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: 23 Aug 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 separate areas of study and challenge scholars to rethink the role of encounter and exchange in the formation of the modern world.

Other titles in this series:
Thomas W. Barton, Contested Treasure: Jews and Authority in the Crown of Aragon
70. We used the 2011 edition of Pascual, Sahaba mahometana, edited by Fernando González Muñoz.

71. For further information about the purpose and style of the Antialcorano tradition, see Bunes Ibarra, "Enfrentamiento con el Islam."

72. Interián de Ayala, Pintor cristiano y erudito. See also Angelich Gutiérrez, "Pintor cristiano y erudito."

73. BNE MSS 84914, Fragmentos históricos.

74. In addition to Tirso de Molina's work, I have looked at BNE MSS 4159, Felipe Colombo, Historia general de la real y militar Orden de Nuestra Señora de la Merced Redención de cautivos, desde su milagrosa fundación hasta nuestros tiempos (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; and Zumel, Regula et constitutiones.

75. 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 Téllez, Historia General, 471. Some of these relationships were studied in Taylor, Structures of Reform, 440.

76. Taylor, Structures of Reform, 362-69.

77. For a stylistic and formalist analysis, see Benito Goerlich, "Pintura recuperada"; and Benito Goerlich, "Vista de San Pedro Pascual." 239-31.

78. Callado Estela, "El Padre en amia nosa."

79. For a complete analysis of Mercedarian iconography, see Zuriaga, Imagen devocional.


81. Interián de Ayala, Pintor cristiano y erudito, 439. For further information about other representations of this saint, see Mateu Ibars, "San Pedro Pascual."

82. Burke, "How to Become a Counter-Reformation Saint," in Burke, Historical Anthropology.

83. Feros Carrasco, "Retóricas de la Expulsión."

84. 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. 

90. 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 prophetic 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 about the Parchment and the Lead Books that took place in Spain between 1595 (the year in which the first discoveries were made) and 1638 (the year in which a very important polemical text was published). As we will see, there was one central theme that dominated the discussion: whether the Parchment and Lead Books were authentic early Christian documents or not. Interestingly, some of the translators who studied the original Lead Books argued that they were authentic, while others argued, on the basis of the same texts, that they were forgeries. Anyone who studies the polemics about the Lead Books will at some stage be confronted with the question of how such widely differing interpretations were possible even though these early readers of the Lead Books had empirical, firsthand knowledge of the original texts.

Very early on, the religious authorities—in particular, Pedro Vaca de Castro y Quiñones (1514–1623), archbishop of Granada and Seville, who was the Lead Books’ most important advocate and a staunch defender of their interpretation as authentic Christian documents—were accused of manipulating the discussions and, in any case, of not allowing opponents to voice doubts about their authenticity. Without access to the original documents, it was very difficult to judge the nature and background of the individual contributions to the polemical and scholarly debates, but we can now begin to form a better idea about this and thus make some progress in solving the mystery. Of course, it is impossible to evaluate the entire debate here, nor can we pretend to do full justice to its many complexities. Needless to say, the polemical character of the debate was influenced not only by different views on the contents of the books but also by religious, political, social, and economic interests. 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-Du‘ibilî al-Kurdi (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 1618 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.

Probable 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, to

²
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 Rodriguez 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 Jesu, 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 he had 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 (1584 -1624) referred to it as one of the most important in Europe in his first inaugural lecture about the merits of the Arabic language, delivered in Leiden in 1621. 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 1631. 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 Kitâb mahbûsin sayyidinâ Yâsî wa-ma 'âjizihî wa-ummihî Maryam al-ṣâliha al-wâlida (Book of the Outstanding Qualities and Miracles of Our Lord Jesus and of His Mother the Holy Virgin Mary), Lead Book 7, henceforth referred to 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) Kitâb quaûs 'id al-din li-Tis'ûn ibn 'Anâr, tilmîdh Ya'qüb as-salîh al-aswadîr (“Book of the Fundamentals of Religion by Tis’ün ibn ‘Anâr, a Disciple of James the Apostle”), or, as it was called in Latin on its now-lost cover, Liber Fundamenti Ecclesiae Salomonis characteribus scritus (Lead Book no. 1 of the Sacromonte Abbey in Granada); (2) Kitâb li-Tis’ûn ibn ‘Anâr fî al-dhât al-karîma (“Book by Tis’ün ibn ‘Anâr about the Venerable Essence [viz. of God]”), called, in Latin, Liber de essentia Dei (Lead Book no. 2); and
tion of this last book, since he claimed that "God had permitted me that the life of our Lord Jesus carne into my possession in a translation from which the texts. We will return to it below. The two other books we just mentioned were I have taken everything which the 'laminaries' have always kept secret as an books have strongly theological and dogmatic content, as their titles indicate. These were also the two Lead Books that Dobelio studied in 1610 while still in the service of Archbishop Pedro de Castro.

In his study of the Lead Books in the introduction to the Nuovo decu-brimiento de la falsedad del metal, 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 Oraçió y nómima de Jacob el Zebedeo el Apóstol. This is in fact Lead Book number 3, entitled Duála wa-hirz li-Ya'qüb ibn Shamíkh al-Zabadï ("Invocation and Armulet by the Apostle Ya'qüb ibn Shamíkh al-Zabadï"). 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 king. From the documents preserved in the Archive of the Sacromonte Abbey, it appears that in 1611, 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 Cuichechimo Maor (Arabic title: Kitáb makhvat al-husnahrýn)—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 Vité, 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-Qäçlï 'Iyäd's Kitáb al-shifá fi huqûq al-Muṣtált, al-Bakrï's very popular kitáb al-anwár, and a magical text in which Solomon's Sulaymân plays an important role, Kitáb al-anwár fi funun maddahib al-shuttär wa-hum al-tayälïq. 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 Spanish 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'ân, 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 Vité 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 Vité 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 1624, 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 the disarray into which the treatise has fallen per­haps explains why earlier researchers were unable to fully understand its title, text, and authorship.10 Dobelio makes clear that he had come across the translation of Lead Book number 7 in March 1633, when he was inspect­ing Arabic manuscripts at the Escorial Library on the orders of the Spanish king.11 That Dobelio was indeed working in the service of the king at that time is confirmed by the historian Luis Tribaldos de Toledo (1538–1636), 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.”12 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 Vida 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, all 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.13 It was the Vatican, they argued, that should be responsible for the evaluation of their doctrine. Offering a critique of the Vida implied analyzing a narrative, and not dog­matic doctrine, Dobelio argues.” Another, perhaps more important, reason may be that the Vida 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 Vida, 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’an, 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 “promised one” (prometido) as 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.14 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. 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. Dobelio’s error may be due to the fact that Sergio’s version mistranslated the Arabic original and speaks of baptism instead of circumcision.

