

## “The Law of Abraham the Catholic”: Juan Gabriel as Qur’ān Translator for Martín de Figuerola and Egidio da Viterbo<sup>1</sup>

«La Ley de Abraham Catholico». Juan Gabriel, traductor del Corán para Martín de Figuerola y Egidio de Viterbo

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The main aim of this article is to investigate the similarities between the Latin translation of the Qur’ān commissioned by the Italian cardinal Egidio da Viterbo (first version, 1518) and Quranic quotations included in a treatise entitled *Lumbre de fe contra el Alcorán* (Valencia, 1521) authored by a Catholic preacher, Fray Johan Martín de Figuerola, in order to corroborate the hypothesis that the texts share a common author. The person regarded as the link between them is a convert from Islam to Christianity known as Juan Gabriel from Teruel, formerly Ali Alayzar. The arguments in favour of this thesis are presented, first of all, within a historical description of the circumstances and coincidences of

Este artículo se propone estudiar las similitudes entre la traducción latina del Corán encargada por el cardenal Egidio de Viterbo en 1518 y las citas coránicas incluidas en un tratado de polémica titulado *Lumbre de fe contra el Alcorán* (Valencia, 1521) escrito por un predicador, Fray Martín de Figuerola. Estas similitudes serán destacadas para corroborar la hipótesis de una autoría común a ambas traducciones en la persona de un mudéjar convertido al catolicismo, Juan Gabriel de Teruel, antes llamado Ali Alayzar. Los argumentos en favor de esta tesis se presentan primero en términos de la descripción de las circunstancias y coincidencias de las personas involucradas en ambos proyectos de traducción y en se-

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the people involved in the production of the two translation projects; secondly, textual evidence is put forward in which correspondences, similarities and differences are highlighted and discussed. We also consider the similarities to the quotations in Juan Andrés's *Confusión o confutación del Alcorán*, drawing attention to a circle of other Christian polemicists around Martín García who were all working in various ways with the Arabic Qur'ān.

*Key words:* Egidio da Viterbo; Latin translation of the Qur'ān; *Lumbre de fe contra el Alcorán*; Evangelization and Conversion of Mudéjars from Aragon; Religious Polemics; Martín de Figuerola; Juan Gabriel; Ali Alayzar; Juan Andrés; Martín García.

gundo lugar en las coincidencias, similitudes y características comunes a ambos textos. Consideramos también las semejanzas con las citas coránicas de Juan Andrés en su *Confusión o confutación del Alcorán*. De paso, atendemos al círculo de polemistas cristianos en el entorno de Martín García que estaban en las mismas fechas utilizando el Corán en árabe.

*Palabras clave:* Egidio de Viterbo; traducción latina del Corán; *Lumbre de fe contra el Alcorán*; Evangelización y conversión de Mudéjares de Aragón; Polémica religiosa; Martín de Figuerola; Juan Gabriel; Ali Alayzar; Juan Andrés; Martín García.

### ***Lumbre de fe contra el Alcorán: Martín de Figuerola, Martín García and Juan Gabriel***

In June 1521, in Valencia, Mossen Johan Martín de Figuerola finished writing a work which he had begun two years earlier, on 1<sup>st</sup> November 1519. He titled it *Lumbre de fe contra el Alcorán* and dedicated it to His Majesty King Charles V, exhorting the king to consider the spiritual dangers represented by the presence of Muslims living in the Crown of Aragon and to decree their conversion to Catholicism.<sup>2</sup> The book, which remains unpublished, is preserved in a miscellaneous manuscript in Madrid, in the Biblioteca de la Real Academia de la Historia

