The Iberian Qur'an

From the Middle Ages to Modern Times

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Sounding the Qur'an: The Rhetoric of Transliteration in the *Antialcoranes*

In April 1500, Martín García —Zaragozan canon, inquisitor in Aragon, and confessor to Queen Isabel— received a letter from King Fernando and Queen Isabel, describing the "great need" for "people of the Church who know Arabic in order to instruct the newly converted." Moreover, it continues, "because we know that you know Arabic," the rulers urge García to come to Granada to begin missionizing and pastoral work there.[1] While García may have had some familiarity with Arabic, his level seems to have been elementary, and thus when he did embark on a preaching campaign in Granada in subsequent years, continuing a successful preaching career begun already in the previous decade, he relied on the assistance of others.[2] García continued his work in Granada for some years, until he was later appointed Bishop of Barcelona in 1512, assuming his post there in 1515. 156 of his sermons —perhaps only a selection of his work— were collect-

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[1] García received a letter from King Fernando and Queen Isabel dated 4 April, 1500, affirming that "ay mucha necesidad especialmente agora en los comienzos que no hay en aquella ciudad [Granada] personas de iglesia que sepan arábigo para instruir a los dichos nuevamente convertidos y porque sabemos que vos sabéys arábigo y que con vuestras letras y predicación y buen ejemplo podréys muchos aprovecharles poronde nos vos rogamos encargamos que pues vedes quanto en ellos será servido nuestro Señor queráys disponer os a venir a estar algun tiempo a la dicha ciudad para aprovechar el lo susodicho." Barcelona, Archivo de la Corona de Aragón [ACA], Reg. 3614, fol. 107v. On García's preaching campaign in Granada, see Teresa Soto and Katarzyna K. Starczewska, "Authority, Philology and Conversion under the Aegis of Martín García," in *After Conversion: Iberia and the Emergence of Modernity*, ed. Mercedes García-Arenal (Leiden: Brill, 2016).
[2] Manuel Montoza Coca, "Los *Sermones* de Don Martín García, obispo de Barcelona. Edición y estudio" PhD Diss. (Universitat Autònoma de Barcelona, 2018). As Montoza Coca suggests, García cited only a limited selection of Arabic texts and apparently "no sabía árabe como para leerlo en profundidad" (xxiv). See also Xavier Casassas Canals, "The Bellús Qur'an, Martín García, and Martín de Figuerola: The Study of the Qur'an and its use in the *Sermones de la Fe* and the disputes with Muslims in the Crown of Aragon in the Sixteenth Century," in *The Latin Qur'an, 1143– 1500. Translation, Transition, Interpretation*, eds. Candida Ferrero Hernández and John Tolan (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2021), 464–65. Where García may have learned the little Arabic he did know is unclear. He could have learned during his childhood in Caspe, which consisted of a Muslim population of approximatlely ten percent. See Andrés Alvárez Gracia, "El Islam y los judíos en Caspe," in *Comarca de Bajo Aragón-Caspe*, ed. Miguel Caballú Albiac and Francisco Javier Cortés Borroy (Zaragoza: Gobierno de Aragón, 2008), 115.

ed and published in Latin in 1520, and over a quarter of these contain references to the Qur'an.

Over the subsequent half century, a number of works were written in Spain that followed in García's footsteps, attempting to appeal to the Muslim or Morisco population through recourse to citations of the Qur'an in Romance. Working directly under García in his years in Granada was a converted *alfaquí* (religious leader) from Xàtiva (near Valencia) named Juan Andrés. Andrés claims to have provided his patron with material to support his preaching, which he gathered in his subsequent polemic against Islam, *Confusión o confutación de la secta mahomética y del Alcorán* (published in Valencia in 1515 and subsequently republished and translated widely).[3] Over the next few years in and around Valencia, Joan Martí de Figuerola, also connected with García and his circle, worked to evangelize the Moriscos of the area, eventually composing (around 1519–21) the *Lumbre de la fe contra la secta machomética,* which still remains in manuscript.[4] In the 1520s, Erasmist writer Bernardo Pérez de Chinchón also worked on evangelizing missions around Gandía (near Xàtiva), eventually publishing his *Antialcorano* in Valencia in 1532, followed by his *Diálogos christianos* in 1535.[5] Finally, around 1550, a priest in the Basilica of San Vicente in Ávila worked to evangelize the Moriscos of that city, eventually publishing the *Confutación del alcorán y secta mahometana, sacado de sus proprios libros, y de la vida del mesmo Mahoma* in Granada in 1555.[6]

All of these works include passages from the Qur'an in Castilian (or in García's case, Latin) translation; some of them also include Arabic text in transliteration in Latin letters and, in some cases, in Arabic letters as well. While all include at least a few examples of transliterated Arabic, some of them incorporate many quotations amounting to scores or even hundreds of qur'anic

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3 Juan Andrés, *Libro nuevamente imprimido que se llama confusión dela secta mahomática y del Alcorán* (Valencia: Juan Joffre, 1515). The modern edition was published as *Confusión o confutación de la secta Mahomética y del Alcorán*, ed. Elisa Ruiz García and María Isabel García-Monge (Mérida: Ed. Regional de Extremadura, 2003).

4 Madrid, Real Academia de la Historia [RAH], MS Gayangos 1922/36. This text has been edited by Elisa Ruiz García and Luis Bernabé Pons and is forthcoming in print.

5 Bernardo Pérez de Chinchón, *Libro llamado Antialcorano que quiere dezir contra el Alcorán de Mahoma, repartido en XXVI sermones* (Valencia: Juan Joffre, 1532); Pérez de Chinchón, *Diálogos christianos contra la secta mahomética y contra la pertinacia de los judíos* (Valencia: Francisco Díaz Romano, 1535). Both texts have been edited and reprinted in *Antialcorano. Diálogos christianos. Conversión y evangelización de Moriscos*, ed. Francisco Pons Fuster (Alicante: Universidad de Alicante, 2000).

6 Lope de Obregón, *Confutación del alcorán y secta mahometana, sacado de sus propios libros y de la vida del mesmo Mahoma* (Granada: [n.p.], 1555).

verses in Arabic. These texts —which we can call *Antialcoranes*, "anti-Qur'ans", by adopting Pérez de Chinchón's title— cultivate a dual focus on language and doctrine that combines attention to the Arabic language as well as discussion of qur'anic content. The prominence of Arabic can lead us to ask what role the ability to read Arabic —on the page or out loud— played in the missionary campaign of García and his circle. What is the motivation of these writers to provide the original text of the Qur'an in their works? While there are numerous questions about the use of the Qur'an in these works that could be pursued, this chapter will focus only on the role of transliteration in García's sermons and subsecuent works of the *Antialcoranes* genre. It will propose that written transliteration plays a valuable role in highlighting the place of oral presentation of the Qur'an in preaching campaigns to Muslims and Moriscos from Granada to Valencia. Whereas earlier polemical writers sought authority in the presentation and translation of content from the Qur'an, authors of the *Antialcoranes* added transliteration as a rhetorical tool to appeal to listeners both through the appropriation of the shape of the Qur'an through the transliteration of Arabic into Latin letters, and also through the sound of Arabic through attention to the oral modality of Muslim engagement with the text.

1 Approximating Arabic in Martín García's *Sermones*

Martín García's published sermons have now been edited and studied in a doctoral disertation by Manuel Montoza Coca, whose work provides the basis of a close analysis of their sources and language.[7] The quantity of qur'anic material in García's sermons is extensive and shows a broad familiarity with some key passages that were of particular interest to Christian polemicists. As Montoza Coca shows, of the 156 sermons made available in publication,[8] some thirty-eight (twenty-four percent) cite the Qur'an, including over two hundred different ayas drawn from fourty-eight diferent suras.[9] Unsurprisingly, García does not fol-

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7 Montoza Coca, "Los *Sermones*." My observations here are based directly on his foundational work.

8 On the count of 156 rather than 155 sermons, which takes account of the repetition of count at 115, see Montoza Coca, "Los sermones," xiii, n. 48.

9 These include over 350 citations, found in the following sermons: 3, 5–7, 11, 14–39, 68–69, 83, 86, 90, 106, 122, 125, 127, 130, 138, 144. These figures are drawn from Montoza Coca, "Los sermones," xxiv and 1654–57. Cf. Miguel Ángel de Bunes Ibarra, "Martín García," in *Christian-Muslim Relations: A Bibliographical History. Volume 6. Western Europe (1500–1600)*, eds. David Tho-

low a modern numbering of qur'anic suras, but instead divides the Qur'an into four volumes of varying length, similar to what is found in numerous Western Islamic and European Qur'ans.[10] Within this relatively broad corpus of citations, however, there is a decided focus on a few key passages dealing with Jesus and Mary, such as Qur'an 3:42–55, 4:171, 5:110–15, 19:16–33, and 66:12. These verses had long been stock-in-trade of Christian anti-Muslim writing, and appear in many medieval polemics, including *De Seta Machometi* [On the Sect of Muḥammad] of Ramon Martí (d. after 1287) and most importantly, *Contra legem Sarracenorum* [Against the Sarracen Law] of Riccoldo da Monte di Croce (d. 1320), which appeared in Castilian translation in the very period that García began his preaching work in Granada.[11] Montoza Coca has noted, moreover, that García makes use, on at least one occasion (sermon 86), of the *Cribatio Alchorani* [Sifting the Qur'an] by Nicholas of Cusa (d. 1464) to access some of his qur'anic material.[12] In addition to the Qur'an itself and a selected number of citations of a few Arabic works of philosophy and geography,[13] García also makes reference to two works of qur'anic exegesis (considered below).

While virtually all of the qur'anic citations in García's work are given in Latin translation only, there is a small handful of references that also include Arabic transliterated into Latin characters. In a few places, García transliterates the

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mas and John Chesworth (Leiden: Brill, 2014), 85–88 (87); and the foundational work of José María Ribera Florit, "La polémica cristiano-musulmana en los sermones del maestro inquisidor don Martín García" PhD Diss. (Universidad de Barcelona, 1967). Also relevant is Sebastián Cirac Estopañán, *Los sermones de Don Martín García, Obispo de Barcelona sobre los Reyes Católicos* (Zaragoza: La Academia, 1956).

10 On this phenomenon, see Hartmut Bobzin, *Der Koran im Zeitalter der Reformation* (Beirut: Ergon Verlag Würzburg, 2008), 343–44.

11 For Martí's *De Seta*, see Josep Hernando, "Ramon Martí (s. XIII): *De Seta Machometi o de origine, progressu et fine Machometi et quadruplici reprobatione prophetiae eius,*" *Acta Historica et Archaeologica Mediaevalia* 4 (1983): 9–63, including citations on 24 (Q. 3:42; 3:52; 4:171) and 26 (Q. 19:28; 66:12). On Riccoldo's citations of these or related verses, see Jean-Marie Mérigoux, "L'ouvrage d'un frère Prêcheur florentin en orient à la fin du XIIIe siècle: le 'Contra legem Sarracenorum' de Riccoldo da Monte di Croce," *Memorie domenicane: Fede e Controversia nel '300 e '500*, 17 (1986), chapters two, three, nine, and fifteen, 68–69, 75, 102, 105, 127 (Q.4:171) and 129–30 (Q.3:42, 3:45; 4:171), for example. García makes use of both of these works by Martí and Monte di Croce elsewhere in his sermons, although he does not name them directly (Montoza Coca, "Los sermones," 1699).

