

# The Perennial Importance of Mary's Virginity and Jesus' Divinity: Qur'anic Quotations in Iberian Polemics After the Conquest of Granada (1492)

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Between 1502, when Isabel of Castile banned the Islamic religion in Castile, and 1526, when her grandson King Charles V imposed a similar decree in Aragon, various authors wrote polemical works and sermons aimed at the evangelisation of the forcibly converted Muslim (Morisco) population.<sup>1</sup> First among such works was *Confusión o confutación de la secta Mahomélica y del Alcorán* ('Confusion or Confutation of the Muhammadan Sect and of the Qur'an'), published in 1515 in Valencia and attributed to Juan Andrés—a Muslim convert to Christianity hailing from nearby Xàtiva. Six years later, Johan Martín de Figuerola, a priest also from a nearby region of Valencia, finished his *Lumbre de fe contra el Alcoran* ('Fire/Light of Faith against the Qur'an'), which presents a similar exposition against the Qur'an. Both authors include hundreds of Qur'anic passages in their works, quoting the Qur'an in Arabic in phonological transcription and in Spanish translation, and referring to *tafsīr* authorities to explain each passage. Figuerola, whose work is extant in only one manuscript and was never printed, also includes illustrations as well as the Arabic text of his citations written out in Arabic script. Both writers worked under the auspices of Martín García, Bishop of Barcelona between 1511 and his death in 1521, whose sermons, published in Latin in 1520, made use of similar Islamic material.

The aim of this paper is to contribute to the study of the little-known Spanish Qur'anic translations included in these works, which provide an important testimony of otherwise scarce translations of the Qur'an into Iberian vernacular languages.<sup>2</sup> With this analysis we aim to determine in the first place if these authors—Andrés, Figuerola,

and García, as well as a few subsequent authors who copied them—were using only one or several different vernacular translations of the Qur'an; secondly, we ask how the translations of the Qur'an included by each author in his work relate to the Latin version commissioned in Italy by Cardinal Egidio da Viterbo (1518); and finally, we consider if these same quotations show that their approach to controversy was similar or different, asking, in other words, how each made use of his particular quotations of the Qur'an.

In considering these questions, we will point to some subtle differences in the treatment of the Qur'anic text and its uses, depending on the religious condition of each author: Juan Andrés, a quintessential Muslim informant, blends his assault on the Qur'an with the personal history of his conversion; Martín de Figuerola, by contrast, was not a convert and was instead assisted in his systematic attack on the Qur'an by Juan Gabriel, an Aragonese convert and *ex-alfaquí* (*faqīh*, religious jurist or authority, and in an Iberian context, *imām* and community leader). He was, moreover, as we have previously established,<sup>3</sup> the author of at least some parts of the Latin translation of the Qur'an brought from Spain to Italy by the Cardinal Egidio da Viterbo.<sup>4</sup> García relied heavily on the work of Andrés and Figuerola, incorporating material from their translations and exegetical summaries into his sermons. Given the large amount of Qur'anic material used by each author, we will focus on a theme of particular relevance to Christian anti-Muslim polemical writing: the Qur'anic fragments that narrate the stories of Virgin Mary and Jesus. As we will see, all the authors in question discuss this material extensively and, in so doing, also draw upon a long history of Christian polemical engagement with the Qur'an.

### **Mary and Jesus vs Muḥammad: The Christian Search for Mary in the Qur'an**

Juan Andrés published his anti-Muslim polemical treatise *Confusión o confutación de la secta Mahomética y del Alcorán* in 1515. In this work, which was to become one of the influential anti-Muslim polemics of the early modern period, Juan attacks the Qur'an and *ḥadīth* and proffers textual authorities in support of the truth of Christian dogma and the errors of Islam. Juan dedicates the eleventh chapter of the *Confusión* to the presence of Jesus and Mary in the holy book of the Muslims. It is worth quoting the incipit of this chapter in its entirety, for it contains all the most common Christian arguments contrasting the piety of Mary and Jesus with the perceived vileness of Muḥammad:<sup>5</sup>

Capítulo onzeno: Tracta cómo la fe cristiana está provada por buena y sancta y verdadera, y dada por Dios por el mesmo *Alcorán* y en la *Suna* de Mahoma; y cómo faze testigo el *Alcorán* de Jesuchristo, Nuestro Señor, ser el más excellente propheta que en el mundo vino. Y cómo Nuestra Señora la Virgen María fue virgen y parió siendo virgen y reservó su virginidad; y cómo fue concebida sin pecado original y cómo

nació nacimiento sancto y glorioso, y, siendo niña de tres años, entró en el templo a servir a Dios, y cómo estaba acompañada de ángeles y fablava y comunicava con ángeles en el templo. Y cómo fue mantenida de viandas celestiales en el templo. Y cómo fue saludada del ángel Grabiél y anunciada por la mejor muger entre todas las mugeres de todas las naciones, y cómo concibió del Espíritu Sancto y cómo avía de parir Hice Jesuchristo, palabra de Dios, el qual avía de ser grande propheta y dotado de toda gracia; y cómo está en el *Alcorán* la Ave María y las razones que passaron entre ella y l'ángel así como están en el *Evangelio*. Y cómo dixo la Virgen María: *Quomodo fiet istud*, y cómo dijo el ángel: *Spiritus Sanctus*, etc., y cómo consintió la Virgen María y quedó preñada por la obra del Espíritu Sancto y cómo nació Jesuchristo, Nuestro Señor, nacimiento muy glorioso y miragoloso, y cómo fizo todos miraglos que *super natura sunt*, y cómo morió y resucitó y puyó en el cielo *propia virtute*, y cómo ha de venir a juzgar en la tierra así como juez verdadero; y de sus discípulos cómo fueron santos y fizieron muchos miraglos de resucitar muertos y sanar de enfermedades incurables, y de algunos santos y mártires christianos. Y todo lo susodicho provaré con el mesmo *Alcorán* y con la *Suna*.

[Chapter eleven: it narrates how the Christian faith is proven to be good and holy and true, and given by God in the very Qur'an and in Muḥammad's Sunna; and how the Qur'an bears witness to the fact that Jesus Christ, Our Lord, was the most excellent prophet that came into this world. And how Our Lady the Virgin Mary was a virgin and gave birth while being a virgin and maintained her virginity; and how she was conceived without original sin and how she was born in a holy and glorious birth, and, when she was a three-year old girl, she entered the temple to serve God, and how she was accompanied by angels and she spoke and communicated with angels in the temple. And how she was sustained in the temple with heavenly food. And how she was greeted by the Angel Gabriel and pronounced to be the best woman from among all the women of all the nations, and how she conceived by the Holy Spirit and how she had to give birth to Hice [*'Isā*] Jesus Christ, word of God, who was to be a great prophet and endowed with all grace; and how the *Ave Maria* and the statements that passed between her [Mary] and the angel are in the Qur'an, just as they are the Gospels. And how Virgin Mary said: *Quomodo fiet istud* [Luke 1:34], and how the angel said: *Spiritus Sanctus* [Luke 1:35], etc., and how the Virgin Mary consented and became pregnant by the works of the Holy Spirit, and how Jesus Christ, Our Lord, was born in a very glorious and miraculous

birth, and how he performed miracles which *super natura[m] sunt*, and how he died and was resurrected and ascended to Heaven *propia virtute*, and how in the same way he is to come to judge on Earth as the true judge; and [it narrates] about his disciples and how they were holy and performed many miracles of resurrecting the dead and healing incurable diseases, and about some saints and Christian martyrs. I will prove all the above mentioned with the very Qur'an and the Sunna.]

Only a few years later, Martín de Figuerola, a priest from the same region of Valencia as Juan Andrés, finished his *Lumbre de fe contra el Alcoran*, which presents a similar exposition against the Qur'an on the basis of extensive Arabic quotations, both in Castilian translation and Arabic, here given not only in transliterated phonetic form but also in Arabic letters. Like Juan Andrés, Figuerola pays close attention to 'what the Qur'an says about Our Lady Saint Mary'.<sup>6</sup> It is again worth considering his words at length. Among other things, he claims:<sup>7</sup>

Tomaremos del Alcoran las cosas verdaderas porque 'veritas a quounumque dicatur a Spiritu Sancto est', 'la verdad dicha por qualquiera del Spiritu Santo proviene' y assi scrivee el dicho Mahomet libro primero, capitulo 2do alea 36 y dize [...] Y despues que pario Santa Anna dixo: 'O Señor yo e parido fembra y la e llamada Maria'. dixo Dios 'yo la defendere contigo y a su hijo del diablo malvado'. Dizen los glosadores special[mente?] Benatia sobre aquello que dize: 'yo la defendere' que la virgen Maria y su hiio fueron defendidos dela temptacion del diablo: y dize en la Zuna que el diablo toma possession de todas creaturas que nascen y sola nuestra señora y su hijo fueron libres del poder del demonio y que no tuvo fuerça para con ellos. Pero Mahomet padre y madre de aquel no solo siendo ninyos pero a un grandes los a posehido el diablo y possehe. Y por quanto deurias [?] tu alfaqui proximo mio ver las excellencias de Marien y de Ayze su hijo a los quales deuriades [?] seguir. Item mas dize de nuestra señora libro y capitulo quo suppra alea 37 y dize [...] 'Y assentola dios y recebiola con resembimiento muy santo y hizo la nascer nacimiento muy santo' etc. Dizen los glosadores que nuestra señora la virgen Maria fue muy santa y contemplativa y siendo de nueve anyos ayunava todo el dia y vellava toda la noche: y sobre puyo en saber a todos los doctores que estavan enel templo y assi dize Benatia doctor dellos que no se maravilla que el fruto de nuestra señora fuesse del spiritu de dios que es Jesu Cristo siendo ella una persona tan santa: y assi sant Anselmo enel libro de conceptu virginali capitulo duodecimo et decimo tercio 'Señora todo lo que es enel mundo o es sobre vos o baxo de vos: lo superior solo es dios todo lo inferior que noes dios es de baxo de vos'. Pues si vosotros

proximos mios de moros haveys visto segun la alteza desta persona ser tan excelente y su hijo con ella que veo entre vosotros poneys el nombre de Maria a vuestras hijas y el de Jesu Cristo a vuestros hijos lo que los cristianos el nombre dayze no lo ponen a sus hiios por reverencia y honrra dela persona de Jesu Cristo. Razon seria pues hos alegrays delos nombres de Marien y Ayze que es el propheta delos cristianos que tambien hos alegrasedes de su ley pues la teneys por buena. Item dize mas libro et capitulo quo suppra alea 41 y dize assi: [...] ‘Y quando dixeron los angeles: “O Maria dios te exalso y te alimpio y te escogio sobre todas las mugeres del mundo.”’ Dizen los tres glosadores que los angeles truxeron ala virgen una embaxada diziendo: ‘O Maria’ y dizen que eran muchos angeles a unque no fue sino uno yesto fue por excellencia y aquel uno era el angel gabriel y le dixo: ‘dios te alimpio detoda corruption’ y la escogio que fuesse madre de tan alto propheta con toda benedicion perfeccion y honrra. Y dize Azamaxeri que fue dos vezes exalsada: la una quando fue nascida, la otra quando pario al propheta Jesu Cristo el qual concebio sin simiente de varron. Pues que te parese a ti proximo mio de moro que esta virgen fue un exemplo y regla de vida para quantos [?] biven’.