The identity of the Blessed One, the promised Messiah (muhammad), 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 Isid. Dobelio quotes this passage from Sergio’s translation and interprets the words Aid Magid to be a faulty rendering of the Hebrew bi-mimed 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 17:20, play a key role in anti-Jewish polemical texts. We find them, for example, in Samas al-Magribi’s well-known anti-Jewish polemical Fascism al-yahüd. 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. According to Dobelio, the author was not very familiar with the Christian creed and the story of the passion. 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. 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. Thus the readers are told that the disciples based their beliefs on faulty evidence; the only true witnesses to the life of Jesus are Tis’ün ibn ‘Attär and his brother Sa’i’s al-Ayāh, 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 (nevalades), 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 (tawaffa Allāhu ma'amūd Allāhu 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. 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 Ġīrāha ʿllā Allāh 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 Ġīrāha ʿllā Allāh and the accompanying letters: mīm and nāʾ 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—Ġīrāha ʿllā Allāh; Miṣḥamad Rasūl Allāh ("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 nāʾ could be read as al-mūsidī Allāh, Muhammads (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" (lāminārii)—that is, the defenders of the authenticity of the lāminās, 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 meta, 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 waṣūl ʿal-ʾimān and Kitāb fi ʾaḥābat al-karīma, 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 Philip 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 in his Nuevo descubrimiento; the terms are identical to those used by Dobelio and analyzed here. Let us first briefly discuss the contents. At the very start, the polemician 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: intérprete), Gurmendi; the commentary plays no role at all. In fact, the polemician states that the translation and commentary were written by one and the same person, according to the polemician, 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 polemician states that the translator's interpretations of the Arabic were wrong and that he had not studied the original texts but only drafts (borradores). 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 Sacromonte between the ashes of the Granadan martyrs. And why, he continues, did the critic ignore Pope Clement VIII's brief against 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-kaft bi'llah shahidan 'ala dhalika, la ilaha ila 'llah, mïm 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 mïm 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, Muhammad' 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 mïm and ra' as references to the Islamic creed about 'Muhammad' as God's Envoy (Rasûl). Both Dobelio and Gurmendi seem to offer an extensive discussion about the meaning of the Arabic word 'alâ (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-dhât 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 1658.

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 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 return 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 repercussion 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 Gurmení. 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 Gurmení was aware of Dobelio’s views. Gurmení’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 polemical. Like Gurmení, 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 Derrorarán y Mendía, Diego de Urrea, Pedro de Valencia, Marcos Dobelio, and Francisco de Gurmení. That the circle around Castro chose to react anonymously to Gurmení’s translation, commissioned by the king himself, was probably due to the papal brief forbidding further discussion of the Lead Books. This debate pit­ted 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 1613, Dobelio came across the Spanish translation of the Vita made by Sergio, the Maronite translator working in the service of the Marquis of Estarte 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. 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.
FIG. 9.1. Book of the Outstanding Qualities and Miracles of Our Lord Jesus and of His Mother the Virgin Mary.

---

1. Arabic: al-ma'ajiz (pl. of mu'ajz) in Islamic theological language usually indicating the miracles, granted by God to prophets to allow them to prove their claim to prophethood, contrary to the latestor of saints (akhyâ). Mu'ajz, "miracles," is also documented in CDAA, s.v. "jç," where the Vocabulist is Arabic (often ascribed to Ramon Martí) is the only source quoted for this meaning.

2. Always written in the original Arabic as 'sówî, with emphatical t, in contra-distinction to Tisú (with sh), as usually found in Christian Arabic sources, also from al-Andalus. Only in the Granada Parchment is Jesus indicated by his Qur'anic name, Tisú. To disguise his all-too-obvious Islamic intentions, the author decided to change his strategy concerning this name in the Lead Books, adopting its Christian Arabic form but with a pseudo-archaic spelling added to suggest that his name was more ancient and more original than the one found in the original Arabic sources. Dobelio (fol. 6a ff), comments that "our Lord Jesus" is not a Christian way to designate Jesus Christ. He adds (fol. 100b r.) that in the Voca, there is no reference to Jesus as the Son of God, while in the Fundamentum fâbû and the De essentia Dei, this doctrine is only referred to between parentheses.

3. Arabic: al-sâlihin (al-salih). Sâlih in the meaning of "sanctus" is documented in CDAA, s.v. "sh," where the Latin-Arabic Glossary, s.v. "sanctus" is the only source quoted for this meaning.

4. Literally, "ninety." Old translations as well as contemporary studies have read the name as Tisúun and translated it as "Theasons." However, the Lead Books consistently read Tisú. Tisú and two of his brothers have names ending in šîn, frequently to be found in al-Andalus.

5. Dobelio (fols. 15b-17) points out that al-hasanî and al-khairîya are the Islamic designation for the apostle of Jesus with the designating meaning of laureate. According to him, Christian Arabs are using the word al-hasanî, whereas in biblical translations from al-Andalus, the word al-wasâwî is in fact used—for example, Bâlûš dâllâ (in Can. at 57° of the BNE in Madrid).

6. The Arabian Texts are mentioned by Lammens, Arabic occidentale avant l'Hégire, 157-166. Dobelio (pp. 158-159) says, "El autor que fue Arabe noble de la tierra de África y vino a ser grande en España (como se puede conjeturar)."

7. About Sâlih as an Arabian prophet in the Qur'ân and the Islamic tradition, see A. Rippin, in BT, s.v. "Sâlih." Dobelio (fol. 15a) stresses that there is no relation between this Sâlih, a descendant of Thamûd, and the biblical Sâlih, great-grandson of Noah.
He had four male and three female children. The names of the males were Tûn, Sâ‘înîn, I., Tis’ûn, and Ibn al-‘Râ’dî; the females were Shamâs, Yâqûtâ and Dauriya.

I was created blind. My brother Ibn al-‘Râ’dî 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 

Jesus said to him: “Sâlih, your faith is strong, and I will fulfill your wish.” At that occasion, Sâlih 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. 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: “Sâlih, 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 of the prayer-hall 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 of the prayer-hall

In his translation of 1596, Miguel de Luna systematically translates this expression as “Nuestro Señor Jesús hijo de Dios verdadero,” including its Islamic tendency.

De Luna, in a marginal note: “La dicción arábiga [al mahda] significa agua en fuente o en pila o de otra manera.” Cussac CDMA, ss. "rub‘ al‘dīl" [Jesse] from the Vocabulary in Arzubio [when ascribed to Ramon Martí], De Luna (fol. 231). “Me parece que el autor entendía por los lavacros de los templos los lavacones que hacen en sus templos las Mahometanas antes de remitir en sus naves, dichos comúnmente al-walā‘.”

224

P A R T 2 A R O U N D T H E F O R C E D C O N V E R S I O N S

He then put his hand on the head of my brother Ibn al-‘Râ’dî, 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) Sa‘în 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 Sâlih ibn ‘Attär 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 [3b] 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 opposed meaning is implied here.

9. In Arabic: Rûh Allâh al-Arâf. Jesus is referred to in the Qur’ân as “a spirit from Him” (4:199)—that is, of God (4:77)—which, from an Islamic point of view, would allow to call him Rûh Allâh, as he is also occasionally referred to in the Lead Books.

10. In the Qur’ân, the expression trustworthy spirit (without the explicit attribution of the Spirit to God), however, refers to Gabriel (Iibrïl), not Jesus. Cf. J. Pedersen, in EI', “Djabrä'ïl,” In the Lead Books, Jesus is referred to as an almost standard expression.

11. De Luna: “Que vos soys su hijo verdadero.”

12. The author is providing a (fancy) Arabic etymology for the name Cecilio, explaining its origin and meaning in the ancient, paleo-Christian Arabic only accessible to himself.