<sup>2</sup> In his "Prólogo" he presents himself as: "Mossen Johan Martín de Figuerola, maestre en sacra teología, acólito y capellán de su santidad, simple beneficiado en la iglesia mayor de la insigne ciudad de Valencia. Principiado el día de todos los santos de 1519... dirigida a Su Majestad el rey..." Madrid, Biblioteca de la Real Academia de la Historia, RAH. Gayangos 1922/36 (quoted here as *Lumbre de fe contra el Alcorán*), f.253. In 2003 Elisa Ruiz and Miguel Ángel Ladero were working on an edition of the text, which has, as of yet, still not been published. See Ruiz García, "Ante la próxima aparición de dos tratados antialcoránicos: Juan Andrés (1515) y Joan Martín de Figuerola (ms. Inédito de la RAH)." The text has been partially edited by Guillen Robles (*Leyendas de José hijo de Jacob y de Alejandro Magno sacadas de dos manuscritos moriscos de la Biblioteca Nacional de Madrid*, pp. LVIII-LXXXVIII), although the edited fragments describe Figuerola's proselytizing discussions with the Muslims and do not include the Quranic fragments presented here. On the disputes see García-Arenal, "The Mechanics of Persuasion: Martín de Figuerola's *Lumbre de fe* (1519)" (forthcoming).

(RAH), and contains disputations against Islam based mainly on the Qur’ān and works of *tafsīr*. It is an extremely interesting text since it also contains what we could call “anthropological” information on the Muslims of Aragon and the ways in which they practiced their religion (as well as what they ate, how they dressed, what their houses contained, etc.), based on Figuerola’s experience working in the small rural *morerías* of Aragón.

Figuerola is very clear about the need to dispute with Muslims through the use of their own works of reference, and especially the “glosadores” i.e., the authors of *tafsīr*.<sup>3</sup> His text includes more than 185 Quranic quotations, each of which is written in three versions: Arabic in Arabic script, Arabic transcribed in “inverse *aljamía*” (viz. phonological transcription of Arabic in the Latin alphabet) and Spanish. The quotations are also often glossed and explained according to Muslim *tafsīr* authorities. It constitutes very fascinating and rich material, almost one-of-a-kind if we take into account the scarcity of Quranic texts written in Spanish in the 16<sup>th</sup> century that have come down to us. Together with Teresa Soto we are at present working on a longer study of the Quranic texts of Figuerola.

The book’s disputes are complemented by a first-person narrative of Figuerola’s campaigns during the years 1517 and 1518 among the *morerías* of the Crown of Aragon,<sup>4</sup> where he preached and disputed with Muslims. The book also contains Figuerola’s account of the ac-

<sup>3</sup> “...Porque el alfaquí después de yo haver predicado juntava toda la gente en la mezquita, según yo fui informado que les dezía, que todo lo que dixo Mossen Figuerola no a dicho verdad ni le creais y ellos como simples e ignorantes que no saben leer ni entender el Alcorán ni saben algarabia que todos son aljamiados darán fe al alfaquí y yo siendo certificado uve de tenelles otra arte y les dixen en una prédica todo lo que el alfaquí azía y por tanto yo determinaría de hir cada viernes que ellos tienen aljama y allí en la mezquita delante de todos con el Alcorán los mostraría ser verdad todo lo que yo les predicaba y assi empecé deazer los infrascriptos disputas en su mezquita a las quales mucha gente azi letrados como no letrados concurrían.” He also recommends to priests and preachers: “Usa el Alcorán, tómales tu la mano con los doctores suyos que an glosado el Alcorán,” *Lumbre de fe*, f. 253.

<sup>4</sup> He introduces each dispute in this way: “-Tercera disputa. El domingo siguiente 8 febrero 1517 en la casa del alfaquí delante de los adelantados de la aljama y yo truxe mis libros y alcoranes de su Ley y propuse mi disputa sobre una alea de Mahoma en el primer libro del Alcoran en la primera azora en la alea cientyiuna de los angeles Arot y Marot en que dicho alfaquí otorgó que los dichos ángeles tomaron cuerpos y usaron con mujer y que comían y bebían etc...Y que los ángeles morían,” *Lumbre de fe*, f. 255.

tions he undertook with Christian civil and religious authorities to push for an order for the Moors (or Mudejars) to convert, as had already occurred in the rest of the territories of Iberia.