[We will take from the Qur’an the truthful things because ‘truth, no matter by whom it is said, comes from the Holy Spirit’<sup>8</sup> and so this Mahomet [Muḥammad] writes in book one, chapter two, aya 36 [3:36] and he says: ‘... and after giving birth Saint Anne said: “Oh Lord, I gave birth to a female and I have called her Mary.” God said “I will defend her with you and her son from the wicked devil.”’ The glossators say, especially Benatia [Ibn ‘Aṭīyya], about the phrase ‘I will defend her’, that the Virgin Mary and her son were defended from the devil’s temptation. And the Sunna says that the devil takes possession of all the creatures that are born and only Our Lady and her son were free from the demon’s power, and that he did not have strength against them. But the devil has taken possession of—and possesses [still]—Mahomet and his father and mother, not only when they were children but even as adults. Thus you, my *alfaquí* neighbour, should see the excellence of Marien [Mary] and of Ayze [Jesus] her son, whom you should follow. The same and more he says about Our Lady in the above-quoted book and chapter, aya 37 [3:37] and he says: ‘... and God settled her and received her with a very holy reception and made her be born with a very holy birth’ etc. The glossators say that Our Lady the Virgin Mary was very holy and contemplative and when she was nine years old she would fast all day long and kept vigil all night long: and she excelled in

knowledge beyond all the doctors who were in the temple and thus Benatia [Ibn ʿAṭīyya], their doctor, says it is no surprise that the fruit of Our Lady was the spirit of God, namely Jesus Christ, since she was such a holy person. And so says Saint Anselm in the book *De Conceptu Virginali* chapter[s] 12 and 13: ‘Lady, everything that exists in the world is either above you or below you: superior to you is only God and everything inferior that is not God is below you’.<sup>9</sup> So if you, my Moor neighbours, have regarded this person to be so excellent, according to her high status, and [so regarded] her son with her, that I even see that you name your daughters Mary and your sons Jesus Christ—whereas the Christians do not name their sons Ayze because of the reverence and honour that they bestow upon the person of Jesus Christ—it would be reasonable then, since you are already happy with the names of Marien and Ayze, who is a Christian prophet, that you would also be happy with their law since you regard it good. And the book and chapter cited above, aya 41 [Q. 3:42], says more, saying thus: ‘... and when the angels said: “O Mary, God exalted you, and purified you, and chose you among all the women of the world”’. The three glossators say that the angels brought a message to the virgin saying: ‘Oh Mary’ and they say that there were many angels even though there was only one, the most excellent, and that one angel Gabriel, who told her: ‘God purified you of all the corruption’, and chose her to be the mother of such a high prophet with all the blessing, perfection and honour. And Azamaxeri [al-Zamakhsharī] says that she was exalted twice: the first time when she was born, and the other when she gave birth to the prophet Jesus Christ, whom she conceived without male seed. So, what do you think, my Moor neighbor, [about the fact] that this virgin was an example and model for all who are living?]

Both of these fragments exploit a commonplace in anti-Muslim polemics, which has appeared regularly since the first Christian encounters with the Qur’an.<sup>10</sup> Christian polemicists who engaged with the Qur’an in order to refute it were immensely surprised, in the first place, to find Biblical narratives resonating throughout the Muslim text and, in the second place, to encounter such reverence both for Christ and for Mary, who receive acclamation that is unparalleled even by Qur’anic praise for Muḥammad.<sup>11</sup> From the Muslim perspective, even though all the dogmas pertaining to Mary can be found in a more or less precise way in the Qur’an, there are two for which textual support is scarce or lacking: the belief in the virginity of Mary *post-partum*, which Juan Andrés mentions in passing and which Figuerola explores at length throughout his chapter, and the acceptance of divine maternity.<sup>12</sup> We can note that Figuerola is careful not to mention ‘original sin’ when describing the birth of Mary, a concept alien to

Islam, but instead insists that she had not been touched by the devil, a theme taken directly from *hadīth* passages about her.<sup>13</sup> The *‘iṣma* of Mary, her endowment with an impeccability that made her exceptional among human beings, was an aspect of the Qur’an very dear to Catholic polemicists involved in defending the Immaculate Conception of Mary.<sup>14</sup>

Obviously, much value was attached to convincing Muslims about these Christian truths, as can be appreciated also in sermons by fellow preacher Martín García, Bishop of Barcelona, who stressed the same arguments in the same wording (examined below). Resorting to the same argumentation and to the same phrasing in the two treatises and the sermons strongly attests to the circulation of the Qur’anic translations between Muslims, or former Muslims, and Christian preachers. Furthermore, it also highlights the desperate need on the part of Christian preachers for an authority that was shared by both faiths, a patron who would act as both a referee and a protector of both sides of the debate. The Virgin Mary was deemed to be ideal for that role.

### **Mary in the Evangelisation of Muslims**

Before proceeding to examine the source texts in more detail, it is necessary to consider the role of Mary in Christian missionary efforts towards Muslims and, most precisely, in the context of the conquest of Granada. From the thirteenth-century ‘dream of conversion’<sup>15</sup> and the wide-ranging Marian enterprise of King Alfonso X of Castile (r. 650–683/1252–1284) and his poets, Mary became associated in Iberia with the conversion of Jews and Muslims and with miracles of conversion. The *Cantigas de Santa María*, his collection of Galician-Portuguese strophic songs about the Virgin Mary, presented many of those miracles and praised Mary’s power to defeat the stubbornness of unbelievers and bring them to the truth.<sup>16</sup> Christian theologians reflected on the episode of the Visitation of Mary in the Gospel of Luke in which she asserts that, ‘all generations will call me blessed’.<sup>17</sup> Phrases attributed to her were incorporated in the Christian liturgy as the *Magnificat*. Important figures such as Bernard of Clairvaux and Thomas Aquinas elaborated an interpretation that would be repeated by high medieval theologians with a millenarian undertone: the Virgin was predicting that unbelievers would recognise her powers, admit the truth she embodied, and convert to Christianity, uniting all humanity under a single law.<sup>18</sup>

During the war of the conquest of Granada, propagated as a crusade and a messianic mission,<sup>19</sup> the figure of Mary acquired an even greater significance and became central to the efforts of the first Archbishop of Christian Granada, Hernando de Talavera (serving from 1492 to 1502), to bring Granadan Muslims to Christianity. From 1492 until de 1501, Talavera spearheaded a campaign of evangelisation, part of which consisted of an important innovation in worship: the semi-industrial production of portable religious images, mainly of the Virgin and child. Talavera had used such

sculptures in his previous pastoral work, and now he aspired to overcome the linguistic barriers faced by priests whose task it was to guide the Muslims peacefully toward baptism. Felipe Pereda has suggested that this artistic production had to do not only with the catechising mission and Talavera's knowledge of Islam, but also with the respect the Muslims had traditionally shown toward the Virgin Mary as well as their repugnance at Christ's crucifixion.<sup>20</sup> In Pereda's opinion, the fact that Huberto Alemán—the Flemish craftsman commissioned to create these sculptures—was asked to design his figures in accordance with a specific iconography, proves that the policy of commissioning images was based on an attempt to find common ground between the Muslims' religious traditions and Christianity. This attempt, clearly demonstrated by Pereda, does not preclude the fact that Talavera also believed in the millenarian role of the Virgin and in the interpretation of the *Magnificat*, implying that 'in the end of the world all men will be Christian' 'as our Lady Virgin Mary prophesised in her very holy canticle *Magnificat*' ('al fin del mundo todos los hombres serán cristianos', 'como nuestra Señora la Virgan María profetizó en su muy santo cántico de *Magnificat*').<sup>21</sup>

The messianic impulse is very clearly articulated in the sermons of Martín García, a part of which was dedicated to presenting the Catholic monarch Ferdinand of Aragón as the conqueror of Jerusalem after he had conquered Granada.<sup>22</sup> Martín García also links the person of the Virgin with the imminent conversion of Iberian Muslims, preaching that, according to the Muslim sources, the fall of the Islamic sect should follow closely the fall of 'The Western Kingdom', again identified with Granada.<sup>23</sup> A similar messianic impulse is also seen in the writing of Martín de Figuerola, above all in his insistence on the need to impose, by official decree, the conversion of the Muslims so that there would be only one shepherd and only one flock. There was an urgency to such conversions to ensure that the 'Millennial Kingdom' headed by the Catholic Kings Ferdinand and his wife, Queen Isabel of Castile, would preclude, or at least forestall, the coming of the Apocalypse. The messianic propaganda launched by high churchmen in the entourage of the Catholic Kings is patently evident in the work of Martín García and his close associates working on the *Antialcoranes*.<sup>24</sup>

Talavera's campaign also included intense linguistic activity, whereby the people of Granada were taught Spanish while the clergy learned Arabic. To this end Talavera brought the printing press to the city, and he commissioned and had printed an Arabic-Spanish glossary and an Arabic catechism written in the Latin alphabet, i.e. in phonological transcription. Moreover, the recourse to serial portable images to accompany the use of printed materials in the process of evangelisation such as that of the Granadan Muslims was certainly unprecedented. In the context of the devotion to the Virgin that was invoked in order to facilitate the conversion of Muslims in the early sixteenth century, the earlier medieval Christian-Muslim disputations about the Virgin and her Son can be viewed in a different light.



