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.

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The Iberian Peninsula has historically been an area of the world that fostered encounters and exchanges among peoples from different societies. For centuries, Iberia acted as a nexus for the circulation of ideas, people, objects, and technology around the premodern western Mediterranean, Atlantic, and eventually the Pacific. *Iberian Encounter and Exchange, 475-1755* combines a broad thematic scope with the territorial limits of the Iberian Peninsula and its global contacts. In doing so, works in this series will juxtapose previously disparate areas of study and challenge scholars to rethink the role of encounter and exchange in the formation of the modern world.

**POLEMICAL ENCOUNTERS**

**CHRISTIANS, JEWES, AND MUSLIMS IN IBERIA AND BEYOND**

**EDITED BY**

**MERCEDES GARCÉS-ARENAL AND GERARD WIEGERS**

*The Pennsylvania State University Press*

*University Park, Pennsylvania*
We used the 2011 edition of Pascual, Señora mahometana, edited by Fernando González Muñoz.

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

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

BNE MSS 8494, Pragmatas históricas.

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 constituciones.

Tirso de Molina explained how several Mercedarian friars were students of Jesuits 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, Structure of Reform, 240.

Taylor, Structure of Reform, 362-69.

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

Callado Estela, "Día Peligro en aman rea."

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

Taylor, Structure of Reform, 362-69.

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

Cecilio Ibarra, Historia general y erudito, 439. For further information about other representations of this saint, see Mateu Ibars, "San Pedro Pascual."

Burke, "How to Become a Countere Reformation Saint," in Burke, Historical Anthropology.

Feros Carrasco, "Retóricas de la Expulsión."

Here I am following Ringbom's ideas about the materialization of mental images and concepts in works of art in the medieval world. See Ringbom, "Devotional Images," and Ringbom, Images des dévotion.
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 Arabsists and theologians. In 1682, Pope Innocent XI condemned them for containing Muslim heresies. The Lead Books remained in the Vatican until they were returned by Pope John Paul II to Granada in 2000. The affair of the Parchment and the Lead Books has puzzled students of Spanish history and Muslim-Christian relations ever since they were discovered. In recent decades, the topic has generated a lot of scholarly interest, and numerous studies have appeared. But until relatively recently, the documents themselves were not available for research. In 2003, the Sacromonte archive allowed the present authors to study the Parchment and publish an article in the journal Al-Qanfara. The original Lead Books became accessible in 2010. In that year, the archbishopric of Granada gave us permission to study them also and to prepare a critical edition.

In the present chapter, we will focus on the heated polemical debates 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 (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 (less polemical) 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.

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

Probably an Eastern Christian of Kurdish origin who had lived for some time in Aleppo, Marcos Dobelio was well acquainted with both Eastern Christianity and Islamic thought and practice. In about 1597, he arrived in Rome, where he stayed in the neophytes’ college and also taught Arabic at the University of La Sapienza. In view of his excellent knowledge of the Qur’ân 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
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 orthodoxy, 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. We will see, on closer study, these drafts appear to date from a much later time, 1653, and do not include translations of several Lead Books but in fact only one, the Vita Jesus, Lead Book 7. We will return to this below.

On July 23, 1613, Dobelio wrote a letter in Arabic from Madrid to the great classical scholar Isaac Casaubon (1559-1614), in which he informs Casaubon about his services to the papal library and to the royal committee (for which, he tells him, a fee of six hundred escudos was promised) and tells him about the dramatic dénouement of his rift with Castro. He was considering going to England, he writes, where Casaubon lived at the time, but was still awaiting his payment. Dobelio never did end up going to England. In the following years, he apparently made a living by teaching Arabic to, among others, the Basque translator Francisco de Gurmendi, to whom we will return below. Dobelio possessed an important collection of Arabic manuscripts, so impressive that the Dutch Arabist Thomas Erpenius (1584-1624) referred to it as one of the most important in Europe in his Vita. He tried to earn a living in the service of the Inquisition, teaching Arabic and studying, translating, and editing Arabic manuscripts and documents.

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In his study of the Lead Books in the introduction to the *Nuevo descubrimiento 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 *Oraçón y nómina de Jacob el Zebedeo el Apóstol*. This is in fact Lead Book number 3, entitled *Duâl wa-hizb li-Ya'qûb ibn Shamîkh al-Zabâdi‘i al-hawâdi‘i* ("Invocation and Armulet by the Apostle Ya'qûb ibn Shâmîkh al-Zabâdi‘i"). 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. In *Al-Bakrî's very popular *Kitâb al-shuttär wa-hum al-tayålîq*, Dobelio also cites a Spanish polemical manuscript, the *Libro de la disputa contra los judíos y cristianos* (Book of the Disputation against the Jews and Christians), written by "an Arab Spaniard who was not only learned in the Holy Writ, but also in the Hebrew language." His use of these manuscripts in his interpretation of the Lead Books has been discussed by Garcia-Arenal and Rodriguez Mediano. They convincingly argue that because the collections represent such a good cross section of the Morisco written heritage, they explain why Dobelio was able to argue that the Lead Books were written by Moriscos. In addition, Dobelio quotes extensively from the Qur’an, which he often cites in Arabic and apparently knew very well.

That Dobelio bases his argument on a translation rather than on the original Arabic text of the *Vita* is due to the fact that his break with Castro occurred before he was able to study this important book. Who was the author of that Spanish translation? The translation used by Dobelio is certainly not the one by Miguel de Luna, which we traced in the Archive of the Real Chancilleria de Granada, the only other contemporary translation known to us and discussed by us in the notes to the edition and translation of the *Vita* we include at the end of this chapter. Rather, Dobelio used a Spanish translation made by a Maronite interpreter named Sergio probably from about 1629–30, when Sergio is known to have worked in the service of the Marquis of Estepa. After Castro's death in 1623, 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.

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 *Kitäb nadhrat al-fâzawäriyyï*—namely, Lead Book number 5. In conclusion, Dobelio’s work on the Lead Books and the Parchment is based partly on his own work on the original texts and partly on transcriptions and translations made by others. With regard to his most important source, the *Vita*, he had to rely on a translation only. But that was not all he had at his disposal.

Dobelio made extensive use of his wide readings in Islamic and Christian Arabic manuscripts in the Vatican Library, among them an Islamic version of the Psalms. He also refers to manuscripts kept in the library of the count of Humanes, Francisco de Eraso, and most important, to a collection of
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 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. It was the Vatican, they argued, that should be responsible for the evaluation of their doctrine. Offering a critique of the Vita implied analyzing a narrative, and not dogmatic doctrine, Dobelio argues. Another, perhaps more important, reason may be that the Vita is a longer and richer text, which enabled Dobelio to make a much stronger case against the authenticity of the Lead Books.