13. Here, the Arabic original reads Badruh, with it elsewhere in the Lead Books, it is frequently written with b; thus Yâdruh. A possible explanation might be that in the original the scribe/engraver was working from Peter’s name had been provided with three dots underneath its first letter in order to indicate the letter P, as was done, for instance, in the Jillísmi alphabet and in the Ottomano-Turksh and Persian alphabets. Not understanding the meaning of these three dots, the scribe/engraver confused himself in those cases to two dots, erroneously changing Peter’s name into Yâdruh. In his lengthy quotations from the Lead Books, Al-Hajarî also consistently writes Yâdruh in his autograph manuscript preserved in the National Library in Cairo of Kitâb Nâyir al-Dîn as al-Qâmi al-Kifîrî.
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) adoration. (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 Sālih 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 but after death it is a work that has died? Therefore, give during life (and) before death, because the best gift is before passing away. And I say unto you that the charity that reaches God is given during life and it 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 with all his family and asked him: “My Lord, did you buy for me the house?” He answered him: “Sālih, I indeed bought 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, Sālih! You lived a blissful life and you died as a martyr (shahīdan). 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 Ibn al-Ra‘dah, 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.

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.

Chapter on His Noble Character (nasāb), His High Pedigree (nasāb), 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 Batlān, 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-masīm) in the Tawrät, the best of the descendants of Adam, sent in the text. De Luna translates Al-Tawrät as “la Sagrada Escritura.”

De Luna: “Ruhaka.”

15. Dobelio (fol. 6ob f) refers to “un predicador Mahometano, el cual enseñando la gente a dar limosna, dijó desta manera. El llamó así el al-adnā da la ignorancia de los limosnarios... su saláh al-walid saláh Allah... salaf su-salama... Ima al-adnā la tapa le ve al-adnā al-habán al-saláh am rudás hi ve sal al-at Li la-saadnaqam su-lue attakum...” Dobelio informs us that this quotation was taken from an arguable manuscript dated 870 Hijra (fol. 6ob). Marracci (fol. 21a) quotes the same: “En la bienabenturanza.”

16. Dobelio (fol. 6ob): “El Alcorán y sus escritos...” Dobelio informs us that this quotation was taken from an arguable manuscript dated 870 Hijra (fol. 6ob). Marracci (fol. 21a) quotes the same: “En la bienabenturanza.”

17. Dobelio (fol. 6ob): “Y quando diçe que es Christo, porque Mahoma se intitula Señor de los hijos de Adam y el mejor de los hijos de Adam no por esto diñeiro que es Cristo, porque Mahoma se intitula Señor de los hijos de Adam y el mejor de los hijos por descendiente de los profetas de Dios.” Dobelio refers here to the Hadith, “el sey de Adam wa-lā ikhab,” which evoked the well-known Islamic epithet for Muhammad, laik wa-lā Adam. Dobelio (fol. 6ob): “El Alcorán y sus escritos...” Dobelio informs us that this quotation was taken from an arguable manuscript dated 870 Hijra (fol. 6ob). Marracci (fol. 21a) quotes the same: “En la bienabenturanza.”

18. De Luna: “Ruhaka.”

19. The author suggests that this is the ancient Arabic name of Nazareth. Compare Japheth for “Jerusalem” and Babel for “Babylonia.” All these names are repeatedly used in our text as well as in the Parchmén and the other Lead Books.

20. De Luna translates this expression consistently as “Messias” (occasionally also “el Messias prometido”).

21. A more literal translation by De Luna is “En la bienabenturanza.”
belonged to the descendants of the Prophet, son of Shaykh al-Radî, Abraham, the Friend of God,²
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
but He forbade them (to eat from) the tree. They (lived) in everlasting bliss and
were wearing jewels and tunics" the value of which is known to God only. They
cause of his having been conceived, the Throne, the heavens and the earth trem­
red 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 be­
bled" so that the intimate angels became fearful." And when He had put our
but He forbade them (to eat from) the tree. They (lived) in everlasting bliss and
were wearing jewels and tunics" the value of which is known to God only. They
cause of his having been conceived, the Throne, the heavens and the earth trem­
red with the Holy Spirit.

"Our Lord, we have harmed ourselves. If you do not accept our repentance and forgive
us and grant us mercy, we will be lost.³⁶ Then the angel Gabriel descended to
them and brought them the good tidings of their salvation. He wrote on the
back of Adam: Hid Mid, (meaning) he is your mediator, and the mediator of your
offspring."³⁷ 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).
³³ From that time, the prophets announced among their people the good tidings
of the Blessed One, (who would come) to intercede for (his) men, as well as to
admonish them about intercession and salvation.

When the time came for Holy Mary to conceive of him,³⁴ 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,³⁵ 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.³⁶ Whosoever dissent from it, will be lost.

²⁴. Arabic: bi al-fith al-muqaddas. See also
medhausheer bi al-fith. LP (s.a. De Luna: "El que vio a el mundo a enervar el
magnifico hijo de Dios santiﬁcado.")
²⁵. Arabic: bi al-fith al-muqaddas. See also
medhausheer bi al-fith. LP (s.a. De Luna: "El que vino a el mun do a
enseüar el pecado.")
²⁶. Compare CDAA, s.v. "clamis" and
"fulua").
²⁷. For this expression, Marraco (fol. 219v)
refers to the Qur'an, "Alcor. Sect. 6
Alâshîm" and "Alcor. Sect. 19 Tab. 31a."²⁸
The translation used by Dobelio (fol. 51a)
reads, "Que los çielos abaxaron
y cercaron al
prometido con todo lo que
del prometido con todo lo que
llegara.") Halló en los libros de los Mahometanos,
como está notado con authoridades bastantes de
este
Diçen.

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 preordained by God.
In his translation, De Luna chooses the
latter possibility, translating "El pecado
contingente." This is also the position of
our text, as it will become clear in various
passages.
²⁹. Dobelio (fol. 60b): "Todo esto lo díjeron
los autores Mahometanos."
So when she heard his words, she became afraid and lifted her head in order to seek help from God, while she was thinking about who would be (the person) who had spoken (to her).

Then Gabriel took on the shape towards her of a most beautiful human being, who was spreading a glittering light. [7a] He said to her: “Do not be afraid! God enters upon you” in His mercy to grant you a son in your womb who is the Spirit of the Exalted, and you will call him Yafū, of the descendants of David, who will live forever in the House of Jacob. His kingship will never perish.” She asked him: “How will this happen, while no human being has touched my matter, and I do not desire this (either)?”

The angel answered her: “That is easy for God, [7b] it will occur) through His Holy Spirit upon you. [And when he will have born, he will be called Spirit of the Exalted God.]”

She answered him: “Make me a sign for that!”

He said to her: “Elisabeth, your friend, is (already) pregnant for six months, notwithstanding her advanced age following her sterility, but everything is easy for God.”

At that point, Mary said: “I am the servant of God, obedient to Him, like (to) your truthful words.”

Then the angel left her and her fear turned into joy. She thanked God incomparably eloquent speech, as required for the obedience of God at hearing such elevated news, related from the prophets (concerning) the arrival of the Intercessor of mankind, about which she had been reading in the Book.

During various days she did not divulge this secret to her husband Joseph, until she visited Elisabeth. Then her fetus John manifested himself to him while (she was) kissing her, in order to greet him, saying: “Peace upon you, o Trustworthy Spirit of God!” And Elisabeth said: “What a welcome event, that the mother of my Lord the Blessed One is visiting me!”