In common with Talavera, Figuerola also employed images in his missionising, as is evident in his manuscript: the text is preceded by a series of illustrations designed to summarise and accompany each chapter of the *Lumbre*.<sup>25</sup> These rich illustrations, unpublished and not yet studied, consist of skilful sketches in which the Muslim Prophet is presented together with the Qur'anic exegets al-Zamakhsharī and Ibn °Atīyya, alongside the story that the chapter in question conveys. In case of chapter 47, partially quoted above, Muḥammad and his followers are sketched together with two angels, possibly announcing the birth of Christ. On the other side of the scene stands Joachim. Saint Anne is seated to his left, holding on her lap the Virgin Mary, who in turn, holds on her lap the Baby Jesus (see fig. 1). Suprisingly, this anachronistic and unnaturalistic image of Saint Anne, the Virgin, and Baby Jesus sitting pyramidally on the same seat was not uncommon in Christian devotional art of the Iberian Peninsula, especially in Granada. The composition, known as *Santa Ana Triple*, originated in Germany and was widely diffused in Spain and Italy, its epoch of splendor was the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. Although it became less frequent due to the decrees of the Council of Trent, it continued to be drawn and sculptured in seventeenth-century Spain and Latin America.<sup>26</sup> A study by José Antonio Peinado attests to the great popularity of *Santa Ana Triple* in seventeenth-century Granada, and shows that it was highlighting the Virgin's Immaculate Conception.<sup>27</sup> We have, in Figuerola, an example of how Qur'anic material could also be used to enhance the argument in favour of the Immaculate Conception of Mary.<sup>28</sup>



**Fig. 1** *Lumbre de fe*, fol. 26 (fragment).

Conversion was the highest Christian goal of the epoch and ingenious tools were devised in order to achieve it: images, philology, and rhetoric, all under the patronage of core Biblical personages whose importance could not be ignored by Muslims. This does not mean that forced conversion was not considered or seen as acceptable by many.<sup>29</sup> All the figures here mentioned were to some extent followers of the doctrine of Duns Scotus and his use of the parable in which Jesus forced passers by to come to the banquet: *compelle eos intrare* ('compel them to enter'). It was believed that once inside the fold of the Church, the converted Muslims could be evangelised and thus come to

accept the Christian faith in belief as well as in practice.<sup>30</sup> One aspect of this strategy and this ambitious and goal-oriented approach was the genre we have called *Antialcoranes*; polemical, anti Muslim treatises relying heavily on Muslim sources.<sup>31</sup>

### ***Antialcoranes: Their Strategy and Practical Purpose***

There was a logical presupposition behind using Qur'anic materials in the service of anti-Muslim preaching: to discuss the Qur'an and insist on its contradictions meant to focus on the fragments that, from the Christian point of view, seemed to diverge from the Bible and the Gospels. This would ultimately prove that the Bible was right and that the Qur'an, which urges its hearer to accept earlier revealed scriptures, would be proved wrong. In order to reinforce this seemingly irrefutable logic, the Qur'anic fragments in the *Antialcoranes* were accompanied by the Arabic text transcribed in the Latin alphabet (i.e., in inverse *aljamía*), Spanish translation, and commentary, with special attention paid to the auxiliary material necessary for the understanding and interpretation of the Qur'an, particularly Muslim authorities in *tafsīr* and *ḥadīth*.

This use of non-Christian scriptures and authoritative glosses as proofs of the truth of Christian belief has its origins in thirteenth-century engagement with Judaism by Iberian Dominicans. While the Dominican order showed a commitment to learning languages and reading non-Christian texts from soon after its foundation in the early thirteenth century, it was not until the famous Disputation of Barcelona in 1263 that the strategy of citing and appealing to such texts in favour of Christian arguments was first employed. This strategy was honed in the subsequent anti-Jewish polemics of Ramon Martí from 1278 (although his earlier anti-Muslim treatises only reflected a polemical handling of the Qur'an, especially his monumental *Pugio fidei*, 'Dagger of Faith'). While much of that text is dedicated to discussions of Talmudic and Rabbinical texts, Martí does cite a string of Qur'an and *ḥadīth* passages about Jesus and Mary—many of the same passages later cited by Juan Andrés and Martín de Figuerola—which he renders in both Arabic (written, curiously, in Hebrew characters) and Latin translation.<sup>32</sup> This strategy of engagement with non-Christian sources continued in polemics throughout the fourteenth century, such as the Hebrew anti-Jewish texts of Abner of Burgos (Alfonso of Valladolid). In addition, many of the Qur'anic passages given by Martí in the *Pugio fidei* appear again in the fourteenth century in Nicholas of Lyra's Biblical commentaries as well as in the *Disputatio Abutalib* of Dominican Alfonso Buenhombre.<sup>33</sup> In the fifteenth century, they appear again in the anti-Jewish arguments of Jerónimo de Santa Fe at the Disputation of Tortosa.<sup>34</sup> The *Antialcoranes* revived a traditional polemical strategy while recycling Qur'anic material that had been in circulation among Christian writers for two and a half centuries.

While Talavera sought to bridge a cultural gap through syncretistic iconography and worship practices, including the use of Arabic language and musical instruments in his

services, the earliest efforts to employ Islamic texts as proofs in evangelising Moriscos can be traced to the missionary efforts of Bishop Martín García. In his sermons to the Muslims, he always started by mentioning the suras involved and its text, their gloss and commentary according to Muslim authorities, followed by discussion and refutation leading to an appeal to conversion. Martín García was bishop of Daroca in Aragon, and was very close to the Catholic Kings (he first preached in front of Ferdinand and Isabella in Zaragoza in 1487), giving sermons at their request from 1500 onwards to the Arabophone Muslim population of recently conquered Granada.<sup>35</sup> The letter by the Catholic monarchs asking him to go to Granada suggests that he knew Arabic, but it is hard to gauge the extent of his language ability.<sup>36</sup> Between 1500 and 1517, he was asked to preach to the Muslims living in the Kingdom of Aragon, who were compelled to attend his sermons.<sup>37</sup> Martín García was, on the one hand, a good friend of Cardinal Cisneros, and can, therefore, be seen as allied with the more aggressive evangelising techniques that the Cardinal endorsed after replacing Hernando de Talavera as bishop in 1502. Cisneros was also a believer in millennial and providentialist prophecies. This he demonstrated with his participation in the conquest of Oran in North Africa, on the Southern way to Jerusalem, as Martín García indicated. On the other hand, García was, like Talavera before him, confessor of Queen Isabel I of Castile. Both men were deeply involved in the evangelisation and conversion of Muslims and developed comparable preaching strategies that linked philological with religious sensibilities. In this way, Martín García's sermons—and indeed, the entire *Antialcoranes* genre that developed in their wake—can be seen as the amalgamation of the two seemingly disparate approaches advocated by Talavera and Cisneros. García's sermons united rhetorical appeals based on an ecumenical attention to Arabic sources with a polemical attack premised on the illegitimacy and error of those very sources.

The common point of these two strategies in García's sermons is the quotation of the Qur'an in Arabic. We can imagine that, for Martín García, the desired effect of this would be to make it resonate in the ears of his audience, thus reinforcing the reception of catechetical discourse by putting it on par with the oral discourse of the Qur'an. Of course, the Qur'anic passages were accompanied by a phonological transcription in order to aid preachers and evangelisers in reading the text of the Qur'an aloud. A similar method had already been used during the Middle Ages in disputes with the Jews.<sup>38</sup> This strategy was adopted and reinforced by Martín García's followers, who had helped him in the Granadan preaching campaign. It also had a profound influence on Juan Andrés and Martín de Figuerola. Their works were constructed according to the same principles as the sermons of Martín García, by using direct dialogues that addressed Muslims, for instance 'próximo mío de Moro' ('Muslim neighbour, dear fellow'), as well as references to Muslim sources.

### Juan Andrés, Martín de Figuerola, and Juan Gabriel: One Preacher between Two Converts

Arguably the most influential *Antialcorán* was that of Juan Andrés (c. 854–921/ c. 1450—post 1515). What little we know about him is primarily based on the biographical extract that he included in the prologue to his work *Confusión o confutación de la secta Mahomética y del Alcorán* (1515),<sup>39</sup> although much research has been undertaken in order to gather more information on this influential author.<sup>40</sup> According to his autobiographical introduction, Juan Andrés was a convert from Islam to Christianity. Previous to his conversion in 1487, he claims he had been a religious leader (un *alfaquí*) in Xàtiva in Valencia. After changing faith, he says he became a Christian preacher in Valencia and Granada, possibly reaching the position of canon of the Cathedral of the latter city.<sup>41</sup> As he explains, he participated in the Christianisation of Granada in the 1490s under the supervision of then archbishop Hernando de Talavera. After 1500, Juan Andrés (according to the *Confusión*) was urged by Queen Isabel to leave the missionary duties in Granada in order to perform them in Aragon, following a trajectory similar to that of Martín García. It is, however, possible that this biographical account is partly fictional or embellished in order to bestow more authority on the author of the treatise. Regardless of its veracity, however, the conversion story was certainly effective as a rhetorical device and was bolstered by the author's obvious knowledge of Islamic sources of *tafsīr*, *ḥadīth*, and also of the repertoire of 'sacred histories' that circulated among the Moriscos. Whether the author was Juan Andrés, a real convert from Islam, or someone in the circle of Martín García who used the figure of Juan as a mouthpiece, the text displays a broad knowledge of Islam and of local Islamic communities. Thus, the text was soon recognised as an authoritative treatise and was printed and translated into many languages and became influential among Arabists and orientalisks elsewhere in Europe.<sup>42</sup> Juan Andrés and his *Antialcorán* were quoted and cited regularly well into the eighteenth century, and even on occasion in the nineteenth and twentieth.<sup>43</sup>

In his preface Juan Andrés records that in 1510 he had translated the entire Qur'an into the Romance (Aragonese) vernacular at the request of Martín García, and that the bishop had used this material in his sermons. He also says that he translated multiple volumes of *ḥadīth* ('siete libros de la çuna', 'seven books of Sunna').<sup>44</sup> It remains unclear how we should interpret this declaration, since no such translation has survived and such a translation of *ḥadīth* would suppose an immense volume of texts.<sup>45</sup> However, even if we doubt the existence of those translations, we cannot doubt the existence of Qur'anic renditions, or at least of parts of the Qur'an as preserved in the *Confusión*. It is obvious that Juan Andrés (or another Morisco of unknown identity) provided Martín García with translated passages of the Qur'an and that the latter incorporated quotations from *Confusión* into his sermons, as Ribera Florit demonstrated 50 years ago.<sup>46</sup> Even if Juan Andrés's translation has not survived, his treatise

does survive and is filled with scores of passages from the Qur'an. In fact, Juan Andrés' polemical book can be considered the earliest surviving repertoire of Qur'anic excerpts in a Romance language.<sup>47</sup>

Another *Antialcorán*, also extremely rich in Islamic sources, was penned by Fray Johan Martín Figuerola (born c. 862/c. 1457, d. sometime after 20 Dhū'l-Ḥijja 938/23 July 1532), a churchman who took over from the ageing Martín García in his task of preaching to the Muslims of Aragon. As in the case of Juan Andrés, the information about who Martín de Figuerola was is scant, and most of what we know is to be found in his own work, *Lumbre de fe*, where he alludes to his relation to Martín García and quotes Juan Andrés by name on several occasions.<sup>48</sup> Martín de Figuerola was from Valencia, a master in *sacra theologia*, who referred to himself as chaplain of the pope, probably because of his contact with Adriaan of Utrecht when, as a cardinal, he traveled to Zaragoza with the new king, Charles I. Nevertheless, on some occasions Figuerola also refers to himself as a simple priest (*beneficiatus*) in the cathedral church of Valencia.