Figuerola explains that he undertook the campaigns to preach to the Moors at the request of the bishop of Barcelona, Don Martín García (d. 1521) who was then too old to continue with the task, assigned to him by the Catholic Monarchs Ferdinand and Isabella, to preach a sermon to the Muslims of Aragon four times a year. Figuerola writes that he accepted the task because he had some knowledge of Arabic and of the Qurʾān.<sup>5</sup> García and Figuerola had probably already been preaching together in Aragon in the late fifteenth century, not only to Moors but also to converts from Judaism.<sup>6</sup> During his campaigns in the *morerías*, Martín de Figuerola was accompanied by the person from whom he says he had learned what Arabic he knew, and who had provided him with Arabic books and explained numerous notions and concepts of Islam to him. This man was Maestre Johan Gabriel, the former *alfaquí* of Teruel who had converted to Christianity.

According to documents attesting to the conversion of the Moors of Teruel in the first years of the sixteenth century, this Juan (or Joan or Johan) Gabriel had previously been known as Ali Alayzar and was the former *alfaquí* of the city's *aljama*. Figuerola seems to imply that Juan Gabriel converted voluntarily "por la gracia de Dios,"<sup>7</sup> but Juan Gabriel's conversion was probably a forced one, since the Mudejars of Teruel (unlike other Mudejars in Aragon) were made subject to the decree of 1502 which obliged the Muslims of the Crown of Castile to convert.<sup>8</sup> Based on the relevance Martín de Figuerola gives him in his work (and in his own Islamic education), Juan Gabriel must have been

<sup>5</sup> *Lumbre de fe*, f. 253.

<sup>6</sup> As seen in the case of the convert from Judaism, Juan Rodríguez, who was denounced to the Inquisition because he left the church after a sermon by "maestre Figuerola, de micer Martín García o de otro fraile," "que no había oído cosas que le cumpliesen a su voluntad, ahunque fuesen buenos," Marín Padilla, *Relación judeoconversa durante la segunda mitad del siglo XV en Aragón: la ley*, p. 93. In several passages of his work, Figuerola mentions having read books of polemics against Judaism in the library of the Cathedral in Valencia (f. 207), and at other times quotes authors such as Eiximenis.

<sup>7</sup> "Maestre Johan Gabriel, alfaquí que era de Teruel y ahora por la gracia de Dios convertido al Cristianismo. Por el se convirtieron todos los moros de la tierra de Teruel y sierra de Albarracín," *Lumbre de fe*, f. 256.

<sup>8</sup> Utrillas Valero, "Los mudéjares turolenses: los primeros cristianos nuevos de la Corona de Aragón," pp. 809-826.

the main translator and one of the authors of the glosses used by Martín de Figuerola, and the person who recited the sacred texts which were phonetically transcribed.

### **Latin translation of the Qur’ān: Juan Gabriel and Egidio da Viterbo**

The Juan Gabriel who accompanied and assisted Martín de Figuerola was, we will argue in this essay, the same man who provided Cardinal Egidio da Viterbo (1469-1532), papal nuncio in Spain, with a copy of the Qur’ān in Arabic written in his own hand and accompanied by a Latin translation.<sup>9</sup> Egidio travelled to Spain from Rome in April 1518 as a papal legate sent to Charles V to request that he take part in the armed struggle against the Turks. The Cardinal visited Barcelona in June 1518, and in this period he seems to have met one Ioannes Gabriel Terrolensis, whom he employed and gave the task of translating the Qur’ān. Practically nothing was known until now about this Terrolensis.<sup>10</sup> At the present time, however, we are inclined to believe that he went back with the Cardinal to Rome and played a role there in his Latin translation of the Qur’ān, since in the prologue to the work it is stated that Ioannes Gabriel Terrolensis copied the Qur’ān for the Cardinal in Arabic,<sup>11</sup> transcribed it into the Latin alphabet, and then translated it into Latin,<sup>12</sup> in addition to glossing the text in adjacent columns.

Unfortunately, the Latin Qur’ān commissioned by Egidio da Viterbo has not survived in its original version: we have an incomplete

<sup>9</sup> Starczewska, PhD dissertation: *Latin Translation of the Qur’ān (1518/1621) commissioned by Egidio da Viterbo. Critical Edition and Introductory Study*, supervised by Dr Óscar de la Cruz Palma (UAB 2012), to be published in *Diskurse der Arabistik*, Otto Harrassowitz Verlag, 2015.