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-Tiz. 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 Tawrät. 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 will 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: “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: “Moses, his merit over you is like your merit over your nation and over all the prophets (before you).”

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 will 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: “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: “Moses, his merit over you is like your merit over your nation and over all the prophets (before you).”

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 will 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: “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: “Moses, his merit over you is like your merit over your nation and over all the prophets (before you).”

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 will 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: “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: “Moses, his merit over you is like your merit over your nation and over all the prophets (before you).”

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 will 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: “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: “Moses, his merit over you is like your merit over your nation and over all the prophets (before you).”

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 will 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: “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: “Moses, his merit over you is like your merit over your nation and over all the prophets (before you).”

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 will 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: “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: “Moses, his merit over you is like your merit over your nation and over all the prophets (before you).”

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 will 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.”
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 to1 witness that place. And in their presence Gabriel wrote with radiant 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 radiant 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.”2 [90] He has (also) a name in [the Leaves]3 of Abraham.4 His Mi‘d’ Guide of Men towards (eternal) Bliss. It (also) contains another name, ‘Fārūq [amï; Primum nomen Pharec significat separans et ita laminae significat, scribi, contrario ad antithesin priori.”]5

56. The Arabic text has “that they should not” (allà).
57. De Luna: “Le maestro Gabriel aquella luz referida sobre él que dezia no as estrellas Dios sino Dios, Jesuc hijo de Dios, ouna urdell trañida ai Mundo.” Dobello (fol. 176r) refers to Kibb al-Anwär by Al-Bakri, donde se puede ver todo lo que el autor habla de nuestro señor Ethno, es de Mahoma escultores de la nombre de Beussa.” Dobello stresses that the manuscript used by him had been copied from the main text in the Well-Preserved Tablet. Similarly, see Marracci on fol. 29a, with additional sources.
59. This is probably a reference to Kibb Qaḍā‘ al-Dīn (LP 1), 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: “Asi como tenemos referido en escritura.”
60. De Luna: “Spirito de Dios uerdadero que quiere decir emamador de la srental al Mundo.”
61. Left blank in the translation of De Luna.
62. Qur’ānic and Islamic concept par excellence.

[64. De Luna: “Sobre el.”]
65. Dobello (fol. 158b) refers to parallels for these same names with reference to Muhammad in two Islamic sources, in (1) “El autor del libro de la disputa contra Jasíl y Xristianos pensando con autoridades del Testamento Viejo y Nuevo” (perhaps the work of Juan Alonso Aragonés, KW) and (2) Kibb al-Shajb by al-‘Abbās 76d.

In addition to this he has in the books of the prophets, apart from his name written on his back,”57 fifteen names.58 And in the universe59 (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 [sōh], praising God for this event. Mercy descended upon men, and the sun and the moon were shining beyond (their) limit. The trees bowed to him, [the jinns were reviled],60 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.61 The hearts of the misguided became fearful.62 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.”

Let us now return to our Lord Jesus: he was circumcised on the eighth day of his birth in fulfillment 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 His cosmos until He sent our Lord Jesus. When he was sent, that star rose at the oriental horizon. Three [118] 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 West, together with the star, they entered the City of Jairal, 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 life? We saw a star in the Eastern parts of the earth to look for him.

For those signs. They prepared for themselves and their people and for that matter."

At that moment Herod the King is killing the children because of Jesus. He killed three hundred children (already)." So he traveled that same night, but Satan, his enemy, informed Herod in his dream telling him about his journey. Therefore his servants together with his council went out to pursue him. 71

The angel said to Joseph: "Travel with the child and its mother to Egypt, and he ordered them once again to look into that matter.

At that moment Gabriel descended in the form of a man who was guarding a field with young crops from birds near their road to the land of Egypt. They asked him: "Slave, did you see people passing by in front of us with a small child on their back?" He answered: "Yes, I saw them passing by at the time this crop was planted." And he was right, because a miracle of God made it grow at once in the open field. 72

In that night there appeared to them in their dream a vision of the angel Gabriel: "Kings, return safely to your land through another road than the one you came by." So they did.

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 poor. They were adoring God night and day, without neglecting of that provision every day. At once there descended heavenly food to nourish them with. 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. They reserved them (there) until a time, He would command whatever He wished. 73

They said: "The people passed by days after that; 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 (few) 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 Lord 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 thirst every day.

They thus returned from behind him by God's will, whose order cannot be turned off.
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 that was dry. He was 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 obnoxious. 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 Nasrān." 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 Nasrān. 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, and John, Jesus by my hand and Joseph (took) my hand by his hand. Then he said: "From the day he entered Nasrān, 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. That odor would remain in any place he had entered, without ever being extinguished.

Again also my master James said from Holy Virgin Mary that she had said: "From the day he entered Nasrān, 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. That odor would remain in any place he had entered, without ever being extinguished.

Chapter about His Baptism in the River of the Proof.

John, Jesus' maternal cousin, said in a quotation from himself (Jesus) that he, having reached the age of thirty years, in other words at the age, Adam was created, was ordered to divulge the secret God had confided to him in order to save Adam and his offspring. He commanded him to baptize the people in His name and to bring them good tidings. He went out to the desert of the Land of the Jews, behind the River of the Proof, while preaching the glad tidings that God's Grace was drawing near. He did not return to the inhabited world, but was eating locusts, honey and plants, while baptizing people flocking towards him from everywhere, who were confessing their sins. Some people asked him: "Saint, are you the one whom we are waiting for, or not?" He answered them: "I baptize you with holy water, but I say to you: the one who will come after me is higher than me in rank, and I am not worthy to carry his sandals." Then Jesus came to him, saying: (1ab) "Baptize me!" He answered: "How shall I baptize you while I am obliged to be baptized by you (myself)?" He answered: "All of us are equal in that (respect) in the Law (al-shari'a)." So he baptized him with water in the holy River of the Proof. Heaven opened and the earth shone with light and the Holy Spirit of God descended upon him in the shape of a dove. And lo, there was a call from near God saying to him: "You are My beloved Spirit and My delight..

When he had finished this, Satan attempted to seduce him (again) saying to him before the mountain in the shape of an aged old man. "Say: God is the creator of the heavens and the earth. There is no Lord but He!"
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," then make from that [.. .] a bread."?

He 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 [15a] 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.24 He chose seventy believing men similar to the seventy men Moses chose to keep him close company. From them he privileged seven, whose names were Peter, James, John his brother, Bartolomeo,25 Filbún, Idrïs,26 Mateo,27 Thomas,28 James Alfeo, Simeon the Canaanite,29 Tadeo,30 Judas al-Atthäf.31 After that he completed their number (again) to seventy, while adding two more, but some of them became sinful after him. Those twelve he called apostles, similar to the twelve runners whom Moses crossed the sea.32 [89] He asked them: "Will you help God?" They answered: "Yes!" He then remained with them on a mountain.

They asked him: "Our lord, tell us what we should do and (what path) we should follow?"