Crucial from the perspective of this study is the fact that Figuerola must have met the Cardinal Egidio da Viterbo (874–938/1469–1532), papal *nuncio* (legate) in Spain to the king of Portugal and Castile, during his visit in 1518. Egidio left Rome for Spain on a mission to ask Emperor Charles V to join forces against the Turks.<sup>49</sup> During this trip, Egidio must have had an opportunity to meet not only Figuerola, but also his converted Morisco informant, Juan Gabriel from Teruel, whom he subsequently employed to aid in the production of a new Latin translation of the Qur'an. The zeal for philological knowledge that Egidio da Viterbo showed throughout his life could account, at least partially, for his desire to obtain a translation of the Qur'an. Moreover, the political situation in Europe, epitomised by the very objective of Egidio's mission, was by itself reason enough for his interest in Islam. Therefore, the network of connections presents itself as follows: Martín García was assisted by a convert named Juan Andrés;<sup>50</sup> and García's partner and subordinate, Martín de Figuerola, was helped by Juan Gabriel—another convert—who later provided Cardinal Egidio with his translation of the Qur'an. The textual evidence for this collaboration is contained in the works of all four figures: the Latin sermons of Martín García;<sup>51</sup> the *Lumbre de fe* by Martín de Figuerola; the *Confusión o confutación de la secta Mahoméctica* by Juan Andrés; and the Latin translation of the Qur'an, together with glosses, produced by Juan Gabriel.

In the case of Martín de Figuerola, we also possess a second text related to his evangelisation work. In addition to the *Lumbre*, his treaty against the Qur'an, he also authored a description of his personal preaching campaigns in Aragon in front of Muslim audiences, sometimes inside their mosques. During his preaching forays in the *morerías*, Figuerola was accompanied by Juan Gabriel, whom he calls *Maestro* (both 'teacher' and 'master'). Figuerola claims that he had learnt all the Arabic he knew from

Juan, who had provided his pupil with Arabic books and explanations of numerous Islamic concepts.<sup>52</sup> Apart from Juan Gabriel, Figuerola also had contact with and obtained information from the *alfaqih* of Cocentayna in Valencia, the locality where he took refuge during the troubles provoked by the rebels *Agermanados* in the city of Valencia. Evidently, Figuerola was also, like Juan Andrés, knowledgeable about local Islam. He was aggressive in his campaigns against Muslims, and passionately lobbied the noblemen of Aragon to convince the King that the forced conversion of Muslim should be decreed. He was, even more than Juan Andrés, a follower of Duns Scotus and also a millenarian convinced that anything should be done to reach the moment in which all humanity would be united under only one emperor and only one religious law.<sup>53</sup>

However little we know about Juan Andrés' and Figuerola's biographies, it is more than the virtually nothing we know about Juan Gabriel's. The only certain fact is that he was a native of Teruel, most likely the former *faqih* of that city, known before his conversion as Alí Alayzar.<sup>54</sup> Because he converted to Christianity at the beginning of the sixteenth century, he was probably forced to receive baptism in 1502 together with the other Mudejars in Teruel. He was then assimilated under the Castilian decree of forced conversion and not exempt like other regions of Aragon, which did not face the same fate until 1526.<sup>55</sup> Like Juan Andrés, Juan Gabriel, in the process of his conversion, changed his status from a Muslim *faqih* to a Christian. And like his older namesake, Juan Gabriel also then undertook to instruct a Catholic preacher on the tenets of Islam. Figuerola was not vague about his collaboration with Juan Gabriel: he explains how both of them would enter mosques together during Muslim festivities, and would sit on a bench and intimidate the praying *faqih*. Juan Gabriel would provide Figuerola with ardent topics for the subsequent discussion, so that when the prayers were over Figuerola would take great pleasure in intimidating the *faqih* and the faithful even further, 'disputing and confounding them' so that they would know that the celebration (of whichever feast was being held) was a bad deed. It would have been much more beneficial for Moriscos, Figuerola would argue, to celebrate Christian festivities and Christian prophets, especially Christ and Mary. These threatening disputes seem to be dramatisations of chapters of his *Antialcorán*, and Figuerola repeatedly stressed—both in the *Lumen* and in his accounts of oral debates—that he gathered information for the arguments from the Qur'an itself.<sup>56</sup>

It is clear that for the provision of Qur'anic material that could be used in polemical engagements, the figure of an intermediary who was both learned in Islam and willing to provide anti-Muslim argumentation was vital. Thus, when Juan Andrés claims that he had translated the entire Qur'an into the Romance we can see that he, like Juan Gabriel, tried to fill a lacuna in the available sources of disputational authority. Unlike Juan Andrés, by contrast, Juan Gabriel never wrote an anti-Qur'anic treatise of any sort. To date, the only known legacy attributed to Juan Gabriel are some interpretative glosses he left together with Egidio da Viterbo's Latin translation of the

Muslim holy book. Those glosses, moreover, are found in only one of the remaining manuscripts, scribbled on folios that are smaller than those that contain the actual translation.<sup>57</sup> They are organised in such a way that they make reference to the text of the sura by sura, aya by aya, an arrangement which somehow resembles the way Martín García and Figuerola reference their Qur'anic quotations. Unfortunately, we do not know if the preserved corpus of glosses includes all the material Juan Gabriel originally added to Egidio's Qur'an.

With this caveat in mind, we can evaluate those annotations that make reference to Mary and Jesus in the Qur'an. They include the following:

Mary: the Beginning of the Story of Imran (Q. 3:33); the Excellence of Mary (Q. 3:36); the Origins of Her Name (Q. 3:36); Being Visited by an Angel (Q. 3:36, Q. 3:37–39); being Freed from the Temptation of the Devil (Q. 3:36, Q. 38:83); the Sanctity of Mary (Q. 3:37–39); Mary in the Temple (Q. 3:44–45); the Venerability of Mary and Christ (Q. 3:55)

Jesus: the Names of Jesus (Q. 3:44–45, Q. 3:60); the Talking of Baby Jesus (Q. 3:46); the Childhood of Jesus (Q. 3:48–50); Controversy with the Christians (Q. 3:51, Q. 3:61); the Apostles (Q. 3:52); the Resurrection of Christ (Q. 3:55); the Punishment of Those Who Did Not Believe in Jesus (Q. 3:56); the Prophets Are Not to Be Worshipped (Q. 3:80); Christ Did Not Die on the Cross (Q. 4:157).

In contrast to the content of the *Antialcoranes*, annotations that are openly anti-Muslim are infrequent within these clusters of glosses. Although the annotations do acknowledge that Muslims deny the divinity of Christ, this claim is counterbalanced by numerous phrases referring to the venerability of Jesus. For instance:<sup>58</sup>

Ideoque, inquit glossator noster, quod Christus et Maria sunt tantae uenerationis apud Mauros ut cum de eis loquuntur, addunt semper titulos illos honoratos عليه السلام alii appellant eum, سيدنا id est 'dominus noster, super illum pax'. Et Mariam Virginem uocant سيدتنا 'Cesina', id est 'domina nos[tra]', et hoc modo مريم رضي الله عنها 'Mariene aradia allahu lanche'.

[And so our glossator says that Christ and Mary are worshipped by the Moors to such a degree that when they speak about them, they always add these honourable titles: عليه السلام [peace be upon him] they call him, سيدنا [our lord], which means 'our lord, peace be upon him'. And they call the Virgin Mary سيدتنا [our lady] 'Cesina', which is 'our lady', and like this: مريم رضي الله عنها [Mary, God bless her] 'Mariene aradia allahu lanche'.]

When we bear in mind that these notes were authored by a convert imbued with religious polemics, we can discern a certain conciliatory tone of this gloss that is not evident in the citations quoted at the beginning of this study. A similar example can be found in Juan Gabriel's gloss to Q. 3:36.<sup>59</sup>

Pro uersu 35: Dicunt quod quamuis mares sunt nobiliores faeminis, tamen Maria praecellebat omnibus uiris. Addit Abuna quod Anna uocauit filiam suam Mariam quod significat 'ueracem' [...], et quod fuit commendata Zachariae in templo, qui fuit pater Ioannis Baptistae, et quod numquam mater eam lactauerit sed angelus deferebat ei cibum e caelo. Praeterea Abnati ait quod Maria et filius eius particulari causa defensi fuerunt a diabolo et tentatione, et addit Machomad in sunna quod diabolus habet potestatem semel super omnes infantes praeterquam super Mariam et Iesu.

[Regarding the verse 35 [Q. 3:36]: They say that even though males are nobler than females, nevertheless Mary excelled all the men. Abuna [Ibn °Abbās?] adds that Anna called her daughter Mary [Maryam] which means 'veracious' [...] and that she had been entrusted to Zechariah's charge in the temple, who was the father of John the Baptist, and that never had her mother breastfed her, instead the angel would bring her down food from heaven. Moreover, Abnati [Ibn °Aṭīyya ?] says that Mary and her son had been protected from the devil and from the temptation for a special reason, and Muḥammad adds in the Sunna that the devil has his power once over all the infants with the exception of Mary and Jesus.<sup>60</sup>]

Thus, we can see that although the information conveyed in the glosses may be the same as that which one would find in Juan Andrés' and Figuerola's treatises, in Egidio's corpus it is deprived of polemical value and stated in a purely informative tone. It is almost as if the emphasis of these glosses were on exploring the points of convergence between Christianity and Islam, but not from the perspective of error or the urge to convert.