12 Montoza Coca, "Los sermones," xxx. See Nicholas de Cusa, *Nicolai de Cusa Opera Omnia*, ed. Ernst Hoffmann, Raymond Klibansky et al., 20 vols in 24 (Leipzig and Hamburg: Meiner, 1932–2014), vol 8, ed. Ludwig Hagemann (1986), 90–91.

13 He includes a few references to writers such as Al-Ghazālī, Ibn Rushd, and most notably, the geographer Al-Masʿūdī. For a full index of his citations, consult Montoza Coca, "Los sermones."

names of qur'anic books such as *çuratu ela ahymaran,* "Sura Āli ʿImrān", i.e. Sura 3, or *Çuratu Marian,* "Sura Maryam", i.e. Sura 19, mentioned in sermon 32.[14] In a few select places, he adds common words from Arabic religious prose, such as the honorific *aleyiççalem* [ʿaleyhi as-salām; Peace be upon him), or drops in a select phrase such as *eruhu ulcudduçu* [rūḥ al-qudus; Holy Spirit], e.g. from Q. 5:110 or 2:87.[15] In one sermon —sermon twenty-two— García also transliterates a few verses of Arabic text:

> In book one, sura four, aya one hundred thirteen, it says "Christ created birds by blowing in", saying thus *innya haclucu lacum minattini quahayati ittayri faanfuhu fayaquunu tayran [annī akhluqu lakum min aṭ-ṭīni ka-hayʾati aṭ-ṭīri fa-anfukhu fahakūnu ṭayran*; "I will make for you the likeness of a bird from clay. I breathe, and it will become a bird"].[16] And that according to him only God is a creator is evident in book three, sura fifteen, which is called "The Angels," aya three, which says *hal mimha liquin gayrullay [hal min khaliqin ghayru llāh*; "Is there any creator other than Allah?"].[17] If you say, alright, it is true that God is a creator, but he is not the creator of all, well this is proven according to Muḥammad himself in another place, which says *alla alladi alaqua cullaxay [Allāh aladhi khalaqa kullī shay*; "God is the one who creates all things"], etc.[18]

A number of interesting details present themselves here. In the first transliterated verse, García cites "sura four, aya one hundred thirteen", which seems to indicate Q. 5:110, a verse that contains material very similar to what is presented here. However, the transliteration does not match Q. 5:110, but rather quotes Q. 3:49, which has similar content but different wording. Secondly, the transla-

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14 Montoza Coca, "Los sermones," 250.

15 García's use of Arabic phrases has been considered by Teresa Soto and Katarzyna K Starczewska, "Authority, Philology, and Conversion under the Aegis of Martín García," in *After Conversion: Iberia and the Emergence of Modernity*, ed. Mercedes García-Arenal (Leiden: Brill, 2016), 203n16; and by Montoza Coca, "Los sermones," xxv.

16 Q. 3:49. In this and all subsequent citations that include transliterated Arabic, I include the transliteration as given in the original source, followed in brackets by a modernized philological transliteration and an English translation. In this passage, the Arabic is missing the phrase *fīhi,* "into it," and should state *one* word, ... *fa-anfukhu fīhi* ... [... I breathe into it ...]. The text is not fully translated in the Latin, which abbreviates the meaning.

17 Q. 35:3.

18 "Primo libro, azora quarta, alea centisima decima tertia dicit 'Christus insufflando creauit aues', sic dicens *innya haclucu lacum minattini quahayati ittayri faanfuhu fayaquunu tayran.* Quod etiam secundum eum solus Deus sit creator patet libro tertio, azora decima quinta que dicitur "Angelorum," alea tertia dicens *hal mimha liquin gayrullay.* Si dicis bene est uerum quod Deus sit creator, sed non creator omnium. Tamen probatur hoc secundum ipsum Machometum in alio loco dicentem *alla alladi alaqua cullaxay,* etcetera" Montoza Coca, "Los sermones," 161.

tion does not reproduce the verse, but only paraphrases it in a few short words, as if it were a marginal note or summary of what the passage says. Thirdly, the transliteration lacks the prepositional phrase "into it" (*fīhi*), present in both Q. 5:110 and Q. 3:49. García is generally very consistent in giving the corresponding verse for all of his citations, and thus this mismatch between the citation and the transliteration stands out. In the third verse, the ambiguity of García's reference to "another place" similarly stands out, a fact that is even more striking when we consider that the passage as translated is not found as such in the Qur'an, but is instead an amalgam of a few similar verses such as Q. 41:21 (*Allāh al-ladhī antāqa kulli shay'in*, "God is the one who gives speech to all things") and Q. 39:62 (*Allāh khalaqa kulli shay'in*) or the similar verse 6:101. This combination of details —the inclusion of a paraphrase rather than translation, a missing preposition in transliteration, and an unspecified and slightly confused combination of two similar passages— suggests that García was not consulting a written Qur'an to make these transliterations, but was instead relying on oral information from a Muslim or former Muslim who knew the material by heart.

Such a fact is not surprising, given that García was known to have received the assistance of Juan Andrés. What little is known of Andrés comes from his own testimony in his published work *Confusión o confutación de la secta Mahomética y del Alcorán,* published in Valencia in 1515. In the prologue to that work, Andrés describes his background and conversion to Christianity in 1487,[19] after which he claims he was sent to Granada "where by preaching and the will of God, who wanted it so, an uncountable number of Moors converted to Christ, denying Muḥammad."[20] While the details of Andrés's biography

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19 Juan Andrés, *Confusión,* 89. For an analysis of his conversion, see Ryan Szpiech, *Conversion and Narrative: Reading and Religious Authority in Medieval Polemic* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2013), 33–41. On Juan Andrés, see also Zachary Zuwiyya, "Juan Andrés," in *Christian-Muslim Relations, Vol. 6 (Western Europe 1500–1600)*, ed David Thomas and John Chesworth et al. (Leiden: Brill, 2014); Hartmut Bobzin, "Observaciones sobre Juan Andrés y su libro *Confusión dela secta mahomática* (Valencia, 1515)," in *Vitae Mahometi: reescritura e invención en la literatura cristiana de controversia*, ed. Cándida Ferrero Hernández and Óscar De la Cruz Palma (Madrid: CSIC, 2014); Ryan Szpiech, "A Witness of Their Own Nation: On the Influence of Juan Andrés," in *After Conversion: Iberia and the Emergence of Modernity*, ed. Mercedes García-Arenal (Leiden: Brill, 2016).

20 "donde por predicación y voluntad de Dios, que así lo quería, infinita morisma, renegando a Mahoma, a Cristo se convertió." Juan further describes his call to Granada: "I was called by the most Catholic Princes, King Fernando and Queen Isabel, to go to Granada to preach to the Moors to that kingdom, which their Highnesses had conquered [...] I was again called by the most Christian Queen Isabel to come to Aragon in order to work for the conversion of the Moors of these kingdoms." ["Fui llamado por los más cathólicos príncipes, el rey don Fernando y la reyna doña Ysabel, para que fuesse en Granada a predicar a los moros de aquel reyno que

have been much debated, there is sound evidence to link the author directly to Martín García.[21] Andrés returned to Aragon, but when his missionary activity was cut short by the death of Isabel in 1504, he claims to have undertaken a project to translate into Romance the Qur'an "with its glosses and seven [sic] books of Sunna" ["con sus glosas y los siete libros de la *Çuna*"]. Andrés specifies that he pursued this enormous translation task

> by order of the very reverend Master Martín García [...] my patron and lord [...] so that, in the charge that I had from their Highnesses to preach to the moors he might, with authorities of their own law, confuse and conquer them, which would be difficult to do without my work.[22]

Andrés's statement suggests that García's Arabic was, despite the praise of the monarchs, not sufficiently strong to read and translate independently without assistance.[23]

There is, moreover, clear evidence that García depended on Andrés's translation for information on the Qur'an and other Islamic texts, and Montoza Coca has identified nearly eighty concrete parallels between the sermons and Andrés's *Confusión*.[24] To take just a few examples, García's sermons reproduce numerous idiosyncrasies and errors that are found in Andrés's text. Although García refers to "glosses" on the Qur'an, he actually only names and cites a few Muslim exegetes, including (almost always as pair) the Persian exegete al-Zamakhsharī (d. 538/1144, whom he calls *Azamahxeri*, mentioned 19 times) and the Andalusi exegete Ibn ʿAṭiyya (d. 546/1152, called *Abuatia*, mentioned 20 times). Tellingly, Andrés makes this same curious pairing while recounting the legend of Ḥabīb al-Najjār (the carpenter), which developed in Muslim exegetical tradition on the basis of Q. 36:13–20, which describes a legend about "messengers" who preached in a "city," usually understood to be Antioch. Both authors wrongly at-

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sus Altezas avían conquistado [...] fuy otra vez llamado por la cristianíssima reyna doña Ysabel para que veniesse en Aragón a fin de trabajar en la conversión de los moros destos reynos."] Juan Andrés, *Confusión*, 90.

21 On the question of Andrés's identity, see Szpiech, "A Witness of Their Own Nation," 177. As noted there, a book on accounting, published by the same printer in the same year under the name "Juan Andrés," was dedicated to Martín García in one of the two print runs.

22 "por mandado del muy reverendo señor maestre Martín García, mi patrón y señor ... porque en el cargo que tenía de sus Altezas de predicar a los moros podiesse, con las auctoridades de su misma ley, confundirlos y vencerlos, lo que sin aquel trabajo mío con dificultad podiera hazer." Juan Andrés, *Confusión*, 91.

23 See above, n. 2.

24 Montoza Coca, "Los sermones," xxvi.

tribute to al-Zamakhsharī and Ibn ʿAṭiyya the same claim that one of the messengers was Saint Paul. Andrés explicitly adds that, "Lord Bishop of Barcelona master Martín García has this very account in his book of the Qur'an, which I translated from Arabic to Romance for his most reverend lordship, and he himself has the said two glosses in Arabic."[25]

A second example of the collaboration of Andrés and García can be found in their respective accounts of the apocraphyal tradition of the so-called "Satanic Verses." According to debated legend, Muḥammad claimed that upon revealing the verses in Q. 53.19–20, which condemns the preislamic idols al-Lāt, al-ʿUzzā, and Manāt, Satan momentarily made him offer praise. Both Andrés and García draw their information from the summary of tenth-century historian al-Ṭabarī in his *History of Prophets and Kings*, but also add the same words that are not found in that source text. Whereas Ṭabarī claims that Muḥammad stated about the idols that "their intercession is to be hoped for" (*shafāʿatahunna la-turtajā*), García does not mention intercession, stating only that "one should have put hope in them" ("erat ponenda spes in eis"), which resembles Andrés's statement that "hope in them is a good thing" ("la esperanza en ellos era cosa buena").[26] Ṭabarī writes that according to this legend, when Muḥammad told his listeners that the Devil made him say this, "Some men undertook to return while others remained behind." García interprets this departure as a "scandal," claiming that "multi scandalizati abierunt" ("many departed scandalized"), an interpolation that also appears in Andrés's words, "many Moors were scandalized and returned to their sects" ("muchos moros y escandalizáronse y bolvieron en sus sectas").[27] These and many other similar coincidences reinforce the circumstantial connection between Andrés and García, and support Andrés's own claims

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25 "la qual historia tiene puesta el señor obispo de Barcelona, maestre Martín García en su libro del *Alcorán* que yo trasladé de arávigo en romançe a su reverendíssima señoría, y el mesmo tiene las susodichas dos glosas en arávigo" Juan Andrés, *Confusión*, 216. For García's reference in sermon 30, see Montoza Coca, "Los sermones," 229. For analysis of Andrés's text, see Ryan Szpiech, "Preaching Paul to the Moriscos: The *Confusión o Confutación de la secta mahomética y del Alcorán* (1515) of 'Juan Andrés,'" *La Corónica* 41 (2012), 323–27.