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

We have seen above that Dobelio’s interpretation of the Lead Books, and primarily of the Vita, was not based on his knowledge of the entire collection. His knowledge stems rather from his analysis of some of the original texts, a few available transcripts, and the aforementioned translation, which he compared to Islamic sources such as the Qur’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 one "prometido" (promised) or the "savior promised in the Jewish and Christian scriptures—in other words, the promised one (prometido) is the Prophet Muhammad, while many elements of Jesus’s life and characteristics attributed to him are in fact derived from the (sources about the) life of Muhammad." This idea (which we think is correct), returns in several places in Dobelio’s analysis. It is the paradigm that informs his entire interpretation of the Lead Books, which he derives from Sergio’s translation; his knowledge of the other Lead Books we mentioned, as well as his readings in the aforementioned Islamic and Christian Arabic manuscripts.
We will illustrate with a few examples how Dobelio uses Sergio’s translation. According to Dobelio, the text recounts that on the eighth day after his birth, Jesus was baptized, an act later repeated by John the Baptist. According to Dobelio, this first baptism serves to conceal the author’s true intention—namely, to introduce the Muslim (and Jewish) custom of infant circumcision. 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 (Ar. al-man’üm), 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 bi-mit. Dobelio quotes this passage from Sergio’s translation and interprets the words bi-Magid to be a faulty rendering of the Hebrew bi-meod 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 Samu‘al al-Maghribi’s well-known anti-Jewish polemical fihm al-yahâd. 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 but also introduces innovations (novedades), such as the Solomonic symbols and the numerous references to magical 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-Prophet 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 (sawfihahu Allâhu wa-lâhú bi-al-malâj) 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 Lâ ilâha illâ Allah are taken by him as an expression of the rejection of the Trinity. He bases his argument on a work by al-Ghazâlî 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 Lâ ilâha illâ Allâh and the accompanying letters: mîm and nû 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—Lâ ilâha illâ Allâh; Mîhâmmad rûd al-âîdh (“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 mîm and nû could be read as al-masîh rûd Allâh (Jesus is the spirit of God) as well as Muhammad rasûl Allâh in Lead Book, no 2 and in the other Lead Books, in which this combination of letters occur. He thinks that the intention of the authors of the Lead Books, again, was to refer covertly to Muhammad.

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

The interpretation that Dobelio defends in his work, he tells us, had been thoroughly rejected by those he refers to throughout his text as the “laminaries” (laminarios)—that is, the defenders of the authenticity of the laminas, the Lead Books—and as the “theologians,” a label that he applies to them because they argue that those without a theological background lack the expertise required to judge the Lead Books. Dobelio’s opinions caused him great difficulties, starting with the rift with Castro, especially since the latter had spread many rumors about him. The “laminaries” even went so far as to threaten their opponents, and Dobelio was not the only target. In his Nuevo descubrimiento de la falsedad del metal, he mentions one of the others who was persecuted by name, Ludovico de Malta. It is interesting to observe, however, that in his Discurso of 1633, Dobelio also includes Sergio, the author of the Spanish translation, among the translators who were unable to express themselves honestly about the contents of the Lead Books. According to him, Sergio had, for financial reasons, dissimulated (Spanish: disimular) in his translation from the Arabic. Evidently, Dobelio’s Islamic, messianic, and eschatological interpretation of the contents of the Lead Books propelled him into the midst of a heated polemical exchange in the decades preceding the Lead Books’ transfer to the Vatican. In that polemical exchange, matters of religious and political authority played an important role. The “laminaries” apparently accused him of lacking the appropriate theological background, but they made only two of the books (Kitâb qawâ ‘id al-din and Kitâb fi l-dhät al-kartima, 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 (1546–1614).
who is said to have been the transcription's original owner, Juan de Idiáquez
had been chairman of the Council of the Military Orders, a member of the
Council of State, and for some time, secretary of Philip II. It was probably
Phillip III who commissioned the translation from Gurmendi in the latter's
capacity as the royal translator. Gurmendi's translation appeared along with
the equally critical theological commentary written by the Jesuit theologian
Martin Derrotarín 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 reflected 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 polemicist
mentions the fact that the king had received a translation into Romance of
two Lead Books by the translator of the two books, accompanied by a "com­
ment against them." He then sets out to argue why the king should disre­
gard 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 polemicist states that the translation and
commentary were written by one and the same person. According to the
polemicist, this translator—his opponent (whose identity he says he does
not know)—lacked the necessary expertise (and orthodoxy) to prepare such
a translation, since he was not a theologian, nor did he have the philological
competence to translate the books adequately. The polemicist states that the
translator's interpretations of the Arabic were wrong and that he had not
studied the original texts but only drafts (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
Pedro de 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 mas­
tyrs. And why, he continues, did the critic ignore Pope Clement VIII's brief
prohibiting any further discussion of this sacred matter? According to the
translator of the two books, the authors of the Lead Books were Moriscos, and
the language they were written in was the corrupt Arabic used by Moriscos. But according to the author(s) of our pamphlet, Miguel de Luna and Alonso
del Castillo were among those who best understood these texts, and De Luna
considered them to be very ancient. The translator had also asserted that the
contents of the books were derived from the Qur'an, but because of his lack of
expertise, he had failed to see that Arabic Christian texts were known to have
included doctrinal expressions similar to those of the Lead Books. This even
held true for the Trinity, which, according to the anonymous translator, was
denied in the Lead Books. Not so, according to the author of the pamphlet.
The archbishop himself had used the Arabic language to pronounce the con­
fession of faith in Arabic in the presence of Oriental Christians.

At this point, we note that a number of passages attributed to the anony­
mous translator are in fact entirely identical to Dobelio's arguments. We are
referring especially to the discussion about the words wa-kaft b'llah shahidän
ala shalika, la ilaha ila 'llah, mim rā', 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 mīm
rā'. 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 trans­
lation attributed to Gurmendi see the creed as a denial of the Trinity and the
letters mīm and rā' as references to the Islamic creed about "Muhammad] as
God's Envoy (Rasül)." Both Dobelio and Gurmendi seem to offer an extensive
discussion about the meaning of the Arabic word šahāda (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 1638 were already present in the debates between
Gurmendi and the circle around Archbishop Castro in 1617, which cen­
tered on one question: Could the Parchment and Lead Books be consid­
rated authentic early Christian documents? How is this similarity to be
explained? Dobelio respected Gurmendi very much. He knew Gurmendi

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had translated Kitab al-qawa'id al-din and Kitab fi l-dhat al-karima and had rejected them as Morisco fabrications. Gurmendi also refers to Dobelio as an expert in the matter. We think that Gurmendi owed many of his ideas to Dobelio, who not only had a far superior knowledge of Arabic and Islam but had worked with the original materials, whereas Gurmendi only had a transcription. Long after Gurmendi published these ideas in 1617, Dobelio expressed them again in his Nuevo descubrimiento de la falsedad del metal, in 1638.