Juan Gabriel seems interested in advocating for Islam by blurring the boundaries between Christianity and his former religion, devoting much of his attention to how the iconic figures of Christianity are given relevance in the Qur'an. It might be because the informal character of Juan Gabriel's glosses gave the author an advantage that Juan Andrés did not have. Although it cannot be argued that Juan Gabriel could speak his mind freely while glossing the Qur'an, he certainly was not forced to present his material in a polemical vein. We might venture a hypothesis that what Juan Gabriel was struggling to achieve in the glosses was in a certain sense directly opposed to the



polemical material he was working on with Figuerola. When the convert was collaborating with the Spanish preacher, he was providing Islamic exegetical material to be used in a polemical anti-Muslim context; here he uses the same quotations but in a relatively pro-Muslim light. It seems that by blurring the boundaries between Christianity and Islam, Juan Gabriel attempted to demonstrate that the Biblical personages venerated by his Catholic patrons were also held in high esteem by Muslims.<sup>61</sup> On the other hand, however, the themes of the glosses coincide very closely with the subjects chosen by Martín García, Figuerola, and Juan Andrés in their anti-Muslim discourse. Moreover, the wording of these four authors, which is at times identical (see, for example, exegetical quotations regarding the protection of Mary and Christ from the devil, or the veneration of Mary and Christ by Muslims), suggests the possibility of collaboration between them in the preparation of their respective texts and may point to the exchange of translations of the Qur'an as well.<sup>62</sup>

### **Repeated Quotations in Different Contexts: Mary throughout the *Antialcoranes***

As far as the *Antialcoranes* are concerned, the samples presented above, which focus on the veneration and sanctity of Mary and, consequently, on the special place of her son in the Qur'an, are meant to reinforce the message stated by Martín García in one of his sermons: namely, that the Moors already venerate Jesus and the Virgin Mary, and thus, converting to Christianity would be a natural consequence of these beliefs.<sup>63</sup>

Igitur, ismaelite, proximi mei, postquam cognoscitis Ihesum, filium uirginis Marie, per sanctissimo propheta, et cum magna reuerentia in scriptis uestris illum notatis dicendo: çahidine Yce, quod significat 'Dominus noster, Iesus'; aleyiççalem quod sonat 'gaudetur ipse', et similem matrem suam, uirginem, cum magna reuerentia notatis dicendo: çetina Marien, quod sonat 'domina nostra Maria sit benedicta'. Igitur uos, ismaelite, mediante ista uirgine conuertimini ad Christum, uerum pastorem, et hic inuenietis gratiam et in futuro gloriam quam nobis concedat etcetera. Amen.

[You, Ishmaelites, my neighbours, now that you acknowledge Jesus, son of the Virgin Mary, as the most sacred Prophet and with great reverence you call him in your writing saying 'çahidine Yce', which means 'Jesus, our Lord', 'aleyiççalem', which means 'Praise be to him'; and equally you most reverently call his mother the Virgin saying: 'çetina Marien' which translates: 'Praise be to Mary, our lady', therefore, you, Ishmaelites, through this Virgin convert yourselves to Christ, the true Shepherd; and here you will find grace and in the future glory which will be granted to us. Amen.]

Many of the same quotations presented in Martín García's sermons and the polemics of Juan Andrés and Martín de Figuerola were repeated without change in *Antialcoranes* written over subsequent decades. In the 1532 *Antialcorano* of Bernardo Pérez de Chinchón, for example, we read in sermon eleven, 'En el capítulo amrran dizen los ángeles a María assí: [blank space for missing Arabic quotation] que quiere dezir: o María dios te ha aventajado y purificado más que a todas las mugeres'. ('In the chapter *Amran* the angels say to Mary [blank] which means, "Oh Mary, God has exalted and purified you more than all women"').<sup>64</sup> Similarly, in the 1555 *Confutación del alcorán y secta mahometana* by Lope de Obregón, we find the same verse extended further. After giving the Arabic text of Q. 3:42 in transliteration, Obregón translates the text thus: 'Los angeles dixeron a santa Maria, "O maria dios te ensalço y te escogio, y te alimpio, e hizo mas perfeta que a todas las mugeres", y el testo dize que santa Maria pario a Iesu Christo quedandose ella sienpre virgen'. ('The angels said to holy Mary, "Oh Mary, God exalted you and chose you and purified you, and made you more perfect than all women", and the text says that Holy Mary gave birth to Jesus Christ remaining ever a virgin').<sup>65</sup> While limitations of space preclude an extended discussion of these citations by later authors, the addition of further examples is unnecessary for the basic conclusion that such authors drew their ideas and sources about Mary and Jesus in Islamic tradition entirely from earlier texts in the *Antialcoranes* genre, especially those of Martín García and Juan Andrés.<sup>66</sup>

## Conclusion

The Qur'anic material employed by the *Antialcoranes* here examined seems to be used in a similar way to how Figuerola inserts the Christian quotations in his text. The quotes are organised according to themes and appear in bulk, one followed by another; they seem to be taken from a popular compendium—comparable with Christian florilegia—rather than directly from the Qur'an. Excerpts of the Qur'an in Arabic with the translation and commentary must have circulated among the Morisco informants, stemming possibly from a common archetype, and were adjusted and quoted freely by the Catholic preachers. The material relating to Jesus and Mary was particularly attractive. It was presented in a two-fold manner, indicating, on the one hand, the many points of concordance between the two sacred scriptures, Muslim and Christian, while, on the other, highlighting the exceptional character of Mary's maternity. This double focus allows each writer to employ Qur'anic material in order to argue in favour of the divinity of Jesus, while also stressing the strong militant overtones conveyed by the figure of the Virgin. The constant reference to verses about Mary and Jesus went hand in hand with the strategy of appealing to a Morisco sense of textual authority by citing texts in the original Arabic through direct transcription (in Martín de Figuerola's case) and transliteration into Latin characters (in all the authors studied). The discussion of Mary and Jesus thus served authors as a strategic tool for bridging the gap between the

cultivation of textual authority in authentic Qur'anic material and the need for Christian themes and arguments that helped preachers in missionising the Morisco population.

While the enforcement of the prohibition of Arabic language and text across the peninsula in 1567 effectively ended the growth of the *Antialcoranes* genre and altered the strategies for evangelising Moriscos in the later sixteenth century, the material organised and employed in the *Antialcoranes* provided a basis for subsequent discussions of and attacks on Islam outside the peninsula. Similar arguments can be found repeated in later authors such as Tirso González de Santalla, Manuel Sanz, and Luodovico Marracci in the seventeenth century, and Manuel de Santo Tomás de Aquino Traggia in the eighteenth. The abundant Arabic material found in the *Antialcoranes* literature deserves to be studied not only in the context of the history of polemical writing against Muslims, but also as an important source for studying the translation of the Qur'an in the early modern period.

## Appendix: Correspondences between Qur'anic Fragments Regarding Mary and Jesus in Juan Andrés's *Confusión o confutación de la secta mahomética y del Alcorán* and Juan Gabriel's Latin Translation of the Qur'an commissioned by Egidio da Viterbo

Q. 3:35–36	<p>De la concepción de Nuestra Señora la Virgen María dize, <b>capítulo segundo, libro primero</b>, el qual se llama 'capítulo de la generación de Joachim, padre de Nuestra Señora' donde dize ...: <b>'Quando dixo Ana, muger de Joachim</b>, siendo preñada de Nuestra Señora: "O mi Criador, <b>yo te ofrezco liberalmente y para tu servicio lo que tengo en mi vientre. Pues óygame, Señor, ca tú eres oyedor sabidor"</b>, y de que parió y nació fembra, el qual nacimiento fue santo. Llamola María y rogó a Dios que ella y su Fijo fuessen muy apartados y defendados de la temptación del diablo'.<sup>67</sup></p>	<p>DE ANNA MATRE MARIAE 3:35 <b>Quando dixit uxor Ioachim:</b> <b>'Ego offero tibi quod habeo in uentre meo pro tuo seruitio; igitur exaudi me, quoniam tu es auditor et sciens'</b>.</p>
Q. 3:37 Q. 3:42	<p>Sobre este dicho dizen los glosadores del <i>Alcorán</i> que solamente Jesuchristo y su madre sancta María fueron exemtos de la temptación del diablo, y así concluyen que la Virgen María fue concebida <i>sine peccato originali</i>. En el mesmo capítulo dize cómo la Virgen María entró en el servicio de Dios en el templo siendo ella niña, y que fizo allí vida muy santa, y que Zacharías, padre de sant Juan Bautista, la tuvo en su guarda y cómo fue</p>	<p>MARIAE NATIVITAS 3:36 Et postquam peperit, dixit: 'O domine! Ego peperit et est mulier'. MARIAE NOMEN IMPOSITIO quam ego nominavi Mariam. Sic et ego defendo eam in te et in suo filio a Diabolo maleuolo'. <b>SANCTA NATIVITAS EIVS</b> pro tuo seruitio <i>add. liberum s.l. M</i></p> <p>3:37 Et exaudiuit eam Deus cum receptatione sancta et fecit eam nasci natiuitate sanctissima quam nutriuit Zacharias. MARIA NVTRITA CIBO E CAELIS Et quando ingressus est Zacharias oratorium eius, inuenit eam facientem nutrimentum. Dixit: 'O Maria, unde uenit tibi hoc?' Dixit illa: 'Hoc est a Deo'. Et Deus nutrit quem uult sine numero. ANGELI ALLOQVVNTVR MARIAM</p>

	<p>mantenida de viandas celestiales y cómo fablaban los ángeles con ella y comunicaban ...: ‘O María, <b>Dios te escogió y te alimpió y te exalzó sobre todas las mugeres de todas las generaciones</b>’.<sup>68</sup></p>	<p>3:42 Et quando dixerunt angeli Mariae: ‘<b>Deus exaltauit te, et mundauit te, et elegit te super omnes mulieres generationum.</b></p>
<p>Q. 3:37 Q. 3:42</p>	<p>Y dize en el mesmo capítulo [<b>capítulo segundo, libro primero</b>] cómo cayeron las suertes sobre Zacharías, y que Zacharías tomó la Virgen María encomendada. Así mesmo dize en el mesmo capítulo cómo esta María fablaba con los ángeles y comunicava con ellos. La qual María fue mantenida de viandas celestiales ...: ‘Cómo dixieron los ángeles a María: <b>O María, ciertamente Dios te escogió y te alimpió y te exalzó sobre todas las mugeres de todas las generaciones</b>’. Y dize cómo <b>entró Zacharías un día en el oratorio</b>, y falló a María comiendo veanda que no avía dado él a María y díxole Zacharías: ‘O María, <b>¿de dónde</b> oviste esta comida teniendo yo las llaves de tu oratorio?’<sup>69</sup></p>	<p>[<b>Azoara 2ª liber 1<sup>us</sup></b>] 3:42 Et quando dixerunt angeli Mariae: ‘<b>Deus exaltauit te, et mundauit te, et elegit te super omnes mulieres generationum.</b></p> <p>3:37 Et quando <b>ingressus est Zacharias oratorium eius</b>, inuenit eam facientem nutrimentum. Dixit: ‘O Maria, <b>unde</b> uenit tibi hoc?’ Dixit illa: ‘Hoc est a Deo’. Et Deus nutrit quem uult sine numero.</p>
<p>Q. 3:42–43</p>	<p>Esta mesma María fue a quien vino el ángel Gabriel según lo dize en el mesmo capítulo suso allegado [<b>capítulo segundo, libro primero</b>], el qual capítulo se llama en arávido <i>çurate ale hembram</i>, que quiere dezir ‘capítulo de la generación de <b>Juachim</b>, padre de Nuestra Señora’. Esto pongo yo aquí por más declaración que esta mesma María fue a quien vino el <b>ángel</b> Gabriel con la salutación <b>diziendo</b>: <i>Ave María gratia plena, Dominus tecum</i>. La qual concebió a Jesucristo del Espíritu Sancto, la qual salutación dize en arávido ... que quiere dezir la mesma Ave María.<sup>70</sup></p>	<p>[<b>2ª Imrana seu Azoara 2ª liber 1<sup>us</sup></b>] Caput de <b>Ioachim</b> ...</p> <p>Ioachim <i>add. Hemran s.l. M</i></p> <p>ANGELI ALLOQVVNTVR MARIAM 3:42 Et quando dixerunt angeli Mariae: ‘Deus exaltauit te, et mundauit te, et elegit te super omnes mulieres generationum.</p> <p>3:43 O Maria, sis deuota creatori tuo, et prostra te et humilia cum iis, qui se humiliant!’</p> <p>O Maria <i>add. dixit angelus s.l. C</i></p>

