el Reyno." Apparently, the
lo susodicho, el autor dice, que nuestro
masdar form (viz., by
tuhhïra- that
example, it uses the masdar form
in the second case, "purification" (viz., by
mention his source. For Gurmendi,
exist also more: "Pedro de Valencia),
García-Arenal and Rodríguez Mediano,
Oriente español, 246-49; Morocho Gayo,
Palomares, and Florianist, "Francisco de Gurmendi"
64. According to Medina Conde, in his
60. MS 19-2-2 36, RAH, fol. 35r.
62. MS 285, Toledo, fol. 327r.
59. MS 19-2-2 36, RAH, fol. 364r.
57. MS 19-2-2 36, RAH, fol. 364v.
58. MS 285, Toledo, fol. 152r; MS Ri Y-C,
Archivio della Congregazione per la
Dottina della Fede, Vatican City Rome
(ACDF), fol. 170v.
56. MS 19-2-2 36, RAH, fol. 132v.
61. MS 285, Toledo, fol. 127v.
63. As mentioned explicitly by one of the
defenders of the Lead Books, Criminal
Medina Conde. In his Inferno, MS
1271, BNE, fol. 34v. See also Magnier,
According to Morocho Gayo, Pedro de Valencia,
1279/92, the original treatise, dated
1517, is extant in the Vatican papiros
documents (shelfmark MS P 929) and
in the Archive of theSacromonte, Leg 6,
par a 4, fol. 137v-142v. This treatise
would later serve as an important source
in the request by theologians and
inquisitors to the pope to condemn
the Lead Books. The text deserves
a separate study and cannot be dealt
with here. We do not think, however,
that the manuscript kept in the
Sacromonte is the original treatise.
See, for general
information on the period, Alonso,
Apología del Sacromonte, 201, esp. 310,
on the translation that Gurmendi made
with scholars of Mendesia, documents
that were sent to the Council Real and the
Inquisition in 1616. On Gurmendi, who
died March 16, 1621; see Kendrick,
St James in Spain, 104, who describes
Gurmendi as a "régimen." According
to Kendrick, some transcriptions of the
Lead Books in the possession of Joan Iñiguez
had been studied by Gurmendi, his staff
members, who in turn provided
the enemies of the books with information
about their contents. Kendrick does not
mention his source. For Gurmendi,
see also more: "Pedro de Valencia),
García-Arenal and Rodríguez Mediano,
Oriente español, 246-49; Morocho Gayo,
Palomares, and Florianist, "Francisco de Gurmendi"
64. According to Medina Conde, in his
afternoon Informe (MS 1271, BNE, fol.
34v). Gurmendi succeeded Miguel
de Luna as royal translator after the
latter died in 1519. However, Florianist,
"Francisco de Gurmendi") 59, points that
this date is not correct and that Gurmendi
was active as a translator as early as
1604. Perhaps we have to distinguish
between various officers and tasks. Further
research is needed here. It was Dóbel
himself who introduced Gurmendi to
the Arabic language. He writes in his
Informe (MS 19-2-2 36, RAH, fol. 364v).
"Habiendo entronizado [sic] a Francisco de Gurmendi en la Jerga.
65. This pamphlet is extant in MS 1271,
BNE, fols. 1-17; in MS 6437, BNE, fols.
24-37v; and in the Archivo de la Real
Chancillería in Granada. Here, we base
ourselves on BNE MS 1271, a compendium
of various handwritten documents and
printed texts, and follow the restitution
of the pamphlet itself.
66. MS 1271, BNE, fol. A 1v.
67. MS 1271, fol. A 1v.
68. MS 1271, fol. A 2v.
69. MS 1271, fol. A 4v.
70. MS 1271, fol. B 1.
72. MS 1271, fol. B 3.
73. The author is very likely
referring here to Dóbel's remarkable
lecture held in Granada in 1999 in which
he defended the authenticity of the
Lead Books. See Von Rosingeid and
Wagner, "Free Documents," 199.
74. MS 1271, BNE, fol. C 7v and MS 189,
Toledo, fol. 280v, with a reproduction of
the original lead leaf on 27v (Lead
Book 2). The words are indeed Qur'anic.
See, for example, 6:166 and other
places, where it is told that God suffices
as a witness. The words 'al dhikra are
not part of any of these Qur'anic
passages and refer to the preceding.
passage in the Lead Book. The expression is not found in sura 12.

73. Dobello describes him as "un hombre inteligente en la lengua árabe y tradujo las limenas, que se hallaron en el Monte Valparaiso, que la una se titula: Libros de la los fundamentos y reglas de la ley y la otra De Essentia Dei. Que parece inventación de moriscos." Magnier, "Pedro de Valencia," 210, 211/145.

74. On Ludovico Marracci, see Breviario, "Quo in Translaciones," and the recent study by Glei and Tottoli, Ludovico Marracci at Work.

75. Archive of the Congregación per la Doctrina della Fe, documents related to the Lead Books of Granada, no. 776, 777 fols. (papal bull of 1683 and "votos" of the evaluators of the assessment committee).

76. "Pars prima: Laminas Granatenses Mahometanis verbis, sententiis, fabulis, erroribus respersas esse."

77. "Pars secunda: Laminas Granatenses multa sanae doctrinae dissimae, quorum plerumque Mahometanis erroribus consonant, continebat."

78. "Pars tercia: Laminas Granatenses a sacra et ecclesiasticis historias saepe dissonae, cum Mahometanica concinente."

79. "Pars quarta: Alia quaedam a laminis Granatensibus confusion adnotata."


82. Marracci, Disquisitio, "Pars quinta," fol. 122r.

III

MEDITERRANEAN AND EUROPEAN TRANSFERS