26 As Shahab Ahmed notes, Ṭabarī's Qur'an commentary says "their intersession is approved" (*la-turtaḍā*), while his version of this comment in the *Tārīkh al-Rusul wa-l-Mulūk* reads "hoped for/anticipated" (*turtajā*). See Shahab Ahmed, *Before Orthodoxy: The Satanic Verses in Early Islam* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2017), 49. This indicates that Andrés and Martín García were both following the version in the *History,* not the exegesis.

27 Ahmed, *Before Orthodoxy*, 50. For another example, both Andrés and García relate the legend of Ḥabīb al-Najjār (the carpenter), which developed in Muslim exegetical tradition on the basis of Q.36:13, 20, wrongly attributing to al-Zamakhsharī and Ibn ʿAṭiyya the same claim that the Qur'an refers to Saint Paul.

about the latter's dependence on his work. This example, among others, makes it clear that although García first delivered his sermons a decade or more before Andrés published his *Confusión,* the latter assisted García with concrete details of translation during his missionizing campaign in Granada. Andrés's comments about providing García with translations indicates that his work in Granada fed directly into his own writing, which he published before García published his sermons. In this way, Andrés's *Confusión* can be taken as the principal work of the *Antialcoranes* genre, fulfilling the mixed intentions of polemic and philology that guided the initial evangelization and education efforts in newly conquered Granada under Hernando de Talavera.

2 Orality and Aurality in Juan Andrés's *Confusión*

Although there are no surviving copies of Andrés's alleged translations, the *Confusión* itself cites over seventy-five qur'anic passages and also offers abundant citations of the Qur'an, tafsir, and Sira, cited not only in Castilian translation or paraphrase, but also, in most cases, in Arabic transliterated into Latin letters. The very first qur'anic passage, which appears in the first chapter of the work, is representative of the scores more citations that follow in the work, and provides a clear example of how the Arabic languages is incorporated into the text. Andrés states, "It says in the Qur'an, chapter two, book one, that this temple in Mecca was the first temple built for men in the world. The words in Arabic say this: *inne aguele beytin o diha linneci le lledi bi bequete* [*inna awwala baytin wuḍiʿa li-l-nnāsi lalladhī bi-bakkata;* 'Indeed, the first house set up for men is the one in Bakkah/Mecca']."[28] The Arabic text is translated accurately and the phonetic transcription coherent and comprehensible. At the same time, the rendering of the verb "set up" (*wuḍiʿa*) as *o diha* suggests that the text was transcribed according to the sound of the words rather than their written form. Numerous critics have affirmed the oral basis of his Arabic texts, although the reason for his use of transliteration is not certain and continues to be debated.[29] Shifting

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28 "Dice en el *Alcorán,* capítulo segundo, libro primero, que este templo de Mequa fue el primero templo que fue edificado en el mundo para los hombres; las palabras en arávigo dizen así: *inne aguele beytin o diha linneci le lledi bi bequete.*" Juan Andrés, *Confusión,* 99.

29 Everette Larson has studied the transliteration habits in the 1515 Castilian edition of the *Confusión* of Juan Andrés, proposing that Juan Andrés was transcribing based on an oral presentation of the text, that the text was cited from memory and not according to a written copy of the Qur'an, that the transliteration system is "regular and follows the established patterns of Arabic." See Everette Larson, "A Study of the *Confusión de la secta mahomática* of Juan Andrés,"

and peculiar transliterations might indicate that Andrés was citing everything from memory, but the abundant references to "book" and "chapter" numbers (and not only Sura names) point to the consultation of a written copy in some cases at least. On the other hand, the texts he cites, while mostly accurate, do also sometimes combine or confuse verses or parts of verses, suggesting that the text often being reproduced from memory and not copied from a written version.[30] The most logical interpretation of this mixed information is that he used a written text as a base but often recited partly from memory, even after locating the references to passages he aimed to quote.

The hypothesis that at least some of the Arabic passages in the *Confusión* are, as in García's sermons, based on oral recitation rather than exclusively on a written text can be confirmed by a subsequent example later in the first chapter, in which Andrés describes the resistance of the denizens of Mecca to the new prophecy. "It says this in book two, chapter two, in Arabic *gua id yamcoro bique alledine quafaro liyactuloque au yazbitu que au yohri juque*, [*wa-idh yamkuru bika aladhīna kafarū li-yaqtulūka aw yuthbitūka aw yukhrijūka*; 'and when the disbelievers plotted against you to kill you or capture you or drive you out'], which says how those of Mecca conspired to kill him or exile him or jail him."[31] Like García, Andrés gives his references according to a four-book division of the text,[32] and the passage cited here corresponds to Qur'an 8:30 (*wa-idh yamkuru bika aladhīna kafarū li-yuthbitūka aw yaqtulūka aw yukhrijūka*, "and when the disbelievers plotted against you to capture you or kill you or drive you out.") The phonetic transcription of the text, while again comprehensible and not random, evinces the certain influence of oral pronunciation and recitation from memory.

PhD Diss. (Washington DC, Catholic University of America, 1981), 190. He further notes that transcriptions follow what seems to be a regular pronunciation that betrays certain characteristics such as a consistent identification of classical Arabic's long vowels but not always the short ones. Larson concludes that the transliterations offer "an insight into the phonological transcription of [classical Arabic] as pronounced by a Valencian native speaker" (197).

30 For one example of Andrés's confusion of verses, possibly indicating citation by memory, see Szpiech, García-Arenal, and Starczewska, "*Deleytaste del dulce sono*," 119–22.

31 "Esto dize libro secundo, capítulo secundo, en arávigo *gua id yamcoro bique alledine quafaro liyactuloque au yazbitu que au yohri juque,* que quere dezir cómo los de Mequa tomaron consejo de matarlo o de desterrarlo o de encarcerarlo." Juan Andrés, *Confusión*, 115.

32 On the division of the Qur'an into four books, see Juan Pablo Arias Torres, "Sicut Euangelia sunt quatuor, distribuerunt continentiam eius in quatuor libros: On the Division of Iberian Qur'ans and Their Translations into Four Parts," in *The Latin Qur'an, 1143–1500: Translation, Transition, Interpretation*, ed. Cándida Ferrero Hernández and John Tolan (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2021).

Rather than rendering the vowels according to an Arabic system in which there is only long or short *a*, *i*, or *u*, the text captures an accented pronunciation that includes a close-mid rather than close back sound for "u" ("yamqoro" rather than "yamkuru") and a mid-front rather than open front sound for "a" ("bique" rather than "bika"). More significantly, the verse itself is misquoted, transposing the order of the verbs in Arabic (reading *liyactuloque au yazbitu que au yohri juque* [*li-yaqtulūka aw yuthbitūka aw yukhrijūka,* "to kill you or capture you or drive you out"] rather than following the original verse, *li-yuthbitūka aw yaqtulūka aw yukhrijūka,* "to capture you or kill you or drive you out"). This transposed order in the transliterated Arabic, moreover, is not reflected in the order of verbs in the Castilian translation, which reads "matarlo o de desterrarlo o de encarcerarlo" ["to kill him or exile him or capture him"]. Finally, the Castilian also renders the verbal direct object in the third rather than second person (matar**lo,** "to kill **him**," rather than *li-yaqtulūka,* "to kill **you**"). These subtle differences in transliteration and translation suggest that, just as was the case in García's sermons, the Arabic of the Qur'an as quoted in Andrés's *Confusión* is, at least sometimes, being recalled from memory or copied down from oral reading rather than transliterated directly off a written copy. In numerous cases, his citations, while grammatically correct and logically appropriate in the representation of Arabic, are only approximate paraphrases of original sources.

There is also evidence that, even if consulting written text, Andrés did not rely on existing material in translation (such as previous translations into Latin or Romance) in order to create his own Castilian versions. In addition to the Andrés's claims to have himself already translated the Qur'an into Romance, we must also consider the fact that he includes numerous citations in Arabic taken directly from Hadith, passages that were not available in any known translation. For example, also in chapter one of the *Confusión*, he speaks about the custom of fasting on the Day of Ashurah, the tenth day of the month of *Muḥarram*, which he claims is a custom held over from idolatrous pre-Islamic times. *Muḥarram,* the first month of the Islamic calendar, is one of four "prohibited" months, in which war and hunting is disallowed. This prohibition is one of a number of elements connecting Islam with pre-Islamic idolatry, about which Andrés asserts: "I prove it with a saying of Muḥammad from the six books of the Sunna, which says that, being idolatrous, the Quraysh and the people of Mecca fasted on this tenth day. The words in Arabic read thus: *guaquenet coraysin teçomo yaumihasora filgehilia* [*wa-kānat qurayshun taṣʾamu yawm al-ʿāshūrāʾa fī l-jāhiliyya*; "The Quraysh fasted on the day of Ashurah in the pre-Islamic

period"].[33] Andrés is correctly citing a standard Hadith about the origins of the recommendation to fast on the Day of Ashura', the tenth day of the month of Muḥarram. The text reads *wa-kānat qurayshun taṣʾamu yawm al-ʿāshūrāʾa fī l-jāhiliyya* ["The Quraysh fasted on the day of Ashurah in the pre-Islamic period"].[34] Andrés's transliteration of this does not follow strict divisions between words but instead reflects the natural clustering of phrases (e.g in rendering "the Day of Ashurah in pre-Islamic times", *yawm al-ʿāshūrāʾa fī l-jāhiliyya,* becomes *yaumihasora filgehilia*). The fact that the divisions in the transliteration as they appear in the printed edition of Andrés's work reflect possible phonetic groupings also suggests they are not random divisions of a typesetter or printer.