Q. 3:45–46	<p>Avéys de saber cómo el <i>Alcorán</i> pone tres excellencias a Jesuchristo, Nuestro Señor, que no las pone a ningún propheta, ni a Moysés, ni Abraham, ni a David, ni a Mahoma. La primera es que dize l'<i>Alcorán</i> y lo pone <b>capítulo segundo, libro primero</b>, cómo Jesucristo puyó en el cielo en cuerpo y en ánima. Y dize la <i>Suna</i> sobre esto que Jesucristo ha de venir en este mundo a juzgar así como juez verdadero, ... que descenderá Jesucristo a la tierra y levantará en ella juez verdadero. La segunda excellencia que pone Alcorán de Jesucristo es que lo llama <i>qualimetil allah</i>, que quiere dezir '<b>palabra de Dios</b>'.<sup>71</sup></p>	<p>[Azoara 2<sup>a</sup> liber 1<sup>us</sup>]  PROMITTITVR MESSIAS,  FILIVS MARIAE 3:45 Et quando dixerunt angeli: 'O Maria! Deus annunciat tibi <b>uerbum suum</b>, et <b>nomen</b> eius est messias Iesus, filius Mariae, in hoc mundo ualde honoratus et in alio saeculo erit unus ex magis principalibus, VIRTUTES MESSIAE 3:46 et loquetur ad homines in pueritia, et erit perfectus, eritque ex sanctis'.  <b>nomen add. uerbi s.l. C •</b>  principalibus <i>add.</i> apud Deum <i>s.l. C</i></p>
Q. 3:45–47	<p>Y luego después faze mención cómo fue saludada del ángel Grabiél, y cómo dixo el ángel y le anunció el misterio de la Encarnación y cómo respondió ella al ángel y cómo consintió y quedó preñada. En las quales paraulas está l'<i>Ave María</i> y todo lo que dize en el sagrado <i>Evangelio verbo ad verbum</i> ... quiere dezir la salutación y todo lo que en el <i>Evangelio</i> puso sant Lucas <i>verbo ad verbum</i> en todo el misterio de la Encarnación.<sup>72</sup></p>	<p>PROMITTITVR MESSIAS,  FILIVS MARIAE 3:45 Et quando dixerunt angeli: 'O Maria! Deus annunciat tibi uerbum suum, et nomen eius est messias Iesus, filius Mariae, in hoc mundo ualde honoratus et in alio saeculo erit unus ex magis principalibus, VIRTUTES MESSIAE 3:46 et loquetur ad homines in pueritia, et erit perfectus, eritque ex sanctis'. DVBITAT MARIA 3:47 Dixit: 'O creator mi! Quomodo erit ut uirgo habeam filium? Non enim tetigit me aliquis uir'. Dixit: 'Sic, creabit Deus quem uoluerit. Et quando ille discernit aliquam rem, dicet: 'Fias ita!' Et statim facta est'.</p>
<p>Q. 3:49  Q. 5:110  Q. 5:116</p>	<p>Digo esto porque parezca que los moros tienen a Jesuchristo en grande reputación, más que a ningún santo ni propheta del mundo; del qual faze testigo el <i>Alcorán</i>, <b>capítulo segundo y capítulo cuarto, libro primero</b>, cómo <b>Jesuchristo sabía los secretos de los coraçones de los</b></p>	<p>[Azoara 2<sup>a</sup> liber 1<sup>us</sup>] MISSIO AD IVDAEOS 3:49 Et erit nuncius filii Israel, dicens eis: 'Ego ueni uobis cum miraculo uestri creatoris; et ego creabo uos ex luto, sicut aues, MIRACVLA in quo ego sufflabo et erit auis cum uoluntate Dei; et <b>sanabo leprosos, et infectos infirmitate Lazari, et caecos; et</b></p>

**hombres y cómo resucitava muertos y sanaba de enfermedades curables y cómo hacía ver a los ciegos y hablar a los mudos.**<sup>73</sup>

Q. 4:171

Así mismo digo a ti, moro, que mires fasta aquí y de qué actos y fechos está lleno el Alcorán y la Çuna y faz comparación de qué actos y dichos están llenos los Evangelios de Jesucristo, Nuestro Señor, y verás cómo concordan sus dichos y actos de Jesucristo con su dignidad y a sus santos nombres, el qual fue llamado en el Alcorán: ... 'Jesucristo Mexías y Palabra de Dios y Espíritu Santo de Dios', de los cuales tres nombres no uvo hombre en el mundo que fuesse digno sino Él, porque son nombres divinos y según sus nombres y su dignidad de Jesucristo fue su vida y sus dichos y actos y consejos.<sup>74</sup>

Q. 4:171

La tercera es que se llama en el Alcorán Espíritu Santo de Dios, de los cuales dos nombres no ay ni uvo ninguno ser digne, pues provando Jesucristo ser palabra de Dios y Espíritu Sancto de Dios, es provado que Jesucristo es fijo de Dios y Dios verdadero. Esto parece en el Alcorán, capítulo tercero, libro primero ...: 'No es otra cosa el Mexías Jesuchristo, fijo de María, sino palabra de Dios embiada a María y Espíritu de aquel Dios y mensagero de Dios', en las cuales palabras porás saber

**resuscitabo mortuos cum uoluntate Dei**

[Azoara 4<sup>a</sup> liber 1<sup>us</sup>] SEQUENTIA SVNT DE CHRISTO IVCVNDA 5:110 ... **et sanabas caecos et leprosos cum uoluntate mea, et suscitabas mortuos cum uoluntate mea.** 5:116 ... IVCVNDA DE CHRISTO DEITATO tu scis, quod est in me, et ego nescio, quod est in te, **quia tu scis omnia secreta.**

**MESSIAS VERBUM DEI** كلمة **SED NON RECTE INTELLEXIT ILLVD. IMPIE LOQVITVR CONTRA TRINITATEM O uos qui habuistis scripturam! Nolite contradicere legi uestrae et ne dicatis nisi ueritatem, quia messias Iesus filius Mariae est nuncius Dei et uerbum eius, quod misit et posuit in Maria, et spiritum eius messias add. Christus s.l. C • eius add. Dei s.l. C**

[Azoara 3a liber 1us] **MESSIAS VERBUM DEI** كلمة **SED NON RECTE INTELLEXIT ILLVD IMPIE LOQVITVR CONTRA TRINITATEM 4:171 O uos qui habuistis scripturam! Nolite contradicere legi uestrae et ne dicatis nisi ueritatem, quia messias Iesus filius Mariae est nuncius Dei et uerbum eius, quod misit et posuit in Maria, et spiritum eius; igitur credite in Deum et in nuncios eius, et non dicatis quod sunt tres et separatae, est melius uobis; et quod Deus**

	<p>tú, moro, cómo declaró que Jesuchristo es Dios y hombre.<sup>75</sup></p>	<p><b>unus, solus Deus laudabilis sit ille, quod ille habuisset filium, qui habet omnia quae sunt in caelis et in terra? Et sufficit Deum esse procuratorem.</b></p> <p><b>CHRISTVS IESVS 5:46 Et misimus post eos Iesum, filium Mariae, uerum cum quod habet in manibus de lege, EVANGELIVM cui dedimus Euangelia, quae sunt uia et lux et ueritas legis, et uia et admonitio iustis. 5:47 Et iudicant, qui habent Euangelia cum eo, quod Deus detulit in illis, et qui non iudicauerunt cum eo, quod Deus detulit, illi sunt peruersi.</b></p> <p>uestigia add. sanitas s.l.</p>
<p>Q. 5:46–47 [Q. 2:87, 89, 97, 121, 176, Q. 3:3, 48, 53, Q. 5:43, 66, 68, 110 etc.]</p>	<p>En el cuarto capítulo, libro primero, ... quiere dezir: 'Nos, Dios, avemos dado los Evangelios a Jesuchristo, camino y luz y salud para los hombres y los que no sometrán a lo que Dios descendió, aquéllos serán dannados'. En muchas otras partes dize el Alcorán y afirma que la Torá de Moysés y los Evangelios de Jesuchristo son venidos de Dios [Q. 5:43, Q. 5:66, Q. 5:68], ley y camino y salud y luz de los hombres. Y así digo fasta aquí que tengo provado cómo la ley de Jesuchristo es provada por buena y por santa en el Alcorán [5:110].<sup>76</sup></p>	<p><b>[Azoara 1a liber 3us] 19:23 Et uenit ei partus apud truncum palmae. Dixit: 'Iam essem mortua ante hoc, quod iam essem in obliuione oblita'. 19:24 Et uocauit eam sub ea: 'Non habeas tristitiam quod posuit dominus tuus sub te fortem. 19:25 Et decussit tibi truncum palmae, cadent super te dactyli recentes et propinqui.</b></p>
<p>Q. 19:23–25</p>	<p>Deste glorioso nascimiento dize capítulo primero, libro tercero ... que quiere dezir que quando la Virgen María quiso parir estava al pie de un tronco de palmera. Dizen los glosadores que este tronco avía trescientos años que estava seco. Dize y prosigue el capítulo que aquella hora dixo Jesuchristo, ya nascido, a su madre que sagodiese el tronco, que luego caerían dátiles buenos y maduros. Y así fizo y sagodió y enverdeció el tronco y cayeron dátiles buenos y maduros.<sup>77</sup></p>	<p><b>[Azoara 1a liber 3us] 19:27 Et uenit cum eo et obuiauit gentem suam ferendo eum. Dixerunt: 'O Maria! Quomodo fecisti rem feram? 19:28 O soror Aaron!'</b></p>
	<p>Q. 19:27–28</p>	
	<p>El tercer argomiento es lo que dize libro tercero, capítulo primero, donde dize que la Virgen María, Madre de Jesuchristo, fue hermana de Harón y de Moysés ...: 'O María, o hermana de Aarón'.<sup>78</sup></p>	



## NOTES

1 The research for this article received funding from the European Research Council under the European Union's Seventh Framework Programme [(FP7/2007–2013) / ERC Grant Agreement # 323316], for the project CORPI: 'Conversion, Overlapping Religiosities, Polemics, Interaction. Early Modern Iberia and Beyond'; Szpiech received further support from the Spanish Ministry of Economy: 'Proyecto excelencia I+D convocatoria 2015' (ID#: FFI2015–63659-C2–1-P (MINECO/FEDER)] for participation in the project 'Fuentes medievales y modernas para el estudio de las relaciones transculturales en el Mediterráneo: redacción y transmisión'.