89. De Luna: "Hijo de Dios."
90. The Arabic reads [ .. . ] salâm ni. One would have expected a word denoting "speak." For ni in this text, MS L reads "al-"adadu (kuf s, an 앞שך) instead of al-"adadu.92
91. We read the Arabic as follows: Layta. bi-ki'ma kufu. (hidden, in al-"adadu) hasa wa-ki kufu.92
92. Arabic: aslal ba'al Ghâlidhâ al-Fāshârâs.93
93. The name is given in the original Arabic as Mutâlâmâmah, but we presume there is a scribal error here. (This error may, of course, have occurred already in the author's source.)
94. Here and elsewhere in our text, MS L reads "al-Mâtrîj."95
95. The name is given in the original Arabic as Mutâlâmân.96
96. Arabic: Tabâk.97
97. Arabic: Shâwîm al-Qândili.98
98. Arabic: Tâlîfî.99
99. Judas Zaccharias.100
100. De Luna: "Los 12 tribunales de las Isla de Tarsu."101

He answered them: "Blessed are the poor who are patient, because for them is prepared the Paradise of Heaven. Blessed are the merciful because God will have mercy upon them. Blessed are the pure of hearts because they will see the face of God. Blessed are those who weep about their sins because God will give them patience. Blessed are the rightly guided102 because they are the children of God. Blessed are those who are in need of justice (sha'r), because they belong to the inhabitants of the Paradise of Heaven. Blessed are you if you have been taken prisoner and are persecuted on your flight for my sake. Rejoice, because your reward is on God in Heaven, because all that has been fulfilled by the prophets before you. You are the salt of the earth. Obey God, and He will guide you along the right way:"

Chapter about His Miracles

My master James said: "Were the power of a miracle to be ascribed to him, then when his name was mentioned over a dead person, who would then be revived thereby. But God reserved him for another purpose in His pre-ordained knowledge."

We will now return to the mission he was sent for. My aforementioned master said that God sent Moses in the time of magicians, and he sent Jesus in the time of the sick,103 in order to reveal His power and His splendor, even though the infidels detest it.104 When the assigned time for Jesus to reveal his miracles had come, he chose from his companion apostles Peter whose name was Simeon before he (entered) the faith, our master James and his brother John the son of al-Zabâdî.105 He ascended with them the Mountain of al-Tür.106 to the place where God spoke to Moses, His Spokesman.107 He stood between them and his light shone and his face reflected a radiant light by which the rays

101. In Matt 10:43-45, those who will be called the children of God are the "masters of peace." In Qur'anic language, the "rightly guided" (al-mahdïn) are Muslims who are following the right path by God's guidance, rather than Jews or Christians. De Luna: "Paçificos."108 De Luna: "Que nuestro Señor Jesus no le hiciembra Dios para manifestar la potencia que tiene sino para rederir al mundo porque si su contenido fuer manifi estado con mentir solo el nombre de Jesu sobre el sepulcra de un muerto resuá tara, mas este mysterio de potençia que tiene sino para redernir al mundo porque si su contento fuera dereviva thereby. But God reserved him for another purpose in His pre-ordained knowledge."
102. Dobbelio (fol. 110r-113r) refers to k. Zab ab-uter = wa-raw{j al-1:ïä.fi?-[ .. . ]] refers to Latin "millennium."
103. This name refers, of course, to Zebedee, but let us keep in mind that al-Zabadî = "milkman."
104. This is a reference to the Qur'anic name of the mountain climbed by Moses to talk with God.
105. Arabic: Filbünus. In Islam, Moses has the epithet Balûtus ALÁM.106
of the sun eclipsed, and the earth and the garment lightened up like snow. There had appeared Moses [r6b] al-Kalïm 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 descended from 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 handicapped, the deaf and the dumb. He forgave sins, revived the death, cured and guided the poor among the descendants of Adam through the venerable Gospel. He walked on the lake without drowning, he summoned the winds and they stopped blowing." The jinnes obeyed him and he drove out the demons from the people. He fathomed the greatest of secrets in their 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 to write them down in a book. Holy Virgin Mary said about him that he told her that the number of his greater miracles were like the number of the Children of Israel whom Moses freed from oppression and with whom he split the sea of this world to the bliss of the Hereafter, like Moses had passed the sea with the runners of the Children of Israel and his army to the land promised to them, whereby the promise was fulfilled. May God make us belong to the saints, Amen.

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] Zildba was similar to Eve in nature and morals. [Also] 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 (Ribât/Musa)." De Luna: "Zenobia"; Hagerty: "Raquel."
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 [arjalän 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 [ .. . ] 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 Jarjalän was Pilate. The Pharisees looked for Jesus to crucify him by false witnesses.158 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 sold for a fixed price of silver, Judas. When they entered the garden, viz. the place where he used to invoke his Lord, the Apostles dispersed and laid him in the grave.

144 Arabic: 989wd; see CODA, s. v. "ydpd.

158 At this place, there is a hole in the original, allowing for (no more than) two letters. De Luna: "Eso es mi sangre del nuevo testamento."

159 We read "Wa-lakïn [wa-lëkin] tawwâfûs [nowagbâs] alilûn nihâm balâh, which in fact = waqûa'âs bal al-mâhiyâ." God completed for him [Jesus] his time through the angel. This is clearly inspired by the Qur'ân (cf. 1. 334-335).

Most commentators usually assume that these verses refer to the "Jews' plot against Jesus' life and God's counterpart to rescue him by having them crucify a look-alike substitute. There are more parallels and details in BG 51 "Jesus" (Theodotion). De Luna: "May 151 the same Dios replace Dios de Dios, because the determinado solemnized por medio del ángel. Hagerty: "Man finite falter para Dios y convincente por medio de su ángel."
The translation used by Dobelio [fol. 117].

PART II AROUND THE FORCED CONVERSIONS

He then said: "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.150 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"177 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,178 and other people God wished (to be visited by him) after that. When that period had been completed, he ascended to heaven.

150 reads "Por esto Dios los castigó y les prometió el Reyno," Marcucchi (fols. 104-107) recognized the Qur'ânic meaning of nowagbâs and presents a long discussion about the implications of this passage for the understanding of the story of Jesus' passion as presented in these Lead Tablets. He suggests, among other things, that the systematic absence of any reference to the name of Jesus in the passion story as presented here casts doubt about the true identity of the person crucified, in accordance with the Islamic doctrine.

151 In accordance with Islamic mourning customs, piensos que lo haría por evitar el escándalo que causaría, si dijera vino por ser refalado en su lea, por este pose vinagre en lugar de vino."

152 De Luna: "Sin duda ninguno este en hijo de Dios."

153 Marginal annotation by De Luna: "En el original de este libro en este lugar se une una parte escrita en quatro letras, no se entienden ni ven porque no son árabicas parecen hebreas. Miguel de Luna." In fact, after the word al-oal, a space was left open in the original of about one word. De Luna's remark is a mystification.

157 Dobelio (fol. 142a): "Después, quando 841 Mercier dice que el vino era mercado con mâyra, el autor dice que era vinagre; piensos que lo haríamos evitar el escándalo que causaría, si dijera vino por ser refalado en su lea, por este pose vinagre en lugar de vino."