Andrés's citations of extra-qur'anic material is not limited to traditional Hadith material. He also cites works of jurisprudence that were well known among Muslim readers in Aragón, including texts available in Aljamiado versions. In chapter one, in discussing the *Ḥajj* pilgrammage, he quotes traditions about the Black Stone of the Kaaba in the foundational *Epistle* on Malikite law (the *Risālah*) of Tunisian Ibn Abī Zayd al-Qayrawānī (d. 386/996):

> Muḥammad [...] ordered it and made it an article of his law and sect that this stone be adored and kissed. I prove it with books of he *Sunna* and with a book called *Arricele* [*al-Risālah*, "The Epistle"], in the chapter on the ceremonies of *alhage* [*al-Ḥajj*, "the pilgrammage"], where he says and commands that all Moors who go on journey and pilgrammage to Mecca, when they enter in the house of Mecca, the first thing they should do is approach the abovementioned stone and kiss it and adore it, and kiss the right corner. The words in Arabic say: *guahanlequlli muzlimi ide de ahala albeyti an yicabele alhagera alazhade gua rocno al yameni* [*wa-an li-kulli muslimin idhā dakhla al-bayti an yuqabbila al-ḥajara al-aswada wa-l-rukna al-yamānnī*; "that every Muslim, when he enters the house, kiss the black stone and the right corner"],[35] which means that every Moor who enters into the house of Mecca should first kiss and greet the Fortunate Stone and the right corner.[36]

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33 "Próvolo por un dicho de Mahoma en los seys libros de la *Çuna* que dize que los coraxistas y la gente de Mequa ayunavan este dezeno día siendo ydólatras. Las palabras en arávigo dizen así: *guaquenet coraysin teçomo yaumihasora filgehilia.*" Juan Andrés, *Confusión*, 106.

34 Al-Bukhārī, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, vol. 3, book 31, #117.

35 Cf. the approximate passage in Ibn Abī Zayd al-Qayrawānī, *The Risāla, or Epistle on the Elements of Dogma and the Law of Islam according to the Maliki Rite,* Trans. Caroline-Meriem Khelifa (Beirut: Dar al-Kotob al-Ilmiyah, 2015), 183.

36 "Mahoma [...] mandó y puso por artículo de su ley y secta que fuesse adorada y besada esta piedra; y esto lo pruevo por los libros de la *Çuna* y por un libro que se llama *Arricele*, en el capítulo de las cerimonias de *alhage*, donde dize y manda que todos los moros que van en romiage y peregrinación a Mequa, entrando en la casa de Mequya, la primera cosa que deven fazer es llegar a la piedra susodicha y besarla y adorarla, y besar en el rincón drecho. Las palabras en arávigo dizen así: *guahanlequlli muzlimi ide de ahala albeyti an yicabele alhagera alazhade gua rocno al yameni,* que quiere dezir que qualquiere moro que entra en la casa de Mequa

The *Risālah* was a central work of Malikite jursipruence and it is not a surprise to find it cited by a former Muslim who claims to have been an *alfaquí* in Xàtiva. Indeed, the text was certainly read and copied in the Aragonese community of Andrés's day, as is attested by the Aljamiado version of the text from 1495.[37] Andrés's citation in Arabic does not exactly match the original Arabic text or the Aljamiado version, but it does offer a close approximation of the chapter and statement in question.

Another revealing example of Juan Andrés's independence from other polemical sources shows how adapted familiar sources without copying them directly in all cases. In chapter seven, he refers to a book he calls *Assameyl*, i.e. *ash-Shamāʾil al-muḥamadiyya* (The Sublime Qualities of Muḥammad), a collection of Hadith about Muḥammad's private habits and manners by ninth-century scholar Tirmidhī (d. 279/892). He states:

> If you, Moor, deny that Muḥammad had eleven women together, I will prove it with a book called *Assemeyl* [*ash-shamāʾil*], which means "Book of the Good Qualities of Muḥammad," in which it says, praising Muḥammad and talking about his virility, that he slept with his eleven wives in one hour. The words in Arabic in the above book *Assemeyl* say: *guami coguatihi haleyhi celem annehu quane y adoro hale niceyhi ficehatin guahidetin guahunne yhde haxar* [*wa-mi-zawjatihi, aleyhi al-salām, kāna yadūru ʿalā nisāʾatihi fī as-sāʿati l-wāḥidati wa-hunna iḥdā ʿasharah*].[38]

This anecdote is found in Hadith collections, but not in *ash-Shamāʾil al-maḥmadiyya*, but in *Saḥīḥ Bukhārī* (1.5.268). Andrés's Arabic version comes close to this text, but leaves out "night and day" [*mīn al-layli wa-n-nahār*] as found in the orig-

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deve primeramente besar y saludar la Piedra Bienadventurada y el rencón derecho." Juan Andrés, *Confusión*, 105.

37 This manuscript was among those found in Almonacid de la Sierra in 1884 and was first housed in the Colegio de los Padres Escolapios in Zaragoza, where it was described in a catalogue by Julián Ribera and Miguel Asín Palacios Ribera y Asín, *Manuscritos árabes y aljamiados de la Biblioteca de la Junta* (Madrid: JAE, 1912), 266 (*olim* "ms. C"). It went missing at some point after it was catalogued, perhaps during the Civil War. It then passed through France and England and eventually was acquired by Columbia University Library (around 2016), where it is now MS Or. 515, and is fully digitized online: https://clio.columbia.edu/catalog/12411428. Its Aljamiado version of the passage in question about the kissing of the Black Stone does not match Andrés's version in the *Confusión*. See MS Or 515, fol. 95r.

38 "Y si tú, moro, negas que Mahoma no uvo juntamente onze mugeres, yo lo pruevo por un libro que se llama *Assameyl*, que quiere dezir, Libro de las condiciones buenas de Mahoma, donde dize loando a Mahoma y diziendo de sus fuerças viriles que en una sola hora echava con sus mugeres siendo ellas onze. Las palabras en arávigo puestas en el suso libro de *Assameyl* dizen así: *guami coguatihi haleyhi celem annehu quane y adoro hale niceyhi ficehatin guahidetin guahunne yhde haxar*." Juan Andrés, *Confusión*, 167.

inal text. He also adds the beginning words "About his (peace be upon him) wife" [*wa-mi-zawjatihi, aleyhi al-salām*]. This confusion of sources, shortening of the text, and addition of a topic phrase at the beginning all suggest that Andrés was recalling the phrase from memory rather than checking his text with a written source. These details are even more telling when we consider that, as Montoza Coca points out, Martín García cites this tradition but correctly names his source, perhaps copying his material directly from Ramon Martí, who cites the passage in his *De Seta Machometi*.[39] Andrés similarly cites the same qur'anic verse that appears in García and Martí, Q. 33:50–52, but he tellingly leaves out a phrase, both in the Arabic and in the Castilian translation, that appears in García's version.[40] One possible explanation, which must remain purely speculative for lack of information, is that García came to know of this passage through Andrés's assistance but provided the correct source in the Latin translation. This examples shows how the *Confusión* often shortens, adapts, and paraphrases sources, suggesting that Andrés did not copy directly from a written source but instead adapted his text according to his explanation.

While Andrés was not the first Christian writer to transcribe, transliterate, and translate Hadith passages and works of Islamic religious thought ―the twelfth-century translators had done so over two centuries earlier[41]― he was the first convert from Islam to do so, and his transliterated transcriptions of Arabic sources are the first to appear in a Romance polemic against Islam. His transliteration of snippets from these, like his quotations from the Qur'an itself, are not empty tokens but are authentic reproductions of remembered passages reproduced by a former Muslim possessing broad familiarity with relevant Islamic sources. His occasional errors in attribution and selective editing in quotation suggest he may also have been working partly from memory.

In all of his citations, the importance of oral pronunciation as the foundation of his transliterations of Arabic underscores the primary role of the *Antialcoranes* genre as an aid to preachers, not an intellectual manual for formal written polemics. Oral pronunciation determines not only his citations of the Qur'an but also affects his incorporation of Arabic terms and phrases that would be fa-

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39 Montoza Coca, "Los sermones," xxxi. See García's sermon 16.

40 The passage in question is *fa-lā junāḥa ʿalayka,* "there is no blame on you," which appears in García as "non est tibi peccatum." Martí does not include this section of the quotation so no comparison is possible.

41 The Dominican Ramon Martí (d. after 1284) did so in the *Pugio fidei* in the 13th century. On Martí's Hadith passages in Arabic, copied in Hebrew letters along with some passages from the Qur'an, see Ryan Szpiech, "Citas árabes en caracteres hebreos en el *Pugio fidei* del dominico Ramón Martí: entre la autenticidad y la autoridad," *Al-Qanṭara* 32 (2011).

miliar to practicing Muslims, whether fully literate in Arabic or not. Apart from references to the *çuna* (Sunna) which includes Hadith material, and "a book called *Azear* [*Sīra*], which is a very authentic book among the Moors,"[42] Andrés also peppers his writing with abundant other Arabic terms from Islamic belief and practice that would be familiar to virtually any Muslim: the *Alcabba y Alquible* (*al-kaʿbah* and *al-qiblah*), *Beytillah alharan* (*bayt Allāh al-ḥarām*), *jadde alarab* (*jadd al-ʿarab*, "grandfather of the Arabs"); *Quiteb alannar* (*kitāb al-anwār,* "Book of Lights"); *çufehe* (*sufahāʾ*, "fools"); and dozens more.[43] By using such terms, many of which were first employed in García's sermons, Andrés's text aims to represent what his Morisco audience, even an illiterate or semi-literate one, could have recognized from an experience of Islamic practice and prayer. Such strategies surely became more significant in subsequent writers as the level of Arabic proficiency declined among the Morisco population over the course of the sixteenth century.

The presence of Arabic serves as, in Soto and Starczewska's words, an "authoritative rhetorical token,"[44] a manner of evoking an aura of Islamic authenticity, even though it is made in the services of an anti-Islamic argument. The clear role of orality —the transliteration of Arabic on the basis of oral pronunciations, and the intended use of such transliterations for reading aloud in the context of preaching and oral dispute— underscores also the fundamentally *aural* reality of Islam for Moriscos. In the context of populations of Muslims with a high degree of religious literacy, including broad familiarity with Islamic prayers and qur'anic passages but perhaps a limited ability to read written text, the capacity to reproduce an aural modality of belief and worship was a necessary rhetorical tool. Andrés explicitly addresses the importance of sound in his rendering of the Qur'an, recognizing it as a key element in Muslim experience and practice. Unlike many medieval polemics focused on authentic *content* of scriptural passages —such as Riccoldo da Monte di Croce's careful translations of the Qur'an in Latin

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42 "un libro que se llama *Azear*, un libro muy auténtico entre los moros," Juan Andrés, *Confusión*, 98.

43 Juan Andrés, *Confusión*, 98. See also 101–05. These were already noted by Soto and Starczewska, "Authority," 208. The *Kitāb al-anwār* was one of the most popular and read Aljamiado texts of the sixteenth century. See L.P. Harvey, *Muslims in Spain 1500–1614* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2005), 149, and Emil Leonardo Cruz Fernández, "Mahoma en dos textos aljamiados del siglo XVI. La filosofía perenne y el monomito de los moriscos," PhD Diss. (CUNY, 2018), 96–145; Mercedes García-Arenal and Fernando Rodriguez Mediano, *The Orient in Spain: Converted Muslims, The Forged Lead Books of Granada, and the Rise of Orientalism* (Leiden: Brill, 2013), 285–89. Also García-Arenal and Rodríguez Mediano, "Los libros de los moriscos y los eruditos orientales," *Al-Qanṭara* 31 (2010), 622–24.