2 On such materials, see López–Morillas, *El Corán de Toledo*; López–Morillas, 'The Genealogy of Spanish Qur'an'; Martínez de Castilla Muñoz, 'The Copyists and their Texts'; Martínez de Castilla Muñoz, 'Qur'anic Manuscripts from Late Muslim Spain'.

3 García-Arenal and Starczewska, "'The Law of Abraham the Catholic'".

4 Starczewska, *Latin Translation*.

5 Andrés, *Confusión*, fols 75v–76r, p. 210.

6 Martín de Figuerola, *Lumbre de fe*, fols 299–308: 'Capitulo quarenta y siete delo que dize el Alcoran de nuestra señora Santa María'.

7 Martín de Figuerola, *Lumbre de fe*, fols 119v–120v.

8 Aquinas, *Summa*, I–II, q.109, a.1, ad 1, in *Opera omnia*, vol. 7, p. 289. Thomas Aquinas gives this dictum ('omne verum, a quocumque dicatur, a Spiritu Sancto est') some eighteen times in his work, attributing it to Ambrose of Milan, but it in truth derived from a very similar statement ('quidquid enim verum a quocumque dicitur a Sancto dicitur Spiritu'), made not by Ambrose but by his anonymous contemporary known now as Ambrosiaster. See O'Collins, *The Second*, p. 172 n. 8.

9 This passage is from the *Tractatus de conceptione Sanctae Mariae*, by Eadmer of Canterbury (d. after 1128), friend and biographer of Anselm of Canterbury. As Elizabeth Reinhardt notes, this work was mistakenly attributed to Anselm (and, as here, was often confused with his *De conceptu virginali et de originali peccato*) until the critical edition of the former text was printed in 1904 (Reinhardt, 'La mariología', p. 138). Eadmer's text reads, 'Nichil enim, domina, tibi aequale, nichil comparabile. Omne enim quod est, aut supra te est, aut infra te. Quod supra te est, solus deus est; quod infra te est, est omne quod deus non est' ('Lady, none are equal to you, nothing is comparable to you. All that is, is either above you or below you; what is above you is only God; what is below you is all that is not God'). See the critical edition, Eadmeri, *Tractatus*, p. 17; and cf. Migne, *Patrologia latina*, vol. 159, p. 307B.

10 See especially Daniel, *Islam and the West*, pp. 190–200; Burman, *Religious Polemic*, *passim*.

11 Daniel, *Islam and the West*, pp. 197, 304.

12 On the scarce discussion of Mary's virginity post-partum in Islamic commentary, see Stowasser, *Women*, p. 163 n. 105. For a general study of Mary in Islamic scriptures and commentary, see Smith and Haddad, 'The Virgin Mary'.

13 For example, *Ṣaḥīḥ al-Bukhārī*, 'Kitāb aḥādīth al-anbiyā', 42, among others.

14 Mossman, 'The Western Understanding of Islamic Theology'.

15 Burns, 'Christian-Islamic Confrontation in the West'.

16 García-Arenal. 'Los moros en las *Cantigas* de Alfonso X el Sabio'.

17 Cuffel, "'Henceforth All Generations Will call me Blessed'".

18 Remensnyder, *La Conquistadora*, ch. 6, 'Mother of Conversion'.

19 García-Arenal, 'Granada as a New Jerusalem'.

20 Pereda, *Las imágenes de la discordia*.

21 Hernando de Talavera, *Católica impugnación*, p. 173.

22 Cirac, *Los sermones de Don Martín García*, pp. 61, 73 and ff. Manuel Montoza Coca has recently prepared a critical edition of the Latin sermons of Martín García as his PhD project. See Montoza Coca, 'Los Sermones'.

23 Sermon 45 : 'Confitetur matris uirginis excellentias preter hoc quod sit mater Dei. Et sic cum sit circa uiam Christi debet predicator ad hoc laborare ut reducat ad uiam et Christi ouile, quia secta ista in breui debet finire. Nam dicit Albumazar in libro Magnarum Coniunctionum, differentia septima, quod tempus durationis secte Machometice erat octingenti septuaginta quinque annorum. Et sicut ego accipi a sapientibus illius secte, illa non debebat durare milia annis et hoc dicunt habere ab ipso Machometo. Et dixerunt mihi aliqui ex doctis ismahelitis quod secundum legem suam ex declaratione suorum doctorum quod perditio sue secte debebat incipere in perditione regni occidentalis, quod uocatur Arabice, sed nostris litteris Granata. Hoc est ciuitas Granate, que fuit capta et recuperata a christianis per serenissimum regem Ferdinandum anno domini mille quadringenti nonaginta uno. Secta autem machometica inceperit per Machometum anno Christi sescenti sedecim. Et sic, si secundum Albumazar erat duratura per annos octingentos septuaginta quinque, additis his annis sescentis sedecim, faciunt omnes collecti in summa annos mille quadringentos nonaginta uno, quo anno fuit perdita a mauris ciuitas Granate'. See Martinus Garsie, *Sermones*, cxxiir, and Montoza Coca, 'Los Sermones', p. 378, which includes a full edition and study. Cirac provides a Spanish translation of this passage: 'Confiesa las excelencias de la Virgen María, porque es Madre de Dios, y así, como está junto al camino de Cristo, debe el predicator trabajar en llevarle al camino y al redil de Cristo. Porque esta secta en breve debe acabar: pues dice Albumazar en el *Libro de las grandes Coniunciones*, diferencia séptima: "que el tiempo de la duración de la secta mahometana era de 875 años". Y como yo oí de los sabios de aquella secta, no debía durar mil años; y esto dicen las historias del propio Mahoma. Y dijéronme algunos de los doctos moros que, según la ley, por las declaraciones de sus doctores, la perdición de su secta debía empezar por la perdición del reino de Occidente, como se llama en árabe, mas en nuestra lengua se dice reino de Granada, esto es, la ciudad de Granada, que fué tomada y recuperada por los cristianos por medio del serenísimo rey Fernando en el año del señor 1491. Mas la secta mahometana empezó por Mahoma en el año de Cristo 616, y así, si según Albumazar había de durar 875 años, añadidos a esos 616 hacen todos en total 1491, año en el cual fué perdida por los moros la ciudad de Granada' (Cirac, *Los sermones de Don Martín García*, pp. 20–21).

24 The term derives from the title of Bernardo Pérez de Chinchón's 1532 treatise, *Antialcorano*, and was employed in modern scholarship to denote the whole subgenre by de Bunes Ibarra, 'El enfrentamiento' and *La imagen de los musulmanes*.

25 We are grateful to Stefania Pastore for her enlightening comments regarding these images.

26 See *Base de datos digital de Iconografía Medieval* (Historia del Arte I (Medieval) de la Universidad Complutense de Madrid) at <https://www.ucm.es/bdiconografiamedieval/santana-triple> [last consulted December 5, 2017]. We would like to thank María del Rosario Cornejo for identifying this image and providing us with the bibliography.

27 Guzmán, 'La iconografía de Santa Ana Triple'.

28 Mossman, 'The Western Understanding of Islamic Theology'.

29 Poutrin, *Convertir les musulmans*, pp. 11–48.

30 On this, see García-Arenal, 'The Double Polemic', and Kimmel, *Parables of Coercion*, pp. 23–24.

31 Szpiech, García-Arenal, and Starczewska, 'Deleytaste del dulce sono'.

32 On this material, including an edition and translation of Martí's citations, see Szpiech, 'Citas árabes'.

33 Szpiech, 'Rhetorical Muslims', pp. 170–173; Biosca i Bas, 'The Anti-Muslim Discourse', pp. 91–92.

34 Szpiech, 'Citas árabes', p. 85, and Szpiech, 'Rhetorical Muslims', pp. 173–175.

35 On García, see Ribera Florit, 'La polémica cristiano-musulmana'; Soto and Starczweska, 'Authority, Philology and Conversion'; de Bunes Ibarra, 'Martín García'; Cirac, 'Los Sermones de Don Martín García'; and Montoza Coca, 'Edición, traducción y comentario'.

36 Letter dated 4 April 1500: 'Maestre Martín García, ya sabeys como todos los Moros de la ciudad de Granada se convirtieron a nuestra santa fe católica; porque muy pocos dellos saben entender hablar sino arábigo y por no haver personas de iglesia que sepan el arábigo, no pueden los dichos convertidos ser instruidos en las cosas de nuestra fe, y ay mucha necesidad especialmente agora en los comienzos que no hay en aquella ciudad personas de iglesia que sepan arábigo para instruir los dichos nuevamente convertidos. Y porque sabemos que vos sabeys arábigo y que con vuestras letras y predicación y buen ejemplo podréis mucho aprovecharles, por ende nos vos rogamos y encargamos ... queráis disponeros a venir a estar algún tiempo a la dicha ciudad ...' ('Master Martín García, you already know how all the Moors of the city of Granada converted to our holy Catholic faith. Because few of them know how to speak anything except Arabic, and because there are no people in the church who know Arabic, the said converts cannot be instructed in matters of our faith, and there is a great need, especially now as things are starting out that there are not any people of the Church who know Arabic in order to instruct the said new converts. Since we know that you know Arabic and that with your learning and preaching and good example you can benefit them a lot, we entreat you and charge you ... that you should desire to make yourselves available to come to the city for some time'.) (Text in Echevarría, *The Fortress of Faith*, p. 68; translation by the present authors). At the same time, however, Juan Andrés suggests that he undertook to translate the Qur'an 'con sus glosas y los siete libro dela çuna' in order to facilitate García's access to them, implying that his abilities in Arabic were limited and not sufficient to read and interpret Islamic sources on his own: 'Movido también a esto por mandado del muy reverendo señor maestre Martín García obispo de Barcelona et inquisidor de Aragón, mi patrón y mi 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 mio con dificultad podiera hazer' (Andrés, *Confusión*, fol. 3v, p. 91).