**Dobelio and the Condemnation of the Lead Books in Rome**

While it is probably true that the most influential arguments against the authenticity of the Lead Books in the debates that took place in Spain between 1595 and 1638 were made by Dobelio, especially in his 1638 treatise, his views were only partly based on firsthand knowledge of the original Arabic texts of the Lead Books. That he was able to come to argue that the books were Islamic forgeries was also the result of his access to various collections of Arabic manuscripts (in the Vatican, the Escorial, and the Pastrana collection) and the manuscripts he had collected himself. In this regard, Dobelio was one of the first Arabists who worked in a truly European context. In fact, the highly polemical discussion in which he took part in Spain was only partially based on expert and direct knowledge of the Arabic texts, access to which remained very restricted. Added to this were the papal restrictions on various notes that do not fit under the subject headings of one the first three parts. Marracci concludes his Disquisitio with a masterly summary in chapter 5, dealing with the artifices of the Lead Books and the purposes of their author. In this last section, he argues that the origins of the Lead Books are to be found in the Ottoman conquest of Cyprus in 1571 and its repercussions for the Moriscos in Habsburg Spain. Marracci had transcribed and translated the original plates of all the Lead Books, while Dobelio appears to have been mainly directly familiar with the Arabic texts of the first two books only while having to rely upon a translation (in Spanish) of the Vita, which was the main text upon which he based his views. However, the conclusions of both scholars were the same, and through the work of Marracci, Dobelio's insights were to form the basis of the official condemnation of the Lead Books in 1682.
Conclusions

We have seen how Dobelio became involved in the Lead Books affair in 1610, when he was summoned to Granada by the committee headed by the cardinal of Toledo. There, he worked for some time on several Lead Books, as well as on the Parchment of the Turpiana Tower, until he told Castro that he believed they were Morisco forgeries and Castro dismissed him. From that moment onward, he no longer had access to the original texts and had to rely largely on available transcriptions and translations. In the 1610s, his ideas became known among opponents and supporters of the books, including Gurmendi. We have argued that there are close parallels between the ideas expressed by the latter and those of Dobelio, which can be explained by assuming that Gurmendi was aware of Dobelio's views. Gurmendi's translation and the anonymous refutations of it make clear that as early as 1617, the relations between critics and defenders (laminarios) had taken the form of a fierce polemic. Like Gurmendi, Dobelio pointed to De Luna and Castillo as the two most likely forgers. Dobelio's contribution to the debate was highly polemical, something that can be explained as an expression of his frustration about the situation in which he found himself. As we have seen, in about 1616, two "parties" seem to have emerged: the "laminarios," supported by Archbishop Pedro de Castro, and the group that argued against the authenticity of the Lead Books, among them Martín Derrotarán y Mendida, Diego de Urrea, Pedro de Valencia, Marcos Dobelio, and Francisco de Gurmendi. That the circle around Castro chose to react anonymously to Gurmendi's translation, commissioned by the king himself, was probably due to the papal brief forbidding further discussion of the Lead Books. This debate 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 Estepa in 1629–30. He found out about it when he was inspecting Arabic manuscripts in the service of the Spanish king. The Discurso, preserved in the manuscript of the Real Academia de la Historia in Madrid, shows that around that time, he started to work on a polemical text that was eventually made public in the Nuevo descubrimiento. In it, he tried to convince his readers of the Islamic contents of the Lead Books and the errors of the laminarios. Thanks to the fact that we now have access to the Arabic texts of the Lead Books, we know that Dobelio and Marracci were right. The Lead Books should be seen as forged proto-Islamic texts whose purpose was to legitimize the presence of Arabic speakers in the Iberian Peninsula by fabricating the existence of an early Arab "Christian" community at a time when the crypto-Muslim community was under threat, and establishing a link with an alleged ancient, proto-Islamic past would have provided this community with a historical and religious genealogy that they lacked and needed to survive. Where modern scholars would differ with them is perhaps that they, and especially Marracci, considered not only the Lead Books but also the Qur'an itself and, by extension, Islam to be cunning devices (Latin: technas): according to Marracci, the aim of Islam was no less than the destruction of the Gospel—that is, Christianity. 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.
1. Arabic: ma'ṣūl (from ma'ṣūla) 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 latest of saints (mawla). Ma'ṣūla, “miracles,” is also documented in CDAA, s.v. “jc,” where the Vocabulista in Arabic (often ascribed to Ramon Martí) is the only source quoted for this meaning.

2. Always written in the original Arabic as 'Ila (with emphatical in contra distinction to 'Ila 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, 'Ila. To disguise the all-too-obvious Islamic intentions, the author decided to change his strategy concerning this name in the Lead Books, adopting his 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 more recent Christian Arabic sources. Dobelio (fol. 6a ff), comments that our Lord Jesus” is for a Christian way to designate Jesus Christ. He adds (fol. 10b) that in the Viva, there is no reference to Jesus as the Son of God, while in the Fundamentum fidei and the De essentia Dei, this doctrine is only referred to between parentheses.

3. Arabic: al-μَصَائِخُ (maṣāḥiḥ). Sālih as the meaning of “sancclaims” is documented in CDAA, s.v. “ibn,” where the Liden Mutilator Latin-Arabic Glossary, cx. “mancūlata” is the only source quoted for this meaning.

4. Literal: “ninety.” Old translations as well as contemporary studies have read the name as “Ṭijibin” and translated it as “Thesifin.” However, the Lead Books consistently read “Ṭijibin’ and two of his brothers have names ending in ’ibn, frequently to be found in al-Andalus.

5. Dobelio (fol. 18b) points out that al-ḫāṣīṣī and al-altūwāris are the Islamic designation for the apostles of Jesus with the designating meaning of laudatories. According to him, Christian Arabs are using the word al-ḵāṣīṣī, whereas Arabo-Moorish theologians are using the word al-altūwāris. However, in biblical translations from al-Andalus, the word al-altūwāris is in fact used—for example, Biskh al-altūwāris in God. At 2052 of the BSN in Madrid.

6. The Arabian Banū Daws are mentioned by Lammens, “De l'histoire de Düşer” (1881). He adds (fols. 16b-17) that the word ḥāṣib does not appear in Arabic dictionaries, but he also adds (folios 16b-17) that he had seen a book written in Spain by an author dealing with Islamic Law who called himself “Ṣāliḥ al-D预售, Addusio, that signifies natural of Dus. A mi parezer sera al autor de un lugar de Africa y vino a ser grande en España (conforme se puede congeturar).”

7. About Sālih as an Arabian prophet in the Qur'ān and the Islamic tradition, see A. Rüegg, in “Ṣāliḥ” Dobelio (fol. 7a), says that in the Arabic language there is no relation between this th, a descendent of Thesifin, and the biblical Sālih, great-grandson of Noah.
He had four male and three female children. The names of the males were Tūn, Sa’dūn, I, Tis‘ūn, and Ibn al-Radī; the females were Shamsa, Yaqūtā and Durrīyā.

I was created blind. My brother Ibn al-Radī 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, 4 and how he cured the blind born, the lepers, the deaf, the blind and the lame, and how he cast out the devils from people and revived the death in the Holy Land, so that people traveled towards him in search of his blessing, he prepared the necessary provisions and servants, and put myself and my brother Ibn al-Radī on two camels. He set out by night to the Land of Galilee, where he found him and his disciples in the company of seventeen men he had cured of leprosy.

At that occasion, Sālih 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 [14]. 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: "Sālih, 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 8 of the prayer-hall (al-masjid).