44 Soto and Starczewska, "Authority," 209.

— or other polemics focused on the authenticity of the original language of scripture *as written* on the page —for example Ramon Martí's rendering of Hebrew and Aramaic in his *Pugio fidei*— Andrés's extensive use of transliteration stands out for its attention to the oral pronunciation of the text. Rather than overlooking the importance of orality for Muslims in Islamic worship and culture, Andrés carefully cultivates and evokes the oral aspect of the qur'anic text trying to give the same flavor to his own text through transliteration, and presenting sound as a first step to understanding beyond which a learned Muslim is obliged to progress.

Andrés makes numerous explicit references to the fact that he is addressing *listeners* as well as readers. For example, in chapter five, after citing a story about the death of Solomon in Q. 27:17–44, he concludes "I include all of the above in this chapter [...] so that listeners and readers will know what fictions and tales the Qur'an tells."[45] He also makes reference to the importance of orality and listening for Muḥammad and the first Muslims themselves, noting "When Muḥammad had this chapter written in a letter to his scribe and had it read to the Moors, and when the Moors heard it and read it, they were very pleased with the law it gave them."[46] Even more telling is his reference to Q. 72:1–20, which tells how many Jinn were converted to Islam by hearing the Qur'an.

> A certain company of demons went one night to listen to Muḥammad and to the Moors reading the Qur'an. It says in the two chapters named above [Q. 46 and Q. 72] how these demons were so pleased with the Qur'an that they then believed in Muḥammad and became Moors. The words of the Qur'an in Arabic in the "Chapter of the Jinn" [Sura al-Jinn] say: *coluhia ileye annehitaz tanraha nafaron nunelgi nui facalu inne çeinihne corhenen hageben yahdi ilarofdi fa amenne bihi gualem inuf crique birabine ahedem* [Q. 72:1–2, *qul uwḥiya ilaya annahu istama'a nafarun mina l-jinni fa-qālū innā sami'nā Qur'anan 'ajabā. Yahdī ilā l-rrushdi fa-ʾamannā bihi wa-lan nushrika bi-rabbinā aḥada*], which means in Arabic "Oh Muḥammad, tell the Moors how a host of demons hear the Qur'an and how they said to each other how they had heard the very marvellous Qur'an and they believed in it and did not disbelieve in their creator."[47]

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45 "Todo lo sobredicho pongo en este presente capítulo [...] porque sepan loy oyedores y leedores de qué rondallas o consejas trata y escribe *Alcorán*." Juan Andrés, *Confusión*, 151.

46 "Quando Mahoma fizo escrevir este capítulo en una cédula a su escrivano y fízolo leer a los moros y quando los moros lo oyeron y lo leeron, tomaron mucho plazer por la ley que les dio." Juan Andrés, *Confusión*, 172.

47 "Cierta compañía de los demonios fueron una noche a escuchar a Mahoma y a los moros leyendo el *Alcorán*. Dize en los dos capítulos suso allegados cómo estos demonios se agradaron tanto del *Alcorán* que luego creyeron en Mahoma y fiziéronse moros; las palabras del *Alcorán* en arávigo en el 'capítulo de los demonios' dizen así: *coluhia ileye annehitaz tanraha nafaron nunelgi nui facalu inne çeinihne corhenen hageben yahdi ilarofdi fa amenne bihi gualem inuf crique*

Andrés presents these and other examples of the importance of hearing the Qur'an, stressing how that aural modality of experience had the power to convert listeners. This emphasis on sound and hearing explains the constant recourse to transliteration of the qur'anic text as a missionary tool.

At the same time, despite this stress on the power of hearing, Andrés also stresses that his readers and listeners must consider the meaning of the text and not simply be content with the sound. After presenting the Qur'an in its authentic *aural* form through transliteration of the sounds into Latin letters, he then addresses the Muslim who is carried away by the sound without thinking about what the text says. "Tell me, Muslim, reader of the Qur'an, how many times have you read this passage and enjoyed the sweet sound of the passage but did not think about the words? Look from now on and read and consider what you are reading, and you will find many things beyond the limits of reason and justice."[48] By urging the reader to "look" and "consider what you read," he replaces the original form of the Arabic Qur'an with a new, transformed Qur'an in Christian letters, a new form that exposes its "irrational" and "unjust" errors. Transliteration of Arabic is thus a key missionizing tool for Andrés, one that he employs first to appeal to his Muslim reader or listener on the basis of a shared oral culture and finally to lend his own text authenticity as a true reading of the Qur'an's errors.

In the face of Morisco strategies at using Arabic to preserve an Islamic identity in the face of Christian pressure, Andrés's transliteration of Arabic in Latin letters thus represents a strategic inversion. Andrés directly addresses his Morisco listener or reader, challenging him to not only listen to the words but to check the authenticity of the text. He admits about his arguments that, "I believe that many Moors will hear this statement and not believe it," but as he affirms repeatedly, "the text says all of this word for word."[49] The fact that the authentic sound of the text can be verified in the written copy —not in Arabic letters but in Latin

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birabine ahedem, que quiere dezir en arávigo: O Mahoma, di a los moros cómo una compaña de los demonios oyeron *Alcorán* y dixieron unos a otros cómo havían oýdo *Alcorán* muy maravilloso y que ellos creyeron en él y no descreyeron en su Criador." Juan Andrés, *Confusión*, 145. See also 195 for similar remarks. Cf. Martín García, Sermon XXVII, in Montoza Coca, "Los sermones," 202, which only mentions the fact but does not stress the power of hearing or sound.

48 "Pues dime tú, moro y leyedor del *Alcorán*, ¿quántas vezes leeste este passo y deleytaste del dulce sono del dicho passo y no pensate en las palabras? Pues mira de oy adelante y lee y considera en lo que leerás, que muchas cosas fuera de razón y justicia fallarás"; Juan Andrés, *Confusión*, 169.

49 "Yo creo que muchos moros oyrán esta declaración y no la creerán"; Juan Andrés, *Confusión*, 216. "Todo esto lo dize el testo y la glosa *verbo ad verbum*"; 165. See also 146, 172, 182, 198 – 99, for similar language.

ones— transforms the transliterated Qur'an into a Christian tool, an "Anti-Qur'an." This linguistic inversion mimics his own trajectory as author. Because he opens the text with a lengthy conversion narrative describing his transformation from *alfaquí* to Christian preacher, he hopes his listeners and readers will be "convinced by a witness of their nation."[50] Just as he was converted, so the "word-for-word" text, another kind of authentic witness, can be transliterated into a Christian, Latin garb and translated into the language of the new Spanish nation. This parallel offers a similar path toward conversion of his readers. Just as the Qur'an itself can become an authority affirming Christian truth and the Arabic text can take on a non-Arabic guise in assuming Latin letters, so the Morisco, clad in a new outer form of Christian culture, can also become a Christian convert through a redirecting of his Muslim faith toward Christian belief. Throughout the *Confusión*, conversion and translation rest on the same appeal to authenticity and originality, mirroring each other across the bridge of transliteration as parallel operations of evangelization and cultural conquest.

3 Arabic Echoes after Juan Andrés

Juan Andrés was a pioneer in the writing of anti-Mulim polemic, and his book marks a number of important firsts in the European encounter with Islam. The *Confusión* is, first of all, one of the first books ever printed with moveable type to offer selections of the Qur'an in Arabic.[51] It was, moreover, among the first datable examples of the Qur'an in Romance translation to have survived.[52] Perhaps

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50 Juan Andrés, *Confusión*, 92.

51 Block printing existed in the Arabic-speaking world —including al-Andalus— for the making of amulets with text —including qur'anic passages— as early as the 10th century. See Karl R. Schaefer, *Enigmatic Charms: Medieval Arabic Block Printed Amulets in American and European Libraries and Museums* (Leiden: Brill, 2006), 38.

52 As far as is known, the earliest Romance Qur'an translation was made from Latin into Catalan in 1382 at the behest of King Pere III, el Ceremoniós (Pere IV of Aragon, d. 1387), now lost. For references to its production, see ACA, Reg. 1274 (fol 192v), 1276 (fol. 91r), 1438 (fol. 168v), 1105 (fol. 172r), all summarized and reproduced in Míkel de Epalza Ferrer, Josep V. Forcadell Saport and Joan M. Perujo Melgar, *El corán y sus traducciones. Propuestas* (Alicante: Universidad de Alicante, 2008), 100–101. Similarly, a multi-lingual Qur'an was commissioned seven decades later by the Spanish theologian Juan de Segovia (d. 1458) and made by Mudejar Muslim ʿĪsa (Yça) de Segovia, and included Latin and Castilian translations presented alongside the original Arabic text. While only the Latin prologue has survived, scholars are certain the text was realized. José Martínez Gázquez, "El prólogo de Juan de Segobia al Corán (Qur'an) trilingüe (1456)," *Mittellateinisches Jahrbuch* 38 (2003). On Juan Andrés's writing in the context of these translations, see

most imporatantly, it also set a pattern for the subsequent works in the *Antialcoranes* genre, both those addressed to the Moriscos of Castile (such as Lope de Obregón) and those missionizing to the remaining Muslims of Aragon (such as Martí de Figuerola). Only a few years after Andrés published the *Confusión*, Martí de Figuerola, working in the same circle of Bishop García in Valencia, undertook active missionizing campaigns in the region, apparently taking over the tasks of García himself as the ageing bishop retired. This work culminated around 1518 in his lengthy missionary polemic *Lumbre de la fe contra la secta machomética*, which runs in manuscript to over 250 folios in two dense columns per side.[53] While limitations of space here prevent a full comparison of Andrés and Martí de Figuerola, a few observations can be offered here as a prompt to further work on the subject.

Both Andrés and Martí de Figuerola, working in the sphere of Martín García, made use of Arabic as a conversionary tool and a foundation of a claim to authenticity in argumentation. Unlike Andrés's printed text in the *Confusión*, which lacks Arabic letters, Martí de Figuerola's text in the *Lumbre* includes abundant citations of Arabic material given first in Arabic letters, followed by transliteration into Latin letters, followed by translation into Castilian. Given the novelty of printing Arabic characters in this period of book printing ─the earliest book with Arabic characters from moveable type was of Christian content printed in 1514 in Fano, Italy, and the earliest printing of the entire Qur'an as a book was not attempted until 1537–38 in Venice[54]─ the lack of Arabic characters in Andrés's *Confusión* was likely not reflective of the original text, and it is very possible that the manuscript of Andrés's original text also included Arabic letters before transliteration just as Martí de Figuerola's does. In any case, the citation and transliteration practices in Andrés and Martí de Figuerola represent two parallel aspects of a single polemical campaign. By appropriating and transforming Arabic text, they transformed it into a polemical weapon to weild against their Mudejar and Morisco interlocutors in Granada and Valencia, respectively.