166 In accordance with Islamic mourning customs.
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 build my church, and whatever you will loosen, will be loosened',—he was overcome by repentance and mercy upon me I will be lost.' And after seven years and three months he was

over his sins after the demise of our Lord Jesus, but God.'s grace for him was great"

Below all these events there are marvelous mysteries and a great enigma

widely known and grasped by God and those of His servants He wishes. First of

those matters that God granted me, whereas my goal was to describe the

of the Lead Books, especially MS A1 of

of time, presumably by wear and tear.

century. Most of these passages have

by the Vatican Commission made

in

in

in

the Sacromonte Archive in Granada, as'

or larger parts of the lead, as is the case

the case

of the Lead Books, especially MS A1 of

by the Vatican Commission made

in

in

in

in

in

in

in

in

in

in

in

in

in

in

in

in

in

in

in

in

in

in

in

in

in

in

in

in

in

in

in

in

in

in

in

in

in

in

in

in

in

in

in

in

in

in

in

in

in

in

in

in

in

in

in

in

in

in

in

in

in

in

in

in

in

in

in

in

in

in

in

in

in

in

in

in

in

in

in

in

in

in

in

in

in

in

in

in

in

in

in

in

in

in

in

in

in

in

in

in

in

in

in

in

in

in

in

in

in

in

in

in

in

in

in

in

in

in

in

in

in

in

in

in

in

in

in

in

in

in

in

in

in

in

in

in

in

in

in

in

in

in

in

in

in

in

in

in

in

in

in

in

in

in

in

in

in

in

in

in

in

in

in

in

in

in

in

in

in

in

in

in

in

in

in

in

in

in

in

in

in

in

in

in

in

in

in

in

in

in

in

in

in

in

in

in

in

in

in

in

in

in

in

in

in

in

in

in

in

in

in

in

in

in

in

in

in

in

in

in

in

in

in

in

in

in

in

in

in

in

in

in

in

in

in

in

in

in

in

in

in

in

in

in

in

in

in

in

in

in

in

in

in

in

in

in

in

in

in

in

in

in

in

in

in

in

in

in

in

in

in

in

in

in

in

in

in

in

in

in

in

in

in

in

in

in

in

in

in

in

in

in

in

in

in

in

in

in

in

in

in

in

in

in

in

in

in

in

in

in

in

in

in

in

in

in

in

in

in

in

in

in

in

in

in

in

in

in

in

in

in

in

in

in

in

in

in

in

in

in

in

in

in

in

in

in

in

in

in

in

in

in

in

in

in

in

in

in

in

in

in

in

in

in

in

in

in

in

in

in

in

in

in

in

in

in

in

in

in

in

in

in

in

in

in

in

in

in

in

in

in

in

in

in

in

in

in

in

in

in

in

in

in

in

in

in

in

in

in

in

in

in

in

in

in

in

in

in

in

in

in

in

in

in

in

in

in

in

in

in

in

in

in

in

in

in

in

in

in

in

in

in

in

in

in

in

in

in

in

in

in

in

in

in

in

in

in

in

in

in

in

in

in

in

in

in

in

in

in

in

in

in

in

in

in

in

in

in

in

in

in

in

in

in

in

in

in

in

in

in

in

in

in

in

in

in

in

in

in

in

in

in

in

in

in

in

in

in

in

in

in

in

in

in

in

in

in

in

in

in

in

in

in

in

in

in

in

in

in

in

in

in

in

in

in

in

in

in

in

in

in

in

in

in

in

in

in

in

in

in

in

in

in

in

in

in

in

in

in

in

in

in

in

in

in

in

in

in

in

in

in

in

in

in

in

in

in

in

in

in

in

in

in

in

in

in

in

in

in

in

in

in

in

in

in

in

in

in

in

in

in

in

in

in

in

in

in

in

in

in

in

in

in

in

in

in

in

in

in

in

in

in

in

in

in

in

in

in

in

in

in

in

in

in

in

in

in

in

in

in

in

in

in

in

in

in

in

in

in

in

in

in

in

in

in

in

in

in

in

in

in

in

in

in

in

in

in

in

in

in

in

in

in

in

in

in

in

in

in

in

in

in

in

in

in

in

in

in

in

in

in

in

in

in

in

in

in

in

in

in

in

in

in

in

in

in

in

in

in

in

in

in

in

in

in

in

in

in

in

in

in

in

in

in

in

in

in

in

in

in

in

in

in

in

in

in

in

in

in

in

in

in

in

in

in

in

in

in

in

in

in

in

in

in

in

in

in

in

in

in

in

in

in

in

in

in

in

in

in

in

in

in

in

in

in

in

in

in

in

in

in

in

in

in

in

in

in

in

in

in

in

in

in

in

in

in

in

in

in

in

in

in

in

in

in

in

in

in

in

in

in

in

in

in

in

in

in

in

in

in

in

in

in

in

in

in

in

in

in

in

in

in

in

in

in

in

in

in

in

in

in

in

in

in

in

in

in

in

in

in

in

in

in

in

in

in

in

i
is usually Zadik, Zadik, Zadik, Zadik, Zadik. 1156. LC: 248.

PART II AROUND THE FORCED CONVERSIONS

1156. LC: 248.
فاجعه: ذلك لذك أن عدل الله ورحمه وفضله على الله، فلم نضحك، بل رضينا وننقطع محبب لله، فهل ولذك لذك أن عدل الله ورحمه وفضله على الله، من ذكرنا لذك أن عدل الله ورحمه وفضله على الله، فلم نضحك، بل رضينا وننقطع محبب لله، فهل ولذك لذك أن عدل الله ورحمه وفضله على الله، من ذكرنا لذك أن عدل الله ورحمه وفضله على الله، فلم نضحك، بل رضينا وننقطع محبب لله، فهل ولذك لذك أن عدل الله ورحمه وفضله على الله، من ذكرنا لذك أن عدل الله ورحمه وفضله على الله، فلم نضحك، بل رضينا وننقطع محبب لله، فهل ولذك لذك أن عدل الله ورحمه وفضله على الله، من ذكرنا لذك أن عدل الله ورحمه وفضله على الله، فلم نضحك، بل رضينا وننقطع محبب لله، فهل ولذك لذك أن عدل الله ورحمه وفضله على الله، من ذكرنا لذك أن عدل الله ورحمه وفضله على الله، فلم نضحك، بل رضينا وننقطع محبب لله، فهل ولذك لذك أن عدل الله ورحمه وفضله على الله، من ذكرنا لذك أن عدل الله ورحمه وفضله على الله، فلم نضحك، بل رضينا وننقطع محبب لله، فهل ولذك لذك أن عدل الله ورحمه وفضله على الله، من ذكرنا لذك أن عدل الله ورحمه وفضله على الله، فلم نضحك، بل رضينا وننقطع محبب لله، فهل ولذك لذك أن عدل الله ورحمه وفضله على الله، من ذكرنا لذك أن عدل الله ورحمه وفضله على الله، فلم نضحك، بل رضينا وننقطع محبب لله، فهل ولذك لذك أن عدل الله ورحمه وفضله على الله، من ذكرنا لذك أن عدل الله ورحمه وفضله على الله، فلم نضحك، بل رضينا وننقطع محبب لله، فهل ولذك لذك أن عدل الله ورحمه وفضله على الله، من ذكرنا لذك أن عدل الله ورحمه وفضله على الله، فلم نضحك، بل رضينا وننقطع محبب لله، فهل ولذك لذك أن عدل الله ورحمه وفضله على الله، من ذكرنا لذك أن عدل الله ورحمه وفضله على الله، فلم نضحك، بل رضينا وننقطع محبب لله، فهل ولذك لذك أن عدل الله ورحمه وفضله على الله، من ذكرنا لذك أن عدل الله ورحمه وفضله على الله، فلم نضحك، بل رضينا وننقطع محبب لله، فهل ولذك لذك أن عدل الله ورحمه وفضله على الله، من ذكرنا لذك أن عدل الله ورحمه وفضله على الله، فلم نضحك، بل رضينا وننقطع محبب لله، فهل ولذك لذك أن عدل الله ورحمه وفضله على الله، من ذكرنا لذك أن عدل الله ورحمه وفضله على الله، فلم نضحك، بل رضينا وننقع
لا يمكنني قراءة النص العربي من الصورة.
وخررالشعر والإملاء ولم يكد صعباً في مات ذلك فاسترسل بها Utilities والتحية في تلك الشعر ونقول الأخرى وذات أخرى نزلت وتذكرت، وكان الرياح بتشتت الأشعة والذوبان روحاً لnihaha الأخلاقية في ذلك الشعر لتشتت الأشعة والذوبان روحاً لnihaha الأخلاقية في ذلك الشعر لتشتت الأشعة والذوبان روحاً