37 Montoza Coca, 'Edición, traducción y comentario', pp. 9–10.

38 Szpiech, 'The Aura of an Alphabet', pp. 347–348, and Szpiech, 'Translation', p. 182. See also Sainz de la Maza, 'Aljamías inversas'. Szpiech, García-Arenal, and Starczewska have recently considered the role of sound and aurality in Juan Andrés's polemic. See their '*Deleytaste del dulce sono*', pp. 25–27.

39 Juan Andrés, *Confusión*, pp. 89–93.

40 Szpiech, 'Preaching Paul to the Moriscos'; Szpiech, 'A Witness of Their Own Nation'; Wieggers, 'Moriscos and Arabic Studies in Europe'; Zuwiyya, 'Juan Andrés'; Starczewska, '*No es esto sino hystorias de los antiguos*'; Bobzin, 'Bemerkungen'; El-Kolli, 'La polémique islamo-chrétienne en Espagne'. See also Larson, 'A Study', for a linguistic analysis. Mònica Colominas Aparicio has recently pointed to an archival document referenced by Eulalia Duran in which Alfonso de Jaén, in March 1489, purchases silk from 'Johannem Andreu filius alfaquim morerie civitatis Xative' (see Colominas Aparicio, 'Profecía, conversión y polémica', forthcoming, and Duran, 'Una singular narració', p. 461 n. 18).

41 The name 'Juan Andrés' appears on a list of canons of the Cathedral from 1516. While no further information is provided and it is hard to confirm if this is the same figure as Juan Andrés, the author of the *Confusión*, it is not unlikely. For the reference, see Marín López, *El Cabildo de la Catedral de Granada*, p. 438.

42 Part of this influence is due to its wide dissemination in print. After the first edition of 1515 it was reprinted (Valencia, 1519; Seville, 1537; Granada, 1560) and translated to Latin and several European languages: These include six Italian editions (1537, 1540, 1541, 1543, 1545, 1597), at least three in Latin (1595, 1600, 1656), three in German (1598, 1647, 1685), and one each in Dutch (1651), French (1574), and English (1652).

43 See Szpiech, 'A Witness', pp. 197–98; Szpiech, *Conversion and Narrative*, pp. 33–40; and Wiegers, 'Moriscos and Arabic Studies in Europe'.

44 Andrés, *Confusión*, fol. 3v, p. 91. Juan Andrés does not make clear just which among the abundant *tafsīr* commentaries he is referring to here, but his reference to 'seven books' constitutes a confused mention of the *Kutub al-sitta*, 'six books' of *ḥadīth* sayings about the Prophet Muḥammad, which all together make up many thousands of pages. (Juan Andrés elsewhere refers to 'six' collections, in which he includes Abū Hurayra, whom other *ḥadīth* authors do actually name although he wrote no known work).

45 Bobzin, 'Bemerkungen', and the Spanish translation in Bobzin, 'Observaciones'; also Szpiech, 'A Witness', p. 182.

46 Ribera Florit, 'La polémica cristiano-musulmana'. This oft-quoted but now very outdated study was Ribera Florit's Licenciante (BA) thesis.

47 The authors have demonstrated this point previously in Szpiech, García-Arenal, and Starczewska, *Deleytaste del dulce sono*'.

48 *Lumbre de fe*, fol. 253. The text has been partially edited by Guillén Robles, *Leyendas de José*. See Ruiz García, 'Joan Martí Figuerola'. Elisa Ruiz García and Luis F. Bernabé Pons are currently preparing an edition. On Egidio da Viterbo, see Starczewska, *Latin Translation*, and Burman, *Reading the Qurʾān*, pp. 149–177.

49 On Egidio da Viterbo, see Starczewska, *Latin Translation*, and Burman, *Reading the Qurʾān*, pp. 149–177. Rano, 'La Orden Agustiniiana', p. 32.

50 On García's reliance on Juan Andrés, see Cardaillac, *Moriscos*, p. 317; Ribera Florit, 'La polémica cristiano-musulmana'; and Montoza Coca, 'Edición'.

51 García Puyazuelo, *Sermones*. See also Montoza Coca, 'Edición' and 'Los Sermones', and above n. 23.

52 García-Arenal and Starczewska, "'The Law of Abraham the Catholic'".

53 García-Arenal, 'The Double Polemic'.

54 This is according to the Archivo Histórico Provincial de Teruel, *Consejo de Teruel*, Carpeta Azul, Documento 274, quoted by Utrillas Valero, 'Los mudéjares turolenses', pp. 820, 823.

55 Utrillas Valero, 'Los mudéjares turolenses', pp. 820, 823. On Juan Gabriel, see also Starczewska, *Latin Translation*.

56 He explains, 'Quinta disputa fué el día que tenían la fiesta del nacimiento ó natiuidad de su propheta, que fué empues de la luna dicha ayora; despues de la cual viene otra luna, y ésta es en la cual se festiva dicha solempnidad por todos los moros, mayor que no ninguna de las otras; y assí yo preuenido para la tal jornada, siendo bien informado de la historia y de cómo nació, por uno que se decía maestre Johan Gabriel, alfaquí que era de teruel, y ahora por la gracia de Dios, xpno, á instancia del cual se convirtieron todos los moros de tierra de teruel y de tierra de albarrazín: y assí por el dicho informado, fuimos los dos á la dicha festiuidad á su mesquita, y hallamos la muchedumbre dellos, ya con su alfaqui aziendo la oración; y assí nos assentamos en un banco en vista de ellos. Y yo estaba siempre interrogando al dicho maestre Joan gabriel, diciéndole, que tuviese oio cuándo acabarían, y esto por respeto que no se fuesse el alfaquí y los que estauan con él, para poderles disputar, y confundir, que azían muy mal de venerar fiesta de semejante persona, que mahomet, como cierto constaua á ellos y estaua escrito en su alcoran, que Juxpo, hijo de maría virgen, era muy más exelente propheta y muy

justo, y que no peccó, ni pudo peccar; y así mismo de su madre sagrada, y que destos no hiciessen ninguna fiesta, que mirassen si era razón; y que si su propheta fué malo y peccador, su mismo alcorán se lo dize; el cual yo tengo muy bien visto y leydo, y otras muchas cosas que traya para desputar las quales no se narran en la presente obra, por no ser prolixo'. ('The fifth disputation was on the day in which they had the festival of the birth or nativity of their prophet [i.e. *Mawlid*], which was after the lunar month called *ayora*, after which comes another lunar month, and this is that in which said solemn occasion is celebrated by all Moors, being greater than any other. And I was prepared for that day, having been informed about the history and how he was born by one called maestre Juan Gabriel, *alfaquí* from Teruel and now, by the grace of God, Christian, having converted at the time at which all the Moors of the land of Teruel and Albarracín converted. Having been informed by him, the two of us went to the said festivity in their mosque, and we found the multitude of them, praying with their *alfaquí*. We sat in a bench in sight of them, and I was all the while questioning said maestre Juan Gabriel, telling him to keep an eye out for when they were to finish. This was so that the *alfaquí* and those that were with him did not leave and in order to be able to dispute and confound them, for they did a very bad thing by honouring a holiday for such a person as Muḥammad, as they were told to. As was written in their Qur'an, Juxpo [Jesus Christ], son of the Virgin Mary, was the most excellent prophet. He was very just, and did not sin, nor could he sin, and the same is said of his holy mother. They should look to see if it is right that they did not have any festivity about these. And the fact that their prophet was bad and a sinner their own Qur'an says it. [This is] a fact that I have well seen and read, along with many other things that I brought to dispute about, which are not told of in the present work in order to avoid prolixity'.) See Guillén Robles, *Leyendas*, p. lxvi.

57 For the edition of these glosses in their entirety see Starczewska, *Latin Translation*, pp. 777–813.

58 Starczewska, *Latin Translation*, p. 791. On this fragment, see Starczewska, 'Anti-Muslim Preaching'.

59 In Egidio's translation: 'Mariae nativitas Et postquam peperit, dixit: "O domine! Ego peperit et est mulier". Et Deus erat sciens quod pareret. "Et non est ista mas, quemadmodum est faemina Mariae nomen impositio quam ego nominavi Mariam. Sic et ego defendo eam in te et in suo filio a diabolo maleuolo".' ('The nativity of Mary: After she gave birth, she said, "O Lord! I have given birth and it is a girl". And God knew what she delivered. "And this one is not a male, but rather is a female GIVING THE NAME OF MARY whom I named Mary. Thus in you and in your son I protect her from the the malicious devil".')

60 Starczewska, *Latin Translation*, p. 788. Cf. Juan Andrés, *Confusión*, p. 212.

61 On this topic see also García-Arenal and Starczewska, "'The Law of Abraham the Catholic'", and Starczewska 'Anti-Muslim Preaching'; see also Starczewska, "Apologetic Glosses—Venus for Encounters: Annotations on Abraham in the Latin Translations of the Qur'an" *Medieval Encounters*, vol. 24 (2018), pp. 252–285.

62 For further similarities between Qur'anic fragments regarding Mary and Jesus in Juan Andrés's *Confusión* and Juan Gabriel's translation of the Qur'an see the Appendix.

63 Sermon 30, in Martinus Garsie, *Sermones*, p. 76v, and Montoza Coca, 'Los Sermones', p. 236. See also Montoza Coca, 'El uso de Bernardo de Claraval'.

64 Pérez de Chinchón, *Antialcorano*, sermon 11, p. 190.

65 Obregón, *Confutación*, p. 18r.

66 Figuerola's text, as we have shown, had little influence on subsequent writing. For an extended discussion of the reliance of Obregón and Pérez de Chinchón, among others, on Juan Andrés and Martín García, see Szpiech, García-Arenal, and Starczewska, '*Deleytaste del dulce sono*'.

- 67 Juan Andrés, *Confusión*, pp. 211–212.  
68 Juan Andrés, *Confusión*, p. 212.  
69 Juan Andrés, *Confusión*, pp. 138–139.  
70 Juan Andrés, *Confusión*, p. 139.  
71 Juan Andrés, *Confusión*, p. 217.  
72 Juan Andrés, *Confusión*, pp. 212–213.  
73 Juan Andrés, *Confusión*, p. 213.  
74 Juan Andrés, *Confusión*, p. 173.  
75 Juan Andrés, *Confusión*, p. 217.  
76 Juan Andrés, *Confusión*, p. 211.  
77 Juan Andrés, *Confusión*, p. 213.  
78 Juan Andrés, *Confusión*, p. 138.