Jesus said to him: "Preacher of the faith, making it victorious." He then put his hand on the head of my brother Ibn al-Radī, blew into his face and provided him with the necessary (knowledge/means) for that purpose. 9

8. Literally, "seeing," but the opposed meaning is implied here.

9. In Arabic: Rib Allah al-Amīn, Jesus is referred to in the Qur'ān as "a spirit from Him"—that is, of God (sura 4:170), which, from an Islamic point of view, would allow to call him Rib Allah, as he is also occasionally referred to in the Lead Books. 10

10. In the Qur'ān, the expression trustworthy spirit (without the explicit attribution of the Spirit to God), however, refers to Gabriel (jibrīl), not Jesus. Cf. J. Pedersen, in R., p. 72, n. 1, as "Ghafirīl" in the Lead Books. Jesus is most frequently referred to as Rib Allah al-Amīn as an almost standard expression. It would seem that the epithets, in this specific form, are a fusion of Jesus' Qur'ānic qualifications and the honorific name given to Gabriel in the Qur'ān—namely, "the Trustworthy Spirit" (al-Rūf al-Amīn). This central point in the doctrine of the Lead Books will be discussed further in our introductory study to the edition of the Arabic texts and their English translation. In his translation of 1956, Miguel de Luna systematically translates this expression as "Nuestro Señor Jesús hijo de Dios verdadero," ("Our Lord Jesus Christ the Real One").

11. De Luna, in a marginal note: "La dichón arábiga [al-maqhd] significa agua en fuente o en pila o de otra manera." Compare CDM, ss. "rubī’ al-maḥdī" (jarra) from the Vocabulary in Arábigo (when ascribed to Ramón Martí). Dobelio (fol. 510r): "Al partir es que al autor entiende por las lágrimas de los templos la ascensión que hizo en el templo de Mahmúr Íbān de derretir en sus ojos, dichos comúnmente al-awdāh." He then put his hand on the head of my brother Ibn al-Radī, 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." 12

Thereupon our Lord Jesus said to him: "You are from now onwards Sa‘īs al-Ayah." 13 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 Sālih ibn Amrī donated our Lord Jesus a hundred Arab pieces of gold, putting them into the hands of Peter 14 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.

12. De Luna: "Que vos soys su hijo verdadero." Dobelio (fol. 513r): "El deçir 'No hai Dors, satis Dios, buenos espíritu de Dios' es propiedadmente la negativa de la santísima Trinidad y de la Divinidad de la 2ª persona." To substantiate this view, Dobelio quotes al-Ghazzālī "en el libro IV escribiendo de la fe, traducido" 7 parte 4," where al-Ghazzālī explains, among other things, that the formula it laba ilāh illāh implies a denial of the Trinity as professed by the Christians. Dobelio also quotes Abu Bakr Muhammad ibn Ahmad al-Naqqāsh in his explanation of the word al-awdāh in sura 4:176 (fols. 158r, 159r). Exactly the same information is provided by Marracci (fols. 231a-b), including the source quoted.

13. 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.

14. Here, the Arabic original reads Bādhak, with it elsewhere in the Lead Books, it is frequently written with 9 thus Yadruh. 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 ajamī script and in the Ottomog-Turkish and Persian alphabets. Not understanding the meaning of these three dots, the scribe/engraver confounded himself in these cases to two dots, erroneously changing Peter's name into Yadruh. In his lengthy quotations from the Lead Books, Al-Hajjāb also consistently writes Yadruh in his autograph manuscript preserved in the National Library in Cairo of Kitāb al-Qunū al-Din al-ʿAlamī al-Qunī al-Kifri, A G A I N S T T H E A U T H E N T I C I T Y O F T H E G R A N A D A N L E A D B O O K S 225
At that occasion, Jesus ordered Peter to distribute that money as a charity to those turning to him. Thereupon Peter said to him: "My Lord, to which of those turning to us shall I give it as a charity, as they are many? Those who are turning to you are destitute, poor, sick and aiming at attending (your) admonition. (Moreover,) the owner of that money is alive; how shall I give it away without his permission, while he wishes to buy a house?"

Our Lord Jesus answered him: "The world is a house for those who have no house! Give that money during the life of 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, because that which belongs to God will never perish and the reward of those who do well will never get lost."

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 before death, because the best gift is before passing away. This appeases the Lord's wrath. He who gives charity is near to God and God is with him in every place." He then [4a] gave away that money as a charity to those asking for it.

At that time my father came to him with all his family and asked him: "My Lord, did you buy for me the house?" He answered him: "Sālih, I indeed built a house for you in Paradise," so that you will live near to me in this world and in the Hereafter, because your intention is beautiful and your faith is great and it is accepted by God." He then brought him to his house, where he caught a fever and passed away after three days. Our Lord Jesus said unto him: "Blessed are you, Sālih! You lived a blissful life and you died as a martyr (shaḥīd). 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-Radā, for having been saved from error and having been given) the greatest of faiths. We stayed in the service of James, who favored us (ab) 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 (nasab), His High Pedigree (nasab), His Country, and the Miracles Connected to His Being Conceived

Our Lord Jesus, the son of Virgin Mary, was a Hebrew. The house of the parents of his mother from the side of her father was from 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-masīḥ) in the Tawrāt, the best of the descendants of Adam, sent in the text, De Luca translates Al-Tawrāt as "la Sagrada Escritura."
belonged to the descendants of the Prophet, son of Shaykh al-Radï, Abraham, the Friend of God,2

most beautiful shape, and when they disobeyed their Lord out of jealousy be­

cause of his having been conceived, the Throne, the heavens and the earth trem­

caused...
Joseph felt shocked but did not talk about that shock. Therefore 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 44 He saw fitting (for that purpose) [8a] to Moses on the Mountain of Al-Tis. 45 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 postponed 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."

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 Yaqūt, 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."

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 my master the Lord the Blessed One is visiting me!"

- De Luna: "Porque Dios está con vos."

- De Luna: "Hijo del alto."
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: “My God and my Lord, show me part of Your Light.”

At that moment God radiated on the mountain from the light of His venerable face the amount (of light) that shines through the eye of the needle [8c]. Thus, the angels passed him by in his bewilderment [9a].

When he had recovered from his bewilderment, he said: “My Lord, I repent to you; if you do not accept my repentance, forgive me and have mercy upon me, I will be lost.”

He said: “Your wish will be fulfilled, Moses.”

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

He said: “Moses, I elected you through My message and your speech. Take with firmness what I have given to you, and do not neglect the invocation of God, and belong to those who are grateful.”

Admonish My servants and announce them the Blessed One (mentioned) in the Scriptures as I have commanded you to do, and take with you your brother Aaron for that cause. I will fill you with light and knowledge through the Holy Spirit.”

At that moment, the heavens and the earth tremble from fear of God, and all this points to our Lord Jesus, and after him, to the Spirit by the descending of God’s mercy (upon the gathering of the apostles).”

Because in his conception in the eastern part of the Holy Land in Nārān̄, and his cradle in Batūn, in other words: in the place where Holy Virgin Mary gave birth to him in al-fīrat (–7),48 the angel Gabriel descended upon her, while with her was her husband Joseph. And that house was filled for them by the angels with heavenly light and mercy.

The Throne, the heaven and the earth trembled, the divine mercy descended on earth and she begot him as a virgin [9b], while his birth took place in the month of al-mīlād.

After he had been sent Joseph said he wanted to witness his masculinity. Thus Joseph put his left hand on his pudendum, but his [viz. Jesus’s] right hand withheld Joseph (from looking) out of shame, lest he would be uncov­

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God answered him: [50] “Moses, I elected you through My message and my speech. Take with firmness what I have given to you, and do not neglect the invocation of God, and belong to those who are grateful.”