1. LG: سجعها.
2. LG: للحاص.
3. LG: نناته.
4. LG: هم.
5. LG: نفي.
6. LG: تمومهم.
7. LG: الصمود.
8. LG: تحمل.
9. LG: شفاعم.
10. LG: يتزوج her.
11. LG: المستعمرات (two separate râ's).
12. LG: كلها عائشة.
13. LG: التوبة (المرادفة الألفية).
14. LG: نزحها.
15. LG: عيده.
16. LG: خسره.
17. LG: اسكتوا، كيف نذكره من ذلك الشعر.
18. LG: القضاء.
19. LG: المغارة.
20. LG: دعاء الله (لا اله إلا الله)!
لا يمكنني قراءة النص العربي ككل.
List of Abbreviations Used in the Edition of the Text

CDAA = 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° 2432-14, fols. 146v-160v.

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


Notes

1. Parchment of the Torre Turpiana, Archivo of the Socciomte Abbey, Fo. 16v. "Parchment of the Torre Turpiana" (includes photos of the parchments).

2. For the historical aspects, see the recent study by Códia, Forging the Print.

3. Important studies about Dobelio are, in chronological order, Levi della Vida, El discurso sobre el 'Torre Turpiana', especiallly "Primera parte de Marcos Dobelio" (1602-1603), in Archivo de Gayo, Pedro de Valencia, 437v-442, and in particular García-Arenal and Rodríguez Mediane, Oriente español, 251-52. In the present chapter, we refer to the original Spanish edition while sometimes referring also to the English translation, The Orient in Spain.

4. We owe the information that he traveled to Spain at the request of this committee to his Discourse of 1595, preserved in a missive kept in the Real Academia de la Historia de Madrid, MS 19-2-2 36, to which we return below.

5. The authors are very grateful to Prof Corinna Harney (Wellington) for her valuable remarks on the edition and English translation of the Lead Book included in the present contribution and to Teresa Sanz (CSC, Madrid) for helping us, in the early stages of our research, obtain copies of parts of the Dobelio manuscript in the Real Academia de la Historia in Madrid. The research of Gerardo Wigger received funding from the HERA project Encounters with the Orient in Early Modern Scholarship (EOS) and the European Research Council under the European Union’s Seventh Framework Programme (FP7/2007-2013) / ERC Grant Agreement number 337169, project CORP: "Conversion, Overlapping Religiousities, Polternics, Interaction: Early Modern Iberia and Beyond."

6. García-Arenal and Rodríguez Mediane, Oriente español, 251-52. Among their deaths, they state, there is a draft translation entitled the Vida de milagros de Cristo, Nuestro Señor (Libro de Milagros de Cristo, Our Lord—that is, a translation of Lead Book number 7, our edition and translation of which are included at the end of this chapter.

7. For more information see García-Arenal and Rodríguez Mediane, Oriente español, 251-52. Among their deaths, they state, there is a draft translation entitled the Vida de milagros de Cristo, Nuestro Señor (Libro de Milagros de Cristo, Our Lord—that is, a translation of Lead Book number 7, our edition and translation of which are included at the end of this chapter.

8. But see Harvey and Wiggers, "Translation from Arabic," 65. "Marcos Dobelio, that was so independent of Paulo Quinto on Roma, y lo hizo en su Magistrado ... que averánda llamado el Archipélagos de Sevilla y siendo luego lo que debían de manejar, al punto se desengañó, diándose cuenta todo era
invención Mosica, y cuya índole de apoyarse por buena, y el primero dijo que no era la vida de unos Santos, y se lo dio

in every direction, and the documents contained ideograms and linguistic elements. For the language used by the authors, see V. von Koningsweld, “Pachardos en las fues.”

17. “Pues ha permitido que la vida de nuestro señor Jesucristo... Began a new manuscript translated from a text previously done in the library of “Marcos Dobelo.”

18. We emend the Arabic and Latin to their

19. 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.

20. “The text is extant in three manuscripts: St

21. See Erpenius, Orationes tres, 12. Erpenius,

22. Medina Conde, MS 227, BNE, fol. 141r; Garcia-Arenal and Rodriguez Mediano, Oriente español, 137.

23. See Archivo del Sacromonte de Granada, and documents about the evaluation process preserved in the Vatican archives.

24. MS 285, Toledo, fol. 196r. Dobelo criticizes Alonso de Castille, saying that his Arabic transcription is more extensive than the original text of the Lead Book, according to the Arabic text. Moreover, Castille’s text lacks the translation.

25. The text is extant in three manuscripts: St

26. Its circulation among the Moriscos and its influence on Spanish culture was done by Rosario de Sagasta, “La trascendencia de las traducciones de los Libros Plumbos de los Moriscos.”

27. Miguel de Luna, “Libro de las excelencias de nuestro Señor Jesucristo y sus milagros, y de su madre María la bendita virgen.”

28. MS 285, Toledo, fol. 80v. Garcia-Arenal and Rodríguez Mediano identify this as a reference to a polemical work written by the Mosic Mahamad Alagin in about 1621 (Oriente español, 297). It is also possible, however, that it refers to the polemical works written by the converted priest Juan Alonso Aragonés. See Wegiers, “Muhammad as the Messiah.”

29. Sara García-Arenal and Rodríguez Mediano, “Los libros de los Moriscos.”

30. Miguel de Luna, “Libro de las excelencias de nuestro Señor Jesucristo y sus milagros, y de su madre María la bendita virgen.”

31. Autobiographical passage from the Turpiana Tower (MS 285, Toledo, fol. 47r). This same manuscript was among those that were later transferred to the Vatican Library, as we have seen. Dobelo interpreted the existence of such a Lead Book and its circulation among the Moriscos as evidence for the Mosic orthography of the Lead Books. This translation was analyzed by Rosa Rodríguez, “Simulation and Dismutation,” 143–50. The author of this article did not identify the role of Dobelo. Dobelo mentions the fiasco in the Nuevo desvairamiento as well (MS 285, Toledo, fol. 360).

32. Miguel de Luna, “Era libro de las excelencias de nuestro Señor Jesucristo y sus milagros, y es madre María la bendita virgen.”

33. MS 285, Toledo, fol. 31v. On this text, see Albercón Navarro y Martínez Bueno, Mosica, farmacopea y magia.

34. “Un árabe español docto no solo en la sagrada escritura, pero también de la lengua hebrea.”