Ryan Szpiech, Mercedes García-Arenal, Katarzyna K. Starczewska, "*Deleytaste del dulce sono y no pensaste en las palabras:* Rendering Arabic in the *Antialcoranes*," *Journal of Transcultural Medieval Studies* 5, no. 1 (2018). On undated *aljamiado* Qur'ans estimated to be from the fifteenth century, see below, n. 83.

53 On Martí de Figuerola, see Mercedes García-Arenal, "The Double Polemic of Martín de Figuerola's *Lumbre de fe contra el Alcorán*," in *Polemical Encounters: Christians, Jews and Muslims in Iberia and beyond*, ed. Mercedes García-Arenal and Gerard A. Wiegers (Univesity Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2019).

54 Dagmar A. Riedel, "Books in Arabic Script," in *Companion to the History of the Book*, 2nd ed., ed. Simon Eliot and Jonathan Rose (Chichester: Blackwell, 2020), 325.

Martí de Figuerola knew Andrés's work and refers to him as an "expert," and thus it is logical to consider the latter's influence on the *Lumbre*.[55] Nevertheless, a comparison of the two authors shows that the *Lumbre* is not copied from the *Confusión*, even if it is modeled on Andrés's work in some way and even though the two texts interpret a number of the same passages. It is known, moreover, that whereas Andrés was, by all estimates, a source of information about Arabic for his colleagues, Martí de Figuerola had to rely on the help of a Morisco by the name of Juan Gabriel de Teruel, an Aragonese convert and ex-*alfaquí* like Juan Andrés. Juan Gabriel gained a reputation as a valuable translator and informant, beginning in 1518, the same year of Martí de Figuerola's work on the *Lumbre,* by collaborating on a Qur'an translation into Latin comissioned by the Italian Cardinal Egidio da Viterbo, a text later to be edited and corrected by the illustrious convert Leo Africanus.[56]

Roberto Tottoli considers, in his chapter in this volume, the peculiar way the Qur'an was copied, including many telling details. Here, I wish to briefly consider the relationship between the Arabic script text and the transliteration below it in order to make some observations about the order of the writing of each piece and the nature of Martí de Figuerola's qur'anic reading. To begin, we can ask: How do the citations of both Arabic letters and transliteration in the *Lumbre,* elaborated with the assitance of Juan Gabriel, differ from Juan Andrés's transliterations in the *Confusión*? As we have noted, Andrés's texts are designed to highlight the importance of sound as a tool of missionizing and argumentation. While the same might be said for Martí de Figuerola, whose text includes even more examples of transliteration the *Confusión,* it is clear that Marti de Figuerola's use of transliteration is tied much more closely to his written text. For example, like Andrés, Martí de Figuerola cites numerous passages related to Jesus and Mary. In one such passage, he states,

> But these my fellow moors will say that we Christians invented it and for that reason they should not belive it. As a proof of this [against them], their Qur'an says it in book one, chapter four, verse forty, if Jesus Christ is true in his things. It says thus [see Fig. 1]:

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55 Martí de Figuerola states that "lo que se dirá será de un libro que hizo Mossen Johan Andrés antiguo alfaquí de Xàtiva y que por ser persona experta." See Martí de Figuerola, *Lumbre de fe*, fol. 30r.

56 The translation has been edited and studied by Katarzyna K. Starczewska: *Latin Translation of the Qurʾān (1518/1621) Commissioned by Egidio da Viterbo. Critical Edition and Introductory Study* (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2018); García-Arenal and Starczewska, "'The Law of Abraham the Catholic': Juan Gabriel as Qurʾān Translator for Martín de Figuerola and Egidio da Viterbo," *Al-Qanṭara* 35, no. 2 (2014).
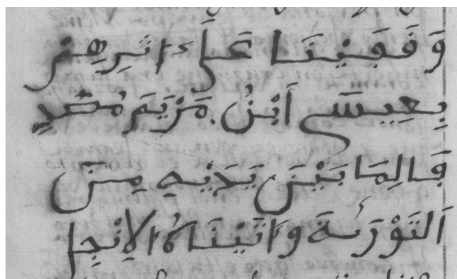
Fig. 1: Joan Martí de Figuerola, *Lumbre de fe contra la secta mahometana y el Alcorán.* Madrid, Real Academia de la Historia [RAH], MS Gayangos 1922/36. fol 50v.

Guacafayne ala exiriim bi isa abnu mariama muçadi felmine bayna yadai mina altaurata gaetyne ulingili [Wa-qaffaynā ʿalā ithārihim bi-ʿīsā ibnu maryama muṣaddifan (leg. muṣad-diqan) li-mā bayna yadayhi min al-ttawrati wa-ataynāhu al-injīla; "In their footsteps we sent Jesus son of Mary, confirming what was in his hands from the Torah and the Gospels"], which means: "and they have send after them Jesus son of Mary, true in what he brought in his hands of the Torah and the Gospels."[57]

This passage reproduces more or less accurately the Arabic text Q. 5:46, albeit with a few small variants. The division of the transliteration follows closely the written divisions of words rather than only relying on the sounds. A comparison of the Arabic letters and the transliteration show that the latter was made directly on the basis of the former. One telling detail in the word *muṣaddiqan* ("confirming," which the text translates as "true") shows this: the word is split over two lines and is written as *muṣaddifan,* with a dot under the letter *qāf* rather than over it. (The text consistently writes *qāf* with a single dot over the letter and *fāʾ* with a single dot below, as is evident in the beginning of the quotation, *wa-qaffaynā*). This error in the copying of the Arabic text —one of many considered by Tottoli in his chapter here— would not be important, were it not for the fact that the transliteration reproduces it, blending the *fāʾ* with the next word and writing *muçadi felmine...* [*muṣaddifan li-mā...*]. Numerous other examples of this kind show that the transliteration of the sounds was made by reading the text as written above it, not as read from a written

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57 "Pero dirán estos próximos míos de moros que nosotros los xristianos lo inventamos y por tanto ellos no lo deven creher. Para en prueba de esto diga lo su Alcorán libro primero capítulo quarto alea cuarenta si Jesu Christo fue verdadero en sus cosas dize assí... *Guacafayne ala exir-iim bi isa abnu mariama muçadi felmine bayna yadai mina altaurata gaetyne ulingili.* Quiere dezir: 'y havemos enviado empues dellos a Jesus hijo de María verdadero en la que truxo en sus manos de la Thora y de los Evangelios'"; Martí de Figuerola, *Lumbre de fe,* fol. 50v.

Qur'an. In this, the copying of the written Qur'an in Arabic letters was a primary step, preceding and determining the transliteration.

A second example shows how both the *Confusión* and the *Lumbre* deal with the same Arabic text in slightly different ways. In chapter 47, Martí de Figuerola discusses the Hadith tradition afirming that Jesus and Mary were the only humans not touched by Satan.[58] He suggests that the Qur'an affirms this in discussing the birth of Mary in Q. 3:36:

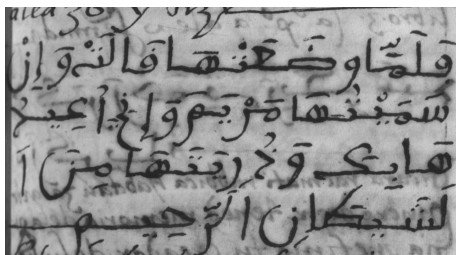Book one, chapter two, aya 36, says [Fig. 2]:

Fig. 2: Joan Martí de Figuerola, *Lumbre de fe contra la secta mahometana y el Alcorán*, RAH MS Gayangos 1922/36. fol. 120r.

> *Falame dacate quelat guain çamay tue Mariama guainia hui due biqua guaduri yatahe mina axayteni hirraimi* [fa-lammā waḍaʿathā qālat wa-innī sammaytuhā maryama wa-innī uʿīyd-huhā bika wa-dhurriyatahā min ash-shayṭān ar-rrajīm; "When she delivered her, she said 'I have named her Mary and I seek protection for her in you from Satan, the evil one.'"], which means, "After Saint Anne gave birth, she said, 'Oh Lord I have given birth to a female and I have called her Maria'. God said, 'I will protect her along with you and her son from the evil Devil.'"[59]

Andrés also cites this passage as chapter two, book one, beginning his citation one verse before, with Q. 3:36. The overlapping portion begins at Q. 3:37, and reads

> *faleme guad ahothe unça calet jni ceniey tuhe jnarieme gua jni uhiduhe bique gua durri yatihe mine assaytani aragina* [fa-lammā waḍaʿathā unthā qālat innī sammaytuhā maryama wa-

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58 For example, *Sahih Al-Bukhari*, Vol. 4, Book 55, # 641; or Vol. 4, Book 54, # 506, among other examples.

59 "Libro pº, caº 2º alea 36 y dize... *Falame dacate quelat guain çamay tue Mariama guainia hui due biqua guaduri yatahe mina axayteni hirraimi* Quiere dezir, y despúes que parió santa anna dixo o señor yo e parrido fembra y la e llamada María dixo dios yo la defenderé contigo y a su hijo del diablo malvado"; Martí de Figuerola, *Lumbre de fe*, fol. 120r.

innī uʿiydhuhā bika wa-dhurriyatahā min ash-shayṭān ar-rrajīm; "When she delivered her, a female, she said 'I have named her Mary and I seek protection for her in you from Satan, the evil one.'"], which means... that she gave birth and she was born a female, and her birth was holy. She named her Mary and asked God that she and her son be kept far from and defended from the temptation of the Devil.[60]

There are various key differences between these passages that show that the *Lumbre* was not copied directly from the *Confusión*. First, both texts abbreviate and alter the passage they cite, but do so in slightly different ways. Q. 3:36 begins by explaining, "When she delivered, she said, 'My Lord! I have given birth to a girl,' —and Allah fully knew what she had delivered— 'and the male is not like the female. I have named her Mary...' [*wa-lammā waḍaʿathā qālat rabbi innī wa-ḍaʿtuhā unthā wa-llāhu aʿlamu bi-mā waḍaʿat wa-laysa al-ththakaru ka-l-unthā wa-innī sammaytuhā maryama...*]. Both Martí de Figuerola and Andrés leave out the phrase "'My Lord! I have given birth to a girl,' —and Allah fully knew what she had delivered— 'and the male is not like the female,' but the former adds nothing in its place, proceeding with the next sentence ("I named her Mary"), whereas the latter adds the word "a female" before continuing. Second, Martí de Figuerola translates what he quotes and transliterates, whereas Andrés paraphrases part of the meaning rather than translating directly. In doing so, Andrés changes the tense of the verbs from Anne's first-person statement "I have given birth..." (preserved in Martí de Figuerola) to a third-person "She gave birth to a girl....," to which he adds the comment (not in the qur'anic text) "her birth was holy." Andrés's version continues the third-person para-phrase by noting that she "asked God" for protection from the Devil. In contrast, Martí de Figuerola's version alters the text in a different way by inserting a first-person statement by God ("I will protext her") in place of Anne's request ("I seek your protection").