<sup>10</sup> Starczewska, *Latin Translation of the Qur’ān*, p. XXIV; Burman, *Reading the Qur’ān in Latin Christendom, 1140-1560*, p. 151; Davis, *Trickster Travels: A Sixteenth-Century Muslim between Worlds*, pp. 241, 367.

<sup>11</sup> The Arabic is written in Maghrebi script, see Burman, “Cambridge University Library ms. Mm. v. 26 and the History of the Study of the Qur’ān in Medieval and Early-Modern Europe,” p. 337 on the Cambridge manuscript and Burman, *Reading the Qur’ān*, pp. 151-156 on the Milan manuscript.

<sup>12</sup> This translation, however, was subsequently considered imperfect, and was corrected by the Cardinal’s godson, Leo Africanus (as explained in more detail below).

copy, kept at the Cambridge University Library,<sup>13</sup> as well as a complete copy of the translation (although it is not known how large a percentage of the accompanying material, namely explicatory glosses, was copied from the original) made in the early seventeenth century by a Scottish Orientalist by the name of David Colville, from the original then held at the Real Biblioteca of El Escorial. The original has since disappeared, possibly in a fire which took place a few years later (1671).<sup>14</sup>

In spite of the uncertainties and difficulties involved in comparing the two texts, it has been possible to draw some preliminary conclusions based on the frequent correspondence of vocabulary and syntax which could be regarded as peculiarities (if not errors) of translation. More specifically, both of the texts agree on peculiar translations of some key concepts. Moreover, they coincide in dividing the Qurʾān into four books containing 113 chapters, as well as in the distribution between books and chapters. However, the division between the chapters (*suwar*) from Mecca or Medina is not the same, and the numbering of the verses (*āyahs*) sometimes differs. Another positive indication is the use of the same *tafsīr* authorities, namely al-Zamakhsharī and Ibn ʿAṭīyya al-Gharnāṭī. All of these clues point to an inescapable connection between the Qurʾān of Egidio da Viterbo and Martín de Figuerola's collection of quotations. The link tying them together must have been the converted *alfaquí* Juan Gabriel.

Our main argument in this essay is, therefore, that this Juan, Johan or Joan Gabriel from Teruel is the same man as the mysterious Ioannes Gabriel Terrolensis. Before collating and setting out the similarities and points of correspondence between the translations by Martín de Figuerola and Egidio da Viterbo, we will begin by tracing the trajectories of both Figuerola and Juan Gabriel in order to consider what makes it plausible or at least possible that they met Egidio or came to know about each other.

To begin with, more light should be shed on the person of Martín de Figuerola, though most of the information must be gathered from his own work. We will also consider the quotations from the Qurʾān

<sup>13</sup> The Cambridge University Library Ms Mm. v. 26 was thought to have been produced in the 1530s on the basis of the assumption that it was read by William Tyndale (c. 1494-1536). It has recently been shown, however (Hamilton, "The Long Apprenticeship: Casaubon and Arabic," p. 306), that this manuscript's second reader was Isaac Casaubon (1559-1614) and not Tyndale; therefore, the dating of the Cambridge manuscript is still open to debate and should be based on its other characteristics.

<sup>14</sup> Burman, *Reading the Qurʾān*, p. 150 and *ff*; Davis, *Trickster Travels*, p. 241 and *ff*.

used in the treatise *Lumbre de fe*, in the context to which they pertain. Additionally, more detail must be provided as to the Latin Qur’ān commissioned by Egidio da Viterbo.