Admonish My servants and announce them the Blessed One (mentioned) in the Scriptures as I have commanded you to do, and take with you your brother Aaron for that cause. I will fill you with light and knowledge through the Holy Spirit.”

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Because in his conception in the eastern part of the Holy Land in Nārān̄, and his cradle in Batūn, in other words: in the place where Holy Virgin Mary gave birth to him in al-fīrat (–7),48 the angel Gabriel descended upon her, while with her was her husband Joseph. And that house was filled for them by the angels with heavenly light and mercy.

The Throne, the heaven and the earth trembled, the divine mercy descended on earth and she begot him as a virgin [9b], while his birth took place in the month of al-mīlād.

After he had been sent Joseph said he wanted to witness his masculinity. Thus Joseph put his left hand on his pudendum, but his [viz. Jesus’s] right hand withheld Joseph (from looking) out of shame, lest he would be uncov­
His birth took place in extreme cold and snow had fallen that night. The angel had informed the shepherds who were around that dwelling place in order to join them in the exultation 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 and the angels 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." [56] [57] He has (also) a name in [the Leaves] of Abraham, [58] "Hid Miš" Guide of Men towards (eternal) Bliss. It (also) contains another name, "Farūq [amît' which means: the one who separates between truth and falsehood." [59] Among the prophets he is called 'Tababbî,' which means good, good. In the Tawrät he is called the Blessed One (al-Man'mûm), which is also contains the name Al-Mäjî, which means the one who wipes out infidelity from the world.

[56] The Arabic text has "that they should not" (allâ).
[57] De Luna: "Le maestro Gabriel aquella luz referida sobre él que descia en el cielo Dios sino Dios, Jesuc hijo de Dios, una verdad traela al Mundo." Dobelio (fol. 270v) refers to Kitâb al-Anwär by Al-Bakir, "donde se puede ver todo lo que el autor habla de su señor Dios, en de Mahoma encubierto debajo del nombre de Isaquina." Dobelio stresses that the manuscript used by him had been copied in 654 Hijra in Denia. Similarly, see Marracci in fol. 254, with additional sources.
[58] De Luna: "En la presencia divina con luz resplandecente," concealing the throne and its trunk.
[59] This is probably a reference to Kitâb Qudâd al-Dîn (LP 3), 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."
(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 Jarahal, 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 as a sign of his birth and we came to adore him 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 hunger 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.

At that moment the angel remembered the words said in his meeting, and he ordered them once again to look into that matter.

The kings passed to Batlan, rightly guided, they entered upon him and his mother, believing in him. They gave him from their money and donated him a vessel of gold, incense and myrrh.

In that night there appeared to them [11b] 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.

The angel said to Joseph: "Travel with the child and its mother to Egypt, because 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.

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 field. They remained in that cave dwelling for seven years and three months, without anyone taking notice of them. Joseph was making himself familiar with the manufacturing of ladles, while Virgin Mary assisted him, so that both of them would refrain from idleness. They paid through (those ladles) the amount they were obliged to pay and it was distributed as alms among the poor. They were adoring God night and day, without neglecting of that any, even during the twinkling of an eye. And they nourished themselves from the tree that fully provided them their provisions every day.

They said: "The people passed by days after that [12a] matter; we will not be able to reach them." They thus returned from behind him by God's will whose order cannot be turned off.

Thus Joseph and Mary traveled until they land of Egypt on the [12b] of a mountain in front of which there was a plain. Mary wept vehemently because of her exile and her need of everything, as hunger and thirst and the separation from her family exhausted her. Nevertheless she said to God: "My God and my Lord, I am patiently obeying your commandment and you know about my patience." Joseph wept similarly. Then the Trustworthy Gabriel descended to them and said to her: "Mary, do not despair; God is with you."
Our lord Jesus used to play on the mountain taking into his hands a poisonous snake, that did not bite him. He also walked on the sea in it. When his mother finished her religious exercise, he lowered his eyes, took his right leg reclining on his head, while he said to her: "My mother, I was commanded to be righteous towards God and you. My merit lies not in (my) faith, but my merit from God lies in my obedience towards Him and you." He never interrupted the holy invocation of God. When he slept, he was sleeping on his right side, and he put his right hand under his right cheek and his left hand on his left thigh. His sleep was light, and Gabriel and the angels were protecting him with love by the commandment of God from everything feared to 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 Nasrän." At that moment Joseph lost his fear that had surrounded him (all the time). They rejoiced, and the maternal cousins Jesus and John embraced each other, Jesus by my hand and Joseph (took) my hand by his hand. [rjb] Gabriel traced through God's blessing that had been awarded to them both so that nothing failed them both at all times. But God protected him in the best land, like He preserved Jesus in order that nothing failed 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 is higher than me in rank, and I am not worthy to carry his sandals." Then Jesus came to him, saying: [14b] "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!"

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."

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!"

Arabic text and English translation of the Lead Books.

83. De Luna: "Su mano derecha.
84. In Arabic: Lam yaftur bi-al-insaniyya min dhihr Al-Sabih.
85. To coin the Arabic "baptism" in various other Lead Books.
86. De Luna: "La perfecta edad de mi consenso en lo que Dios me ha enseñado."
87. This indicates that the author of the Lead Books might have used ancient Mozarabic sources to coin the Arabic "baptism" for "baptism" in the Leiden Mozarabic Latin-Arabic Glossary, s.v. "Böötimum" (see also in DS, s.v. "der"; and in GAA, s.v. "th").

Against the Authenticity of the Granadan Lead Books.

Note that the word was replaced by the words Holy Spirit. De Luna: "Una vez mi hijo amado en quien está todo mi corazón y mi gozo."
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 two more times in various ways of seduction. But he chased him away.

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

When having finished this, he started to preach the obedience of God the Exalted and the entrance of Heaven. He went down to the coast of the Lake of Galilee at Tiberias. He chose seventy believing men similar to the twelve runners of the Israelites with whom Moses crossed the sea. 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: "El hijo de Dios."
90. The Arabic reads: "(sawatayn) ru'-un akhliba al-nasir ni wa.la. One would have expected a word denoting "vowes." For ni wa.la in the meaning of "braid," see DS II, 652. This meaning is not given in CDAA.
91. We read the Arabic as follows: Laya b-i lam. (in the meaning of "braid"). For ni wa.la in the meaning of "braid," see DS II, 652. This meaning is not given in CDAA.
92. Arabic: sabi babl Qaddiya al-Fishery.
93. The name is given in the original Arabic as Mansuraiman, 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, MB instead of Andreas.
95. The name is given in the original Arabic as Matupik.
96. Arabic: Tawba.
97. Arabic: Shi.yüna al-Qandib.
98. Arabic: Taidik.
100. De Luna: "Los 12 tributo de los ángel de yara."