In addition to a few other notable differences in the respective translations and transliterations, one important detail in the transliteration stands out and sheds light on Martí de Figuerola's reading process. Whereas Andrés's transliter-ation more or less follows the Arabic text (apart from his shortening of the verse), Martí de Figuerola misreads the opening words. Andrés begins by stating *faleme guad ahothe unça calet...* [*fa-lammā waḍaʿathā unthā qālat*; "When she delivered her, a female, she said..."], but Martí de Figuerola states, *Falame dacate quelat...*

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60 "*faleme guad ahothe unça calet jni ceniey tuhe jnarieme gua jni uhiduhe bique gua durri yatihe mine assaytani aragina...* que quere dezir... que parió y nasció fembra, el qual nascimiento fue santo. Llamola María y rogó a Dios que ella y su Fijo fuessen muy apartados y defensados de la temptación del diablo"; Juan Andrés, *Confusión*, 211–12.

[*fa-lammā waḍaʿathā qālat...*; "When she gave birth to her, she said..."] How does Martí de Figuerola transform *waḍaʿathā* (which Andrés reads as *guad ahothe*) into the transliteration *dacate*? Martí de Figuerola ignores the *waw* and trasliterates the sound of the *ayn+tāʾ* as *ca* because he apparently could not hear and perceive the *ayn* sound correctly, instead perceiving the gutteral sound (a "pharyngeal fricative" in phonetic terms) *ʿat* as a simple palatal *cat*. Similarly, Tottoli notes in his chapter here that the Arabic text confuses, on more than one occasion, *alif* and *hamza* with *ʿayn*.[61] This suggests that the text in Arabic letters was being dictated and/or copied by a non-native speaker who had trouble differentiating between these two sounds. Such an error could only be made by a reader who lacked a full command of the text's meaning or who lacked a full familiarity with the verse at hand. Such confusion of letters is often reproduced in the transliteration of the text, suggesting that the sounds were transliterated based on what was read off of the Arabic as it was copied (or miscopied), not as it was recited orally.[62] Whereas Andrés's slight but logically plausible alterations of the text in both Arabic and (in a different way) in translation suggest he may have been recalling the text from memory, Martí de Figuerola's careless misreading of Arabic letters shows that he was clumily working off of the Arabic script, first copying (or miscopying) the text and then sounding it out. Taken together, these telling differences show that Martí de Figuerola was not copying directly off of Andrés's text and that in fact, the two authors followed a different procedure in reading and rendering the Arabic text in transliterated form.

While Martí de Figuerola and Andrés both wrote and worked before the forced conversion of the Muslims of Aragon in 1526, two subsequent writers of *Antiaclorano* texts, Erasmist writer Bernardo Pérez de Chinchón and Castilian priest Lope de Obregón, from Ávila, ministered to converted Moriscos. Both writers pattern their work on that of Andrés, drawing from the content of the *Confusión* and continuing to highlight the centrality of the original Arabic text. In the 1530s, the Pérez de Chinchón wrote the eponymous *Antialcorano* (1532), a collection of twenty-six sermons, in an effort, as he says, to "to instruct and teach the newly converted and to refute the Muḥammadan Sect."[63] For this explicit reason, he defends, against the criticism of his colleagues, his insistence on using Cas-

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61 See Tottoli's chapter here, n. 82.

62 Another example noted by Tottoli in which the Arabic script mistakenly inserts a *bāʾ* in place of a *hamza* is reproduced in the transliteration. See Martí de Figuerola, *Lumbre de fe*, fol. 8b, noted by Tottoli in his chapter, n. 80.

63 "Para insruyr y enseñar a los nuevamente convertidos y para confutar la secta mahomética"; Pérez de Chinchón, *Antialcorano*, 79.

tilian rather than Latin for his text. As he puts it, "to begin to christianize them with the [Latin] mass is like starting the house with the roof, so that, lacking foundation, it never gets built."[64]

Language is, as in previous works, a central aspect of the polemical argument. Although most of the Arabic passages that appear in translation in Pérez de Chinchón's work lack a corresponding Arabic version, this is not because the work itself lacked Arabic text, but because, as he complains in his prologue, "the verses of the Qur'an are not inserted here because the Arabic language is much corrupted in the printing."[65] But the text leaves spaces where the Arabic should be, suggesting that Arabic script was used in the original manuscript text (see Fig. 3).

Chinchón does not claim knowledge of Arabic himself, he says he checked his text "with *alfaquíes* and learned people from their law" ("con alfaquíes y personas doctas en su ley") naming "Moscayre, alcadí of Gandía, and Mangay, and alfaquí Zumilla, and others I do not name. Let the reader at least be satisfied with one thing, which is that I do not pretend or lie about anything I say about the sect of Muḥammad."[66]

This lack is striking, giving that Pérez de Chinchón stresses repeatedly the critical importance of hearing for salvation and the acceptance of divine law. As he notes, "Hearing is the best of all the senses, and thus God made it so that by hearing there could enter doctrine, faith, and the law, which is the best thing in the world."[67] He also makes reference to the difficulty of making his audience listen to what he says. "And you who says to me that you do not want to hear reason or advice or disputation or examination of your law — who will pull you out of error?"[68] Hearing Arabic in particular was certainly a part of Pérez de Chinchón's sermons. He frequently signals that he is introducing a sentence in Arabic, stating "in Arabic the sunna says," or "as it says in the Qur'an... which means..." a statement that he follows with a translation into Cas-

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64 "Empeçarlos a christianear por la missa es como empeçar la casa por el tejado para que sin fundamento nunca se haga"; Pérez de Chinchón, *Antialcorano*, 80.

65 Pérez de Chinchón, *Antialcorano*, 87.

66 "comuniqué todas las materias, que aquí trato del Alcorán y cuna y otros libros, con alfaquíes y personas doctas de su ley, quales fueron Moscayre alcadí de Gandía, Mangay y el Alfaquí Zumilla, y otros que no nombro, para que a lo menos este el Lector satisfecho de una cosa, que no finjo, ni miento en nada de quanto digo ser en la secta de Mahoma"; Pérez de Chinchón, *Antialcorano*, 81–82.

67 "el oyr es mejor sentido que todos, y assí dios le hizo para que por el oyr entrasse la doctrina, la fe, la ley, que es la cosa mejor del mundo." Pérez de Chinchón, *Antialcorano*, 72.

68 "Mas de ti, que me dizes que no quieres oyr razon ni consejo, ni disputa, ni examinación de tu ley, ¿quién te sacará del engaño?"; Pérez de Chinchón, *Antialcorano*, 322.
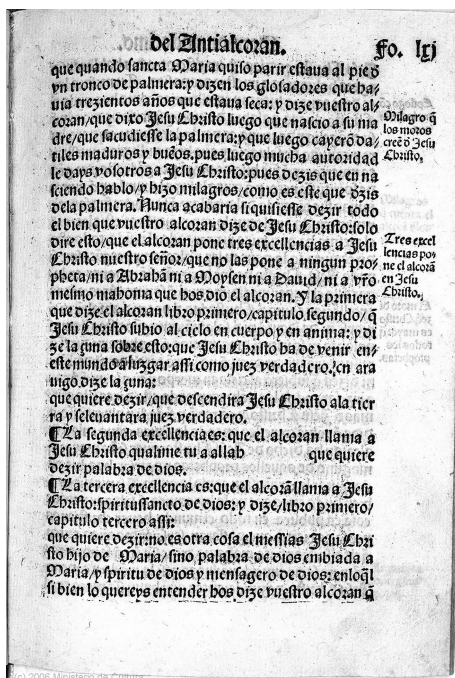
Fig. 3: Bernardo Pérez de Chinchón, *Libro llamado Antialcorán, que quiere dezir contra el Alcorán de Mahoma, repartido en veynteyseys sermones* (Valencia: Juan Jofré, 1532), fol. 61r. Biblioteca Virtual del património bibliográfico (CC BY 4.0).

tilian. While blank spaces are left where Arabic once was, it seems clear that Arabic text was included. Moreover, there are also vestiges of what were transliterations. For example, he states "the Qur'an calls Jesus Christ *qualimetu a allah,* which is to say 'word of God.'"[69] He mentions the Angel of Death, "this Angel was called *Melech almenti,* which means 'Angel of Death,' and he wrote in a book called the *allauhe almafod,* which means 'the preserved tablet.'"[70] He includes many such transliterated phrases, insisting that "all of these things said above that you have heard, my brothers, are taken from the Qur'an and from the six books of the Sunna, and the Book of the Flowers, which you call

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69 "el alcorán llama a jesu Christo *qualimetu a allah* que quiere decir palabra de Dios"; Pérez de Chinchón, *Antialcorano,* 191.

70 "Este ángel se llamava melech almenti, que quiere deir ángel de la muerte: y que escrevía en un libro que se llamava allauhe almafod, que quiere dezir la tabla reservada": Pérez de Chinchón, *Antialcorano,* 155.

[*blank space*]."[71] He states that he drew this material from earlier writers having "looked over three or four" *Antialcoranes* as well as the sermons of Martín García, noting that "compared with what you find there about this (polemic against Islam), I believe I have given, if not more instruction, at least better order for persuading this people."[72]

If Pérez de Chinchón's text shows a marked simplification in the engagement with the qur'anic text and a decline of first-hand knowledge of the text, these trends are even more evident in final work in the *Antialcoranes* to use Arabic, the *Confutación del Alcorán y secta mahometana* (1555) by Castilian priest Lope de Obregón from Ávila.[73] Basing his work directly on Andrés, he not only reproduces many of the translations of Arabic verses but also copies —or attempts to copy— the transliterations of Arabic text. Thus Obregón's rendering of Q. 3:169 is almost identical to the citation of the same passage published in Andrés' *Confusión,* although somewhat garbled:

He promised glory to those who should die in battle, and after this he repeated it again in another chapter copied in book one, chapter one of the Qur'an, which in Arabic says: *guale tehçibnne alledine cutelu fiçebili illehi amguetun bel ahie hun hinde rabihin yorzacon* [*wa-lā taḥsabanna al-adhīna qutilū fī sabīli allāhi amwātā bal aḥyāʾu ʿinda rabbihim yurzaqūna*], which means, "Do not think that those who shall die in battle will be dead. Rather, they will be alive, eating and drinking with their creator."[74] [See Fig.4]

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71 "Todas estas cosas sobredichas, que auéys oydo hermanos mios, son sacadas del Alcorán y de los seys libros de la cuna y de libro de las flores, que llamays vosotros [...]"; Pérez de Chinchón, *Antialcorano*, 157.

72 "He visto y rebuelto tres o quatro reprovaciones que ay del Alcorán, y algunos sermones que el muy Reverendo maestro Martín García arçediano de Zaragoça en su tiempo hizo contra esta secta, y que cotejando lo que allí se trata con esto, creo auer dado, sino más doctrina, a lo menos mejor orden para persuadir a esta gente"; Pérez de Chinchón, *Antialcorano*, 81.