### Quoting the Qur’ān under the aegis of Martín García

Johan Martín de Figuerola was, as we have said, connected to Martín García, who had been archdeacon of Daroca before being appointed bishop of Barcelona. As a churchman close to the Catholic Monarchs, Martín García participated from 1500 onwards in the evangelization of the Muslim population of recently conquered Granada, and later that of the Moors of Aragon, whose conversion did not become mandatory until 1526. Martín García gathered a circle of men to help him in the Granadan preaching campaign, and he had a profound influence on this group of individuals. They were all from Valencia, the territory of Spain with the largest Muslim population, and an area where Arabic books (and especially Arabic Qur’āns) could be obtained. Four of the men in this circle wrote and published books of dispute and polemics. These authors (Lope de Obregón, Juan Andrés, Johan Martín de Figuerola and Bernardo Pérez de Chinchón) were all involved, like Martín García himself, in preaching activities in Granada, and later on in the conversion of the Mudejars of Aragon. Their works were constructed according to the same principles as those characteristic of Martín García, using direct dialogues which question Muslims (“próximo mío de Moro”), and referring solely to Muslim sources. Their books therefore contain numerous Quranic quotations which are recorded in Arabic transcribed into the Latin alphabet (i.e. in inverse *aljamía*) accompanied by a Spanish translation. These transcriptions sought to aid preachers and evangelizers by providing them with a certain ability to quote the text of the Qur’ān through a phonological transcription. Such quotations were used to bolster arguments against the adversary. By making the audience hear the Arabic, the reception of the catechetical discourse was reinforced. It is a method that had already been used during the Middle Ages in disputes with the Jews.<sup>15</sup>

<sup>15</sup> Sainz de la Maza, “Aljamías inversas,” pp. 253-270. This method of transliterating the Arabic Quranic text into the Latin alphabet was also used in contemporary Istanbul, Tommasino “Eteroglossia e propaganda religiosa nel Mediterraneo moderno,” pp. 233-234.

By far the least numerous of these Quranic quotations are those used by the two authors who were chronologically the last to publish their works: Lope Obregón, whose work *Confutación del Alcorán y secta Mahometana* was published in Granada in 1555, and Bernardo Pérez de Chinchón, who produced *Antialcorano* (Valencia, 1532) and *Diálogos christianos contra la secta mahomética* (Valencia, 1535).<sup>16</sup> In this article, we will focus on the Quranic quotations of Martín de Figuerola. Nevertheless, we would like to point out that Pérez de Chinchón makes use of quotations from the vernacular translation of the Qur'ān and, just like Juan Andrés, he leaves a dotted line before his translations, intended to be filled with a literal quotation in Arabic written in Arabic script. Pérez de Chinchón explains this procedure as follows:

Quotations from the Qur'ān are not inserted here: because in the press the Arabic tongue is much corrupted and because this business always requires new reviewing with the alfaquís of the Moors who know the text of the Qur'ān by heart. God be with you, Christian reader. Deo gratias.<sup>17</sup>

The press, that is to say, the movable-type printing press, easily corrupted Arabic script and required constant checking and consulting with the *alfaquís*, according to Pérez de Chinchón. But in fact, no printing press with Arabic fonts existed in Spain in those years. Such an absence certainly precluded the inclusion of Arabic text in Pérez de Chinchón's work, but also in that of Juan Andrés; and this was the reason why, according to Nicolás Antonio, *Lumbre de fe*, which included a great deal of Arabic text, remained (and remains to this day) unpublished: *ineditum hactenus ob difficultatem Arabici sermonis, quo passim utitur, typis repraesentandi*.<sup>18</sup>

<sup>16</sup> The two works were edited in one volume by Pons Fuster, *Antialcorano. Diálogos christianos. Conversión y evangelización de Moriscos*.

<sup>17</sup> "Las allegaciones del alcorán no van aquí insertas: porque en el molde se corrompe mucho la lengua aráviga: y porque este negocio quiere siempre nueva averiguación con los alfaquís moros: los quales saben bien de coro el alcorán. Dios sea contigo christiano lector. Deo gratias," Pérez de Chinchón, *Antialcorano*, p. 87. On the difficulties of the Arabic press in 16th century Europe see Balagna Coustou, *L'imprimerie arabe en Occident : (XVI<sup>e</sup>, XVII<sup>e</sup> et XVIII<sup>e</sup> siècles)*.

<sup>18</sup> Antonio, *Bibliotheca Hispana nova*, Vol. I, p.739.