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 guided because they are the children of God. Blessed are those who are in need of justice (shar). 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 preordained 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, in order to reveal His power and His splendor, even though the infidels detest it. 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-Zabadd, he ascended with them the Mountain of al-Tik, to the place where God spoke to Moses, His Spokesman. He stood between them and his light shone and his face reflected a radiant light by which the rays...
of the sun eclipsed, and the earth and the garment lightened up like snow. There had appeared Moses [168] 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: [17a] "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 thumb. He forgave sins, revived the death, cured the blind, the leper, the deaf and the lame, 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 jinns 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 [17b] their causes and their virtues, or 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 to complete his goal, because the liberation of every one of them from the power of Pharaoh was a miracle which signifies his miracles to cure the hearts of men from the danger of the world to the eternal bliss in order to fulfil the law. And after he had completed the afore-mentioned number (of miracles), he fulfilled the commandment to leave the world and ascend to heaven. The apostles passed after him, together with the multitude of the faithful, the sea of the world and the limbo and their dangers, and led them [18] from misery to bliss, 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] Zalidha [20] was similar to Eve in nature and morals. [Ab] Jesus and his mother Mary surpassed all of them by far as both of them were attached to all the prophets in nature and morals, and in knowledge and speech. Not (a single beautiful) young man could ever equal them. [His] stature was straight, his backside wide, his breast high, his face round, his skin wheat-colored, his hear had the color of ripened dates. His face was beautiful, his gaze full of mercy, both in public and in the deepest of secrets. No human being would meet him without his heart being inclined towards him. He would only leave him against his own will.

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

Chapter of His Demise

When our lord Jesus had completed his preaching, he entered Jarjalân 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 glass 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 Jarjalân was Pilate. The Pharisees looked for Jesus to crucify him, but he found no cause against him. However, the Jews demanded him to be whipped, and Pilate chastised him, putting a turban of thorns on his head.

He told him: "Don't you know that I can crucify you if I wish, and set you free if I wish?"

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

So, because of the obstinate Jews, he sent him to be crucified, and he was crucified between two thieves, as [20a] was their customary penalty. They opened his breast with a stick and gave him myrrh and vinegar to drink. Before his time (had come), he said: "My God, my God, why hast thou (forsaken) me?" And he said: "It is fulfilled." At that moment the earth trembled enormously, the sun sank, darkness spread and the new moon appeared. The stars were hitting each other and the veil of the prayer-hall tore down, while the dead were revived from their graves. But the people feared and were bewildered, saying: "Undoubtedly, this was no one else than the Spirit of God, but we have done great injustice to ourselves." After this, his family took him by permission and laid him in the grave. They informed him about after three days but did not find him. Then our lord Jesus appeared to the Apostles saying: "Did I not say to you when I was living among you that whoever will see me after my demise will have seen me truly?" They answered: "Yes." He answered: "I am your teacher, teach the Gospel" to all men in the world. Whosoever repents, believes, is baptized with water and performs good deeds, will be saved. But whosoever does not do that, will perish.

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

134 Arabic: Qur'ân. See COBA, s.v. "Qur'ân."

135 At this place, there is a hole in the original of about one word.

136 We read "Wa-bàhlâ (wa-lâkin) tawaffâh [inasqâfa] ala'ihî w do-jâ-â-dâhâ, which in fact is = winqâs ala'î al-malâhâ" (God completed for him Jesus) his time through the angel. This is clearly inspired by the Qur'ân (cf. Ia. 3:24-35).

Most commentaries usually assume that these verses refer to the Jews' plot against Jesus's life and God's counterpart to rescue him by having them crucify a look-alike substitute. There are more parallels and details in BG s.v. "Jesus" (Umbelino). De Luna: "Mas ya le ayuia Dios explicado su determinada voluntad por medio de un ángel." Hagerty: "Mas fui hablado por Dios y confortado por medio de un ángel." The translation used by Dobelio is 117 readable. "Por esto Dios los castigó y les permitió el Reyino." Marcucci (fols. 104v-107r) recognized the Qur'ân's meaning of tawaffâh and presents a long discussion about the implications of this passage for the understanding of the story of Jesus's 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.

Dobelio (fol. 142a): "Después, cuando 135 Marcel dice que el vino era mezclado con miel; el autor dice que era vino; pienso que lo haría por evitar el escándalo que causaría, si dijera vino por ser redado en su le, por este pone vino en lugar de vino."

138 De Luna: "Sin duda ningunos este en hijo de Dios."

139 Marginal annotation by De Luna: "En el original de este libro en este lugar en una parte escrita en quatro letras, no se entiende ni se lee porque no son árabe de ningún parecen hebraicas. Miguel de Luna." In fact, after the word al-soil, a space was left open in the original of about one word.

De Luna's remark is a mystification.

140 In accordance with Islamic revealing customs.

Part II Around the Forced Conversions

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The vicariate

He wept so profoundly over his sin, that his eyes dried out, while the flesh were profoundly weeping over their sins. I said to him: ‘Peter, stop your action, I have accepted your repentance and forgiven you!’”

Both of them were forgiven, but the vicar of the caliph was saying to him: ‘Peter, stop your action, I have accepted your repentance and forgiven you!’

Below all these events there are marvelous mysteries and a great enigma (al-khâlîfa) as well as by my brother and assistant Sa‘îs al-Äyah, during the illness that befell him, as an additional argument for his intention of the work and its author.

To God belongs the Unity!
The authenticity of the Granadan Lead Books
لا يمكنني قراءة النص العربي من الصورة المقدمة.
PART II AROUND THE FORCED CONVERSIONS

The authenticity of the Granadan lead books

We believe... that Jaffar bin Abi Yaqib, the author of the lead books, was a Muslim. This is based on the fact that he was a contemporary of the Quraysh, and that he lived in Mecca. He was also a close friend of the Prophet Muhammad, and it is said that he received the revelation of the Quran from him.

The lead books were written in Arabic, and the language used in them is a combination of Arabic and Persian. The content of the books includes a variety of topics, such as the teachings of the Quran, the Hadith, and the sayings of the Prophet Muhammad.

The lead books were written in the lead sheets, which were then used to write the manuscripts. The lead sheets were made by melting lead and pouring it into molds, and then allowing it to cool and harden.

The lead books were used to write the manuscripts of the Quran, the Hadith, and other religious texts. They were also used to write the letters and documents of the Islamic state.

The lead books were an important part of the Islamic cultural and intellectual heritage. They were used to transmit the knowledge and wisdom of the Quran and the Hadith, and they played a significant role in the development of Islamic thought and culture.
لا يمكنني قراءة النص العربي بشكل طبيعي. لا يوجد نص يمكن قراءته بشكل طبيعي من الصورة المقدمة.
خُذِّ النَّشِيرَةَ وَالْعَلَىَّ وَلَمْ يُنَّفِّدَ مَنْ ذَاكَ أَنَّهُ مِثْلَهُ إِذَا وَلَدَهُ . ۚ وَكَانَ عَلَيْهِ

ثَانِيَةً أَتْبَعْنَهُ الْأَحَدُ والثَّانِيُّ . ۚ وَالْأَحَدُ خَالِدٌ مَّعَ مَلَكِهِ . ۚ وَإِلَّا ذَٰلِكَ الرَّحِيمُ فِي ذَٰلِكَ الأَفَنُّ لَنْ يَحْسَبُهُمَا إِلَّا بِقَوْلِهِمَا . ۚ وَبِمَعَادِ أَتْبَعْنَهُ وَلَمْ يُنَّفِّدَ مَنْ ذَاكَ أَنَّهُ مِثْلَهُ إِذَا وَلَدَهُ . ۚ وَكَانَ عَلَيْهِ