35. MS 29, v. 2–45, RAH. We will discuss the manuscript below. On Sergio, see Alonso, Apología del Sacramento, 244–45, 245. Alonso notes that not much is known about him. Sergio came from Rome to Madrid and then from Madrid to Granada in 1624, when he started working on the Lead Books. Castro was not impressed by his knowledge of Arabic. Dobelo mentions Sergio briefly in an autobiographical passage in MS 29, v. 2–36, RAH, fol. 341v. It is interesting that Dobelo does not mention Sergio in his Nuevo desvairamiento.

36. This title is found on fol. 247v.

37. It also explains why some earlier authors posited that the manuscript included a third text, a Spanish translation of the fatwa by the Moroccan mufti Ibn Bu Junn (found on fol. 341v), but in fact, the translation of the fatwa was done by Dobelo as part of his Discursos An Arab. This manuscript containing it was found in the Pastrana 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. Dobelo interpreted the existence of such a Lead Book and its circulation among the Moriscos as evidence for the Mosic orthography of the Lead Books. This translation was analyzed by Rosa Rodríguez, “Simulation and Dismutation,” 143–50. The author of this article did not identify the role of Dobelo. Dobelo mentions the fiasco in the Nuevo desvairamiento as well (MS 285, Toledo, fol. 360).

38. MS 29, v. 2–45, RAH.

39. Harvey and Wegiers, “Translation from Arabic.”

40. Florenia, “Francisco de Guzmán,” 1. 41. MS 285, Toledo, fol. 47v. The anonymous and telepath pamphlet against Guzmán’s translations of the Lead Books is found in a codex, BNE MS 1271, fo. 47v. The same four acrostics of heroes in matters of faith is expressed by other opponents.
46. MS 285, Toledo, fol. 91v: "Después de...
48. MS 285, Toledo, fol. 135v: "El autor...
44- MS 285, fol. 91v.
45. The Arabic text of the Lead Book reads...
49. MS 285, Toledo, fol. 135r: "Partiéronse...
54- MS 285, Toledo, fol. 16rr

---

See the references in Latuán-Yafé, 

MS 285, Toledo, fol. 135r: "Parénanse
notos con grande temors y no queden en
eños ningun a fe, por esto Dios los castiga
y les prometió de Reynos." Apparently, the
translator read in Arabic (instead of
sea-cadda) and wild (instead of wa-cadda). De
Luna reads: "Mas yo le dio a esta explica-
da su determin ada uoluntad por medio del
ángel."

MS 285, Toledo, fol. 135r: "El autor
no supo el credo donde diçe passus
sub Punito Plata, a que lo haze para
introducir novedades en la fe."

Lead Book 5, fol. 212r.

For example, see MS 285, fol. 30t.

MS 285, Toledo, fol. 135r: "No hay Dios sino
Allah" (There is no God but God;
M. R. Allah).

MS 285, fol. 127v. The author is very likely
Pedro de Valencia, in his Defensor de Valencia.

MS 285, Toledo, fol. 135v: "Lä
iläha illä Alläh; M. R.
"Yasü'".

MS 1271, fol. A 6r.

MS 285, Toledo, fol. 135v: "Lä
iläha illä Alläh; M. R.
"Yasü'"

In this light, we
should we perhaps consider them to be
text due to a copyist, like so many others
we were able to indicate in the notes to
our forthcoming diplomatic edition? Or
should we perhaps consider them to be
as a concept that was later on replaced
by another (first consequently Islamic)?

57. MS 19-2-2 36, RAH, fol. 364v.
58. MS 285, Toledo, fol. 152r. "Rüh Alläh;" not preceded by "Yasü" but
again emended by De Luna.

59. MS 19-2-2 36, RAH, fol. 34r.
60. MS 285, Toledo, fol. 137v.
61. MS 285, fol. 147r.
62. For example, see MS 285, fol. 30t.

Alläh, "There is no God but God;
M. R. Allah," probably to be read as "Yasü'
Ol-karïma ,
ol-Hawarï
al-Khalifa
S.

(ACDF), fol. 170v.

This treatise
would later serve as an important
source in the request by theologians and
cardinals to the pope to condemn the
Lead Books. The text deserves a
separate study and cannot be dealt with
in the pamphlet itself.

The translation by Miguel de Luna says
circumcision.

This pamphlet is extant in MS 1271,
BNE, fol. a 117r; in MS 6495, BNE, fol.
a 77r; and in the Archivo de la Real
Chancillería en Granada. Here, we base
ourselves on BNE MS 1271, a cursive
version of various handwritten documents
and printed texts, and follow the foliation
of the pamphlet itself.

63. As mentioned explicitly by one of the
defenders of the Lead Books, Criminal
Medina Conde, in his Defensor; MS
1271, BNE, fol. 34v. See also Magnier,
"Pedro de Valencia," 205n2r. According
to Morocho Gayo, Pedro de Valencia,
370972r, the original treatise, dated
1617, is extant in the Vatican papyri
documents (parchment MS R 828) and in
the Archive of the Sacromonte, Leg 6,
parte 2, folio 1137-1140. This treatise
might well serve as an important
resource in the request by theologians
and cardinals 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,
Apócrifos del Sacromonte, 2 vols., esp.
310, on the translation that Gurmendi made
with whole of Mendiola, documents that
were sent to the Conciliar Real and the
Inquisition in 1616. On Gurmendi, who
was a Franciscan friar and defender of the
Lead Books, see Van Koningsveld and
Wiegers, "Five Documents," 239.

In the first case, it means "circum-
cision"; in the second, it means
"circumcision." Respectively, the
same passage in the Arabic text of
Lead Book 2 as follows: "No hay Dios sino
Allah;" not preceded by "Yasü" but
again emended by De Luna.

MS 19-2-2 36, RAH, fol. 364v.

According to Medina Conde, in his
Defensor (MS 1271, BNE, fol. 34r).
Gurmendi succeeded Miguel de Luna as royal translator after
the latter died in 1615. However, Floristán,
"Francisco de Gurmendi," 399, 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 offices and tasks. Further
research is needed here. It was Dubello
himself who introduced Gurmendi to
the Arabic language. He writes in his
Defensor (MS 19-2-2 36, RAH, fol. 364v).
"Habiendo entroducido [a] Francisco
de Gurmendi en la lengua."
passage in the Lead Book. The expression is not found in sūra 12.

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

74. On Ludovico Marracci, see Bevilacqua, "Qur’ān Translations"; and the recent study by Glei and Tottoli, Ludovico Marracci at Work.

75. Archive of the Congregazione per la Dottrina della Fede, documents related to the Lead Books of Granada, no. 776, 325 fols., papal bull of 1565, and "voto" of the evaluators of the assessment committee.

76. "Pars prima: Laminas Granatenses Mahumetanics verbis, sententiis, falsulis, errores responsas esse."

77. "Pars secunda: Laminas Granatenses multa sanar doctrines dissimul, quorum plerique Mahumetanics emorbeas constanti, continere."

78. "Pars tertia: Laminas Granatenses a sacra et ecclesiastica historie saepe dissentire, cum Mahumetanics concinere."

79. "Pars quarta: Alla quandam a laminis Granatensibus confusion admirata."


III

MEDITERRANEAN AND EUROPEAN TRANSFERS