73 For an overview of Lope de Obregón's work, see Ryan Szpiech, "Lope Obregón," in *Christian-Muslim Relations. A Bibliographical History. VI: 1500–1600 (Western Europe)*, ed. David Thomas and John Chesworth et al. (Leiden: Brill, 2014); and Bernard Ducharme, "La déchéance d'un prophète: La biographie de Mahomet sous la plume du polémiste Lope de Obregón (1555)," *Théologiques* 28, no. 1 (2020). For information about the populace to which he preached, see Serafín de Tapia, *La comunidad morisca de Ávila* (Salamanca: Universidad de Salamanca, 1991).

74 "Les prometió su gloria a los que muriessen en las batallas, y despés desto se lo tornó a prometer otra vez por otro capítulo que esta copilado en el libro primero y capítulo primero de su Alcorán en arábigo dize assí. *guale tehçibnne alledine cutelu fiçebili illehi amguetun bel ahie hun hinde rabihin yorzacon.* Que quiere dezir, no penséis que los que murieren en las batallas que serán muertos, antes estarán biuos con su criador comiendo y beuiendo"; Lope de Obregón, *Confutación*, fol. 40v.
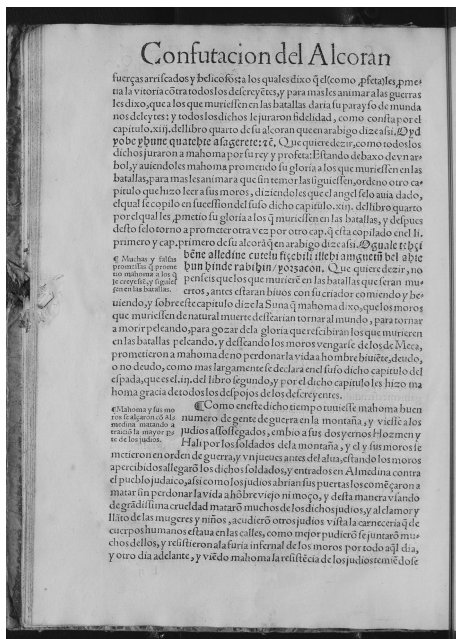
Fig. 4: Lope de Obregón, *Confutación del Alcorán y secta mahometana, sacado de sus propios libros y de la vida del mesmo Mahoma* (Granada: n.p., 1555), fol. 40v. Sächsische Landesbibliothek – Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek Dresden (SLUB). Public Domain Mark 1.0.

Although Obregón cites over thirty passages in transliterated Arabic, his text is in most of these cases copied directly from Andrés.[75] His own limited ability in Arabic forced him, as he notes, to rely on a local convert to insert other texts in Arabic in transliteration, all of which evinces, as in previous examples, a strong oral character. Even so, the mere attempt to insert these passages —perhaps rendered by his assistant— into his Castilian sermons, provide another example of the ongoing appeal of language as a simultaneous bridge to evangelization and tool of polemic. His strained efforts at rendering the Arabic text for fellow Christian preachers calls to mind the words of thirteenth-century Dominican Ramon Martí (d. after 1284), who states in his anti-Jewish text *Capistrum Iudaeorum* (*Muzzle for the Jews*), which is filled with transliterations of Hebrew text into Latin letters, "It will be best if this treatise [be written] not only in Latin, but

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75 For a developed comparison between the two, see Jane El-Kolli, "La polémique islamo-chrétienne en Espagne (1492–1640) à travers des refutations de l'Islam de Juan Andrés et Lope Obregón," PhD Diss. (Université Paul-Valéry Montpellier III, 1983).

also in Hebrew, and that one have the knowledge of reading Hebrew [aloud], even if they cannot understand it."[76]

Twelve years after Lope de Obregón published his *Confutación*, and only one year after clergyman Martín Pérez de Ayala published his Morisco catechism *Doctrina Christiana, en lengua aráuiga y castellana* (1566), Felipe II instated a law imposed first by his father Carlos V, making the Arabic language illegal in all contexts. While this prohibition soon helped precipitate the second Alpujarras rebellion, it also marked a sharp turn in attitude about the role of language in assimilation and conversion. As Granadan clergyman Pedro Guerra de Lorca states in his later *Catecheses mystagogicae pro aduenis ex secta Mahometana* (*Mystagogical Catechism for Those Coming from the Muhammadan Sect*, 1586), "let him be called a Moor on account of the unjust retention of his dress and of the Arabic language."[77]

In all of the examples presented above, from Juan Andrés and Martín García to Lope de Obregón, the attempt to transliterate Arabic in order to facilitate oral recitation reflects the mixed attitude embodied in the conflicting views of Granadan Bishop Hernando de Talavera and Toledan Cardinal Francisco Ximénez de Cisneros. While the difference between these two figures, suggesting that Talavera was less polemical or intolerant than Ximénez de Cisneros, has been exaggerated, it is certain that Talavera was much more concerned with missionizing and polemicizing through attention to Arabic. Ximénez de Cisneros, by contrast, showed little interest in the language of the Muslim population of Granada, evangelizing by force alone. The *Antialcoranes* are a blend of these two approaches, approaching Arabic as a bridge to persuasion but also reshaping and denaturing Arabic text with violence through the imposition of a Christian understanding and a Latin form.

One way to highlight the mixed aspects —polemical violence and attention to Arabic and the details of tranlation and transliteration— is to consider the transliterated Arabic material in the *Antialcoranes* in contradistinction to the practice in Morisco communities of using transliteration to preserve some vestige of its own Muslim cultural sensibility. In the face of Mudejar and Morisco *Alja-*

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76 "Optimum erit si istud opusculum non solum in Latino, sed etiam in Hebraeo, et scientia legendi, etsi non intelligendi Hebraicum habeatur" ("It will be best if this treatise [be written] not only in Latin, but also in Hebrew, and that one have the knowledge of reading Hebrew, even if they cannot understand it"; Ramón Martí, *Capistrum Iudaeorum*, 2 vols., ed. and trans. Adolfo Robles Sierra (Würzburg: Echter, 1990), vol. 1, 56.
77 "Qua de causa ob iniustam retentionem habitus et Arabicae linguae Maurus ille dicetur ..." Pedro Guerra de Lorca, *Catecheses Mystagogicae pro aduenis ex secta Mahometana* (Madrid: Pedro Madrigal, 1586), fol. 25r.

miado (Castilian text written in Arabic letters and sometimes blended with Arabic text), these Christian authors employed what might be called "Anti-Aljamiado" (Arabic text written in Latin letters, blended with Castilian writing).[78] Seeing the Arabic of the *Antialcoranes* as a kind of "Anti-Aljamiado" is logical if we view the wider context of Christian-Morisco polemical engagement in the first half of the century. We can read the Arabic language in the *Antialcoranes* not only as a case of the practical use of language —a pragmatic treatment of alphabets to bypass the impossibility of printing Arabic letters and to facilitate preaching by Christians who may not have been able to read the Qur'an with fluency— but also as a deliberate polemical act. I propose we view this Arabic material as a means of Christian "making its own" of a central aspect of Morisco identity — the preservation of Arabic letters. Transliteration is not here a culturally neutral process, but rather one that undermines the practice in Morisco communities of using transliteration to preserve some vestige of its own Muslim cultural sensibility. Thus, in place of defenses of Morisco belief and practice, such as the work of the Mancebo de Arévalo, or Morisco attacks on Christian beliefs written in Aljamiado, such as the anti-Christian polemical tract found in BNE MS 4944, we encounter precisely the opposite. If Morisco Aljamiado can be considered, as the etymology of the word itself suggests, a case of *ʿAjamiyya* (non-Arabic language) presented in the garb of Arabic letters, the Arabic of the *Antialcoranes* constitutes the opposite: a form of *ʿArabiyya* (Arabic language) transliterated in Latin letters.

To understand what is at stake in the representation of the Qur'an in translation and transliteration, we might consider the words of Q. 12:2, in which God says, "I have revealed the Qur'an in Arabic so that you can understand." Q. 41:44 addresses even more directly the importance of the Arabic language as the only suitable medium for God's words. "If we sent down a Qur'an in a foreign language (*ʿajamiyyan*), they would have said, 'Why are its verses not made clear? What? A foreign language and an Arab [speaker]?'" If the very notion of the

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78 Carlos Sainz de la Maza calls this phenomenon "inverse Aljamiado." See his discussion in "Aljamías inversas," in *Aljamias in memoriam: Álvaro Galmés de Fuentes y Iacob M. Hassan*, ed. Raquel Suárez García and Ignacio Ceballos Viro (Gijón: Trea, 2012). He notes: "Todo proceso de escritura de una lengua usando el alfabeto propio de otra que sea la lengua de referencia identitaria de un grupo social distinto, que, mediante este procedimiento, hace suyo algún aspecto propio de la cultura representada por la lengua así transcrita" (253–54). On this phenomeon, see also Pier Mattia Tommasino, "Eteroglossia e propaganda religiosa nel Mediterraneo moderno," *Lingua e Stile* 45, no. 2 (2010), 233–34; García-Arenal and Starczewska, "'The Law of Abraham the Catholic,'" 415; M.A.S Abdel Haleem, "Qur'anic Orthography: The Written Representation of the Recited Text of the Qur'an," *Islamic Quarterly* 38, no. 3 (1994).

Qur'an in Aljamiado is problematic, it is especially so in the mouth of a "non-Arab."[79] The rendering of the Qur'an not only as a translation into *'ajamiyya* but also as a transliteration into an "inverse Aljamiado" constitutes a double polemical gesture, both a challenge to the divine status of Arabic and an appropriation and repackaging of that status in a Latin guise. The presentation in Latin letters of material from the Qur'an and other Islamic sources, as we find in the *Antialcoranes*, can be placed in the context of contemporary polemical and apologetic literature of the Moriscos themselves, constituting a kind of Christian alternative to the two dozen or so manuscripts of Mudejar or Morisco Qur'ans in Aljamiado Castilian (including two in Latin script), studied in depth by Consuelo López Morillas.[80]

Anti-Aljamiado in the evangelization and polemical literature of the first half of the sixteenth century can thus be read as a deliberate and strategic reversal of the Morisco use of Aljamiado, a way of employing transliteration not to preserve Morisco identity but to undermine it through conversion and polemic. The emphasis on oral presentation, above all, adds to this inversion of letters a claim of the living and performed nature of engagement with the Qur'an. The two-pronged claim of these Christian writers, laying claim to both the sound of the Qur'an as well as its letters, was to have enduring appeal, at least among later Christian polemicists. The long influence of texts like Juan Andrés, being cited and copied by later Christian writers well into the eighteenth century, suggests that *Anti-Aljamiado*, the strategic inversion of the linguistic habits of the Moriscos, overlaps with the origins of European Arabic philology, quietly representing a dark polemical legacy behind modern-day Arabic and Islamic studies.

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79 On the question of the rendering of the Qur'an in writing, see Abdel Haleem, "Qur'anic Orthography."

80 Consuelo López Morillas gives a list twenty-five manuscripts, suggesting only four (Madrid, Biblioteca Nacional MS 4938; Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, MS Arabe 1163; Madrid, Real Academia de la Historia, MS 9402 and a section of MS 9409), might date to the fifteenth century. Consuelo López-Morillas, *El Corán de Toledo* (Gijón: Trea, 2011), 46. All are copied in aljamiado and none are complete.

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