## Between Rome and Zaragoza

It is our argument that Martín de Figuerola worked with Juan Gabriel, or used the translation made by Juan Gabriel, to produce an original translation of the Qur’ān. However, let us focus first on what we know about Figuerola, which is in fact very little. According to Nicolás Antonio, he was born around 1487 in Valencia and, according to the same source, he knew Arabic.<sup>19</sup> Nicolás Antonio was in possession of a copy of *Lumbre de fe*, which had been made from another copy bought by the papal nuncio, cardinal Camillo Massimo, during his stay in Spain (1654-1656).<sup>20</sup> Camillo Massimo acquired a considerable collection of Arabic and Aljamiado manuscripts in Spain, which he kept at the Palazzo Massimo alle Colonne. The copy at the RAH was bought by Pascual Gayangos in London in 1839 and it seems to be the one previously kept by Massimo.<sup>21</sup> The Maronite Fausto Naironi made another copy, which is held at the Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana.<sup>22</sup> It is interesting that a Lebanese Maronite found Martín de Figuerola’s work in Rome and deemed it worth copying.<sup>23</sup> However, we do not know if the copy at the RAH is an autograph. All of this is of significance in order to determine whether the Arabic handwriting in the copy kept in Madrid (the only one known to us) is in Martín de Figuerola’s hand, since he states in the “Prólogo” to *Lumbre de fe* that he is going to base his dispute on Muslim scripture and copy it in Arabic script in his own hand.<sup>24</sup> At all events, the highly interesting Arabic handwriting and orthographic characteristics of the *Lumbre de fe* held at the RAH, in a hand characteristic of Mudejar writings, is of no use to us for the purpose of comparison with the Arabic writing in the copies of Egidio’s translation that have come down to us, and therefore we will leave it for further study. Thus, we can only rely on the characteristics of the translation itself.

<sup>19</sup> Antonio, *Bibliotheca Hispana Nova*, vol. I, pp. 738-739.

<sup>20</sup> Juan Andrés, *Confusión o confutación de la secta mahomética y del Alcorán*, introduction by Elisa Ruiz García, p. 33.

<sup>21</sup> Tommasino, *L’Alcorano di Macometto. Storia di un libro del Cinquecento europeo*, pp. 185-186 and n. 28.

<sup>22</sup> Giorgio Levi della Vida, “Manoscritti arabi di origine spagnola nella Biblioteca Vaticana.”

<sup>23</sup> During a recent visit to the Vaticana we were not able to locate this copy of *Lumbre de fe*.

<sup>24</sup> *Lumbre de fe*, f. 4.

Martín de Figuerola believed in religious conversion by indirect compulsion and argues in favour of compelling the Muslims by citing the usual authorities, in particular Duns Scotus. He argues that either their conversion must be decreed or they must be expelled from the land, as had taken place with the Jews. He also gives a detailed account of the many errands he undertook to influence the authorities to decree such a conversion. In particular, he travelled to Valladolid to implore King Charles V, who had just arrived for the first time in Spain, and his regent Cardinal Adrian of Utrecht, to compel the Muslims to convert,<sup>25</sup> but he was not successful. When, on 9<sup>th</sup> May of the same year of 1518, the king arrived in Zaragoza with all his retinue to be recognized as King of Aragon, Martín de Figuerola again went to see him (and again was not successful). However, he seized that occasion to give a well-known sermon at the See of Zaragoza which the Muslims were compelled to attend. He also gave a banquet at his house in the city, to which all the court was invited. Figuerola offers a scathing (and quite humorous) description of the table manners and behaviour of the Bourguignon nobles of the king's retinue.<sup>26</sup> When some noblemen held that the measure he proposed could not be undertaken by the king alone, and that Rome had to order it first, Martín de Figuerola insisted repeatedly on being given access to Cardinal Adrian, or Adriano, by then the cardinal of Tortosa. According to Martín de Figuerola, he was able to speak with him many times, and Adrian was very much in favour of a mandatory conversion. Figuerola insists over and over again in his book that the Pope must order the king to convert the Muslims of his lands, and tries to influence the cardinal.<sup>27</sup> Previously, he had also insisted on the urgent need for this conversion during his many visits to Archbishop Alfonso of Aragon, brother of Ferdinand the Catholic, and Inquisitor Toribio de Saldaña, both of them members of the high clergy, who, however, remained

<sup>25</sup> *Lumbre de fe*, f. 260.