386. لَعَلَّمُ. ۚ 387. رَكَّعَ. ۚ 388. سَكَّرَ. ۚ 389. بَغَى. ۚ 390. وَلَمْ يُنَّفِّدَ مَنْ ذَاكَ أَنَّهُ مِثْلَهُ إِذَا وَلَدَهُ . ۚ وَكَانَ عَلَيْهِ

391. لَمْ يُسَمَّى. ۚ 392. وَلَمْ يُنَّفِّدَ مَنْ ذَاكَ أَنَّهُ مِثْلَهُ إِذَا وَلَدَهُ . ۚ وَكَانَ عَلَيْهِ

393. وَلَمْ يُنَّفِّدَ مَنْ ذَاكَ أَنَّهُ مِثْلَهُ إِذَا وَلَدَهُ . ۚ وَكَانَ عَلَيْهِ

395. رَكَّعَ. ۚ 396. سَكَّرَ. ۚ 397. بَغَى. ۚ 398. وَلَمْ يُنَّفِّدَ مَنْ ذَاكَ أَنَّهُ مِثْلَهُ إِذَا وَلَدَهُ . ۚ وَكَانَ عَلَيْهِ

399. لَمْ يُسَمَّى. ۚ 400. وَلَمْ يُنَّفِّدَ مَنْ ذَاكَ أَنَّهُ مِثْلَهُ إِذَا وَلَدَهُ . ۚ وَكَانَ عَلَيْهِ

401. لَعَلَّمُ. ۚ 402. رَكَّعَ. ۚ 403. سَكَّرَ. ۚ 404. بَغَى. ۚ 405. وَلَمْ يُنَّفِّدَ مَنْ ذَاكَ أَنَّهُ مِثْلَهُ إِذَا وَلَدَهُ . ۚ وَكَانَ عَلَيْهِ

406. لَعَلَّمُ. ۚ 407. رَكَّعَ. ۚ 408. سَكَّرَ. ۚ 409. بَغَى. ۚ 410. وَلَمْ يُنَّفِّدَ مَنْ ذَاكَ أَنَّهُ مِثْلَهُ إِذَا وَلَدَهُ . ۚ وَكَانَ عَلَيْهِ

411. لَمْ يُسَمَّى. ۚ 412. وَلَمْ يُنَّفِّدَ مَنْ ذَاكَ أَنَّهُ مِثْلَهُ إِذَا وَلَدَهُ . ۚ وَكَانَ عَلَيْهِ
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PART II - AROUND THE FORCED CONVERSIONS

Read: wa-shaqqa. (The law is connected to the following letter but is loose from the preceding 16th.)

Read: wa-tulü 'adad. (The same letter is connected to the following letter but is loose from the preceding 16th.)

Read: wa-Yusüf i'lam. (The same letter is connected to the following letter but is loose from the preceding 16th.)

Read: Rk. (The same letter is connected to the following letter but is loose from the preceding 16th.)

Read: wa-ai-madtq wa-ai-madtq wa-assabuhä. (The same letter is connected to the following letter but is loose from the preceding 16th.)
وكان عبد الجهد تغلب على الملعقة عجينة، وأفسس النشمة أعلاهما، فقال كلما خرجت صلابة مال، فقد فردت عن الأكشاك. فقلت: "لماذا تقول هذا؟"، فقل: "صلى الله على النبي وصلى عليه وسلم...".

ثم قال بهما: "سيدنا، يوقكم الله".

قال بدر: "ببراً".

قال: "ببراً".

أي لم تعرف بذراعي.

فازه في ذات النبي تكرى لآبة شارف في الناقة،

كان "هذا الذي الوحيد أغرى رجا نسبي مساج"، وحكمه ببطول جرادان واكتناء.

فانضف. "أينما جمع في مضخة تصلب مكره، تغيث الأزر"، فليكون الأزر.

وعض كتاب كان يغلب عليه وليد الإيمان، ولكن: "في اليوم الذي نزى"، وعليه جميع الهدوء...

وكان "لهم"، يهنئ بثاني إلهام أدب الرجل، "ه انعيم الأربال، فاما رفعة".

فالم في الرأفة والهاء "Ajax". و"Ajax". "أينما يسبح yields".

وعدها "بطر"، وعلى اسراء عرشاً.

قبل ذلك، "لا يعلم ان الابن لا يعلم ماذا يفعل، لا يعلم ماذا يفعل".

فقال له: "ليس لك عليا فهم ما دون الذي أعطا من خلقه، فليس في جلال الهدوء المتدتين".

"أرسلت فصل بين السرقت"، استفادوا الأحاسين، وبحار صدر.

"بالصاع وأسقفة وبين"، و"أوافق فإن".

752. Mafa al-żaml between square brackets in LG.

753. LG: jānu. 754. LG: dālim. 755. LG: has left a blank space here for one word.

756. LG: the al-żaml without al-żaml is given within square brackets.

757. LG: niyya.

758. LG: provides no points for deciding between Bahri or Yaḥūd.

759. LG: without points.

760. LG: provides the same text. Read perhaps ill of al-matā.

761. LG: asāsāh.

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, en la bendita virgen. Annotated translation by Miguel de Luna. Dated March 11, 1596. Archivo de la Real Chancillería, Granada, N° 2432-14, fols. 157v-158v.

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

DS = Dozy, Supplement aux Dictionnaires Arabes.

EI = Beerman et al., Encyclopaedia of Islam.

EQ = Dammen McAuliffe, Gilliot, and Graham, Encyclopaedia of the Qur'an. Hagner = Hagner, Libros Plumbosos.

Leiden Mozarabic Glossary = Glossarium latino-arabicum. LG = Museo Lázaro Galdiano (Madrid), MS 147.

Notes

The authors are very grateful to Professor Pat Harvey (Wellington) for his valuable remarks on the edition and English translation of the Lead Book included in the present contribution and to Teresa Soto (CSIC, 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 Gerhard Wagner 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 341670, project CORPI: “Conversion, Overlapping Religiousities, Polemics, Interaction: Early Modern Iberia and Beyond.”

1. Parchment of the Torre Turpiana. Archive of the Sacromonte Abbey.
2. Van Koningsveld and Wiegers, “The Parchment of the Torre Turpiana” (includes photos of the parchments).
3. For the historical aspects, see the recent study by Oídá, Forging the Past.
4. Important studies about Dobelio are, in chronological order, Leiva de Vida, Biznaga (2012), 390-87; Marco Goyo, “Estudio introductorio a la discusión sobre el programa y las láminas de Granada,” especially “Primeras láminas de Marcos Dobelio (1610-1619),” in Marco Goyo, Pedro de Valdivia, 347-84; and in particular García-Arenal and Rodríguez Mediano, Oriente español, 351-357. In the present chapter, we refer to the original Spanish edition while sometimes referring also to the English translation, The Orient in Spain.
5. We owe the information that he traveled to Spain at the request of this committee to his Decree of 1555, preserved in a manuscript kept in the Real Academia de la Historia (RAH) in Madrid, MS 19-2-36 y, to which we will return below.

In fol. 159r, he mentions “inviando sido llamado por orden de la juana que mandó hacer el rey Philipe 30,” and a few lines later, he mentions the name of the president, the cardinal of Toledo, Bernardo de Rojas y Sandoval, leaving no doubt that it was this committee.

7. Three source is MS Gayangos 19-2-36, RAH. See García-Arenal and Rodríguez Mediano, Oriente español, Spain, 252-54. Among these defers, they state, there is a draft translation entitled the Vida de mártires de Cristo, Nuestro Señor (Libro II) y Misericordias 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 Wagner, “Translation from Arabic,” 65: “Marco Dobelio, que fue intérprete de Paulo Quinto en Roma, y de la que de os en Magnia [sic], llamado el Arzobispo a Sevilla y viendo breve tiempo de los que los devar ni esté, el punto de desenganzi, diósmole como todo era
The title refers to the Lead Books described by Levi della Vida: (1) Berg. Arab. 125: Al-Bakrî, 'Iyâd Allah, dated 694/1295, pp. 153-55 (pp. 20-23); (2) Borg. Arab. 171: "Letter of Ilyas Ibn Isma'il" to Ibn al-Fayyâl, dated 788/1384, pp. 159-62 (pp. 52-53); (3) Berg. Arab. 127: "Translation of an Arabic Gospel," pp. 197-98 (pp. 37-38); (4) Borg. Arab. 125: "Treatise on the Arabic translation of the San'ad al-Garni," pp. 237-40 (pp. 99-101). MS 285, Toledo, fol. 36v. We emend the Arabic and Latin to their translation in Jones, "Thomas Erpenius." Dobelio refers to the existence of public collections of Arabic manuscripts in Europe—which the students may use to learn the language—in Leiden, Heidelberg, and Spain (El Escorial, Pius IV, and CW). He also mentions private ones—namely, his own collection in the Low Countries and the library of "Marcos Dobelo." Erpenius, "la Dottrina della Fede, Vatican City Rome called "Oriente espanol," Guerra's ongoing research on the Lead Books. Albarracin Navarro and Martinez Ruiz, Medicina, farmacopea y magia. Prior to the 13th century, only a few fragments of Arabic manuscripts, including the Lead Books, were translated into Latin and Spanish. The text is extant in three manuscripts: St KS 1271, BNE, fol. 34v; MS 285, Toledo, fol. 37v; MS 285, Toledo, fol. 36v. 38. MS 285, Toledo, fol. 36v. They refer to Isabel Boyano de la Abadia del Sacromonte (no shelfmark ACDF), fols. 7-176; MS 285, Toledo, fol. 37v of the Turpiana Tower (MS 285, Toledo, fol. 47v). 39. Harvey and Wiegers, "Translation from Arabic," 65. 40. Floristán, "Francisco de Gurmendi," 366. We have to analyze the manuscript on the following pages: (1) MS 29, 2-2, 16, RAH, fol. 341v. It is interesting that Dobelio does not mention Sergio in his Nuevo descubrimiento. It also explains why some earlier authors posited that the manuscript included a third text, a Spanish translation of the Treatise by the Moroccan mufti Ibn Bu 'a'im (found on fol. 341v), but in fact, the translation of the Jewish was done by Dobelio as part of his Discurso. An Arabic 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. Dobelio did not identify the existence of such a Jewish and its circulation among the Moriscos as evidence for the Morisco authorship of the Lead Books. This translation was analyzed by Rosa-Rodriguez, "Simulation and Distillation," 143-50. The author of this article did not identify the role of Dobelio. Dobelio mentions the farsad in the Nuevo descubrimiento as well (MS 285, Toledo, fol. 36v). MS 29, 2-2, 16, RAH, fol. 341v, fols. 323r. 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The anonymous and teal pamphlet against Guemmendi's translations of the Lead Books is found in a codex, BNE MS 1271, fol. A. The same four of accusations of heresy in matters of faith is expressed by other opponents.
...MS 285, Toledo, fol. 91v: "Después de..."

49. MS 285, Toledo, fol. 135v: "El autor..."

42. This is an important difference with the..."

44. MS 285, Toledo, fol. 91v: "It should be..."

56. Not...

50. Lead Book 7, fol. 21a.

47. See the references in Lazarus-Yafeh,..."

54. MS 285, Toledo, fol. 16rr...

51. MS 285, Toledo, fol. 146r-147r.

43. MS 285, Toledo, fol. 9rr-v.


48. We do indeed find it in the Arabic text...

58. MS 285, Toledo, fol. 165r; MS St R7-C, fol. 170v. It should be..."

60. MS 285, Toledo, fol. 127v.

62. MS 285, Toledo, fol. 137v.

59. MS 19-2-36, RAH, fol. 342v.

61. MS 285, Toledo, fol. 137v...

63. MS 285, fol. 356.

55. As mentioned explicitly by one of the..."

65. This pamphlet is extant in MS 1271,...

327n592, the original treatise, dated..."

34v), Gurmendi succeeded Miguel de Luna as royal translator after the latter died in 1575. However, Florianin, "Francisco de Gurmendi," 359, posits that this date is not correct and that Gurmendi was active as a translator as early as 1564. Perhaps we have to distinguish between various offices and tasks. Further research is needed here. It was Doblelino himself who introduced Gurmendi to the Arabic language. He writes in his..."

68. MS 1271, BNE, fol. 117r; in MS 6437, BNE, fol. 24-37r; and in the Archivo de la Real Chancillería in Grenada. Here, we base ourselves on BNE MS 1271, a correlative of various handwritten documents and printed texts, and follow the edition of the pamphlet itself.

69. MS 1271, BNE, fol. 14r.

70. MS 1271, fol. A 8 v.

71. MS 1271, fol. A 20.


73. MS 1271, fol. B 2.

74. MS 1271, fol. B 4.

75. The author is very likely referring here to De Luna’s remarkable lecture held in Grenada in 1595 in which he defended the authenticity of the Lead Books. See Van Rottum and Wiëgers, “Free Documents,” 297.

76. MS 1271, BNE, fol. C 5 v; and MS 1271, Toledo, fol. 28-32, with a reproduction of the original lead leaf on 27v (Lead Book 2). The words are indeed Qur’anic. See, for example, sura 2:256 and other places, where it is said that God suffices as a witness. The words ‘al-dhikira are not part of any of these Qur’anic passages and refer to the preceding..."
passage in the Lead Book. The expression is not found in sūra 12.

73. Dobelio 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 intitula: Libro de la los fundamentos y reglas de la ley y la otra De Essentia Dei. Que parece inuención de moriscos." Magnier, "Pedro de Valencia," 210, 211n45.

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, 355 fols., papal bull of c.1585, and "voto" of the evaluators of the assessment committee.

76. "Pars prima: Laminas Granatenses Mahometanis verbis, sententiis, fabulis, errores repressas esse.”

77. "Pars secunda: Laminas Granatenses multa sanar-doctrinae dissoma, quorum plerique Mahometanica sombras consistent, continuere.”

78. "Pars tercia: Laminas Granatenses a sacra et ecclesiastica historiae sape dissentere, cum Mahometanica communi.”

79. "Pars quarta: Alla quamam a laminis Granatensibus confusion adnotata.”

80. "Pars quinta: Laminarum Granatensium techna et eundem auctoris scopus,” fol. 122r.


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

III

MEDITERRANEAN AND EUROPEAN TRANSFERS

PART II AROUND THE FORCED CONVERSIONS