<sup>26</sup> “Y no quiero desculpar el desorden de los banquetes que acían los españoles en Castilla y Aragon ad aquella gente de trasmontana de esto soy testigo de vista, que se hicieron dos banquetes en mi casa en la ciudad de Zaragoza y concurrió toda la corte del emperador que solo faltaba su persona y ver el desorden de las viandas y del honor y estando en la mesa azian montes de superioritas. . . es a saber que se meaban baxo la mesa: en fin que todo es ya pasado pero queda la culpa e las culpas por pasar,” *Lumbre de fe*, f. 211.

<sup>27</sup> *Lumbre de fe*, f. 37 v.

doubtful and elusive.<sup>28</sup> Alfonso of Aragon repeated several times that Figuerola was being too hard on the Muslims and that he was going further than Martín García had ever gone.<sup>29</sup> It may strike us as surprising that Martín de Figuerola, a minor clerical figure, found it so easy to gain access to such important personalities; there are no clues concerning this issue until the end of his work, when he complains that now, as he is finishing writing, he no longer has any influence since his uncle the Bishop of Pati died in May 1518.<sup>30</sup> Indeed, other sources confirm that this bishop was Miguel de Figuerola, “vicario general del arzobispo don Alfonso de Aragón” and, because of this post, was a person close to the circle of Cardinal Adrian of Utrecht.<sup>31</sup> Both Adrian and Alfonso had played a role in influencing Ferdinand the Catholic to make his will in favour of Charles.

Having gone to Zaragoza in May 1518, Charles V continued on his travels to Barcelona, where he arrived in June 1518 and received with full pomp the new nuncio sent by Pope Leon X, Cardinal Egidio da Viterbo. It is again plausible that Figuerola tried to see the Cardinal in his effort to get the support of the Vatican for his campaign in favour of converting the Muslims, but we have no evidence of this. In any case, the connection between Rome and Zaragoza in those years did not end there, for in January 1522 the very same cardinal Adrian of Utrecht was elected Pope. He was not present in the conclave that elected him; he was at that time regent and governor of Spain in the absence of Charles V and was at that moment in Vitoria in the north of Spain. In March 1522 the new Pope arrived in Zaragoza where the whole papal court gathered together with the prelates of Spain and the cardinals who were to accompany him to Rome.

The most plausible hypothesis is that Cardinal Egidio brought Juan Gabriel with him to Italy; we can read in the prologue to the Latin translation of the Qur’ān that “in the end of the first volume it is said that Ioannes

<sup>28</sup> Of the Inquisition Council he says that he went to speak with them to ask for support and permission to continue preaching, but “el negocio fue con tan poca fe ni ardor de aquella que cosa ninguna quisieron hacer, en que yo me bolbí a la ciudad de Zaragoza,” *Lumbre de fe*, f. 264.

<sup>29</sup> “...Aver dicho que los pueden quitar los hijos, que pueden ser compellidos en la fe de Cristo ellos no queriendo, más en lo que los aveys tribulado un decir que les quitasen las mezquitas, alfaquíes, dos cosas muy recias de modo que están tan alvorotados que se van muchos—acordaos deveys de que el arzobispo de Barcelona a predicado muchas veces a los moros y no los a dicho esto que vos,” *Lumbre de fe*, f. 260 v.

<sup>30</sup> *Lumbre de fe*, f. 264.

<sup>31</sup> Fernández Serrano, “Órdenes sagradas en Zaragoza, de licentia Adriani Papae sexti (1522),” pp. 161-177, esp. 163-166.

Gabriel Terrolensis wrote down the first three columns [of the text], and I think that he was also the author of the translation, although he only calls himself a scribe, and he says that he had written it down for the use of Brother Egidio, cardinal and Papal legate, in 1518 in Viterbo,” (see n. 54).

One can see, therefore, that there were many occasions on which Cardinal Adrian could have met Juan Gabriel or heard of him through Figuerola and recommended him to Cardinal Egidio da Viterbo, whom he knew well. The hypothesis that Juan Gabriel left the Iberian Peninsula for Italy is also corroborated by Figuerola’s text which states that by the time he was writing his work, Juan Gabriel was no longer near at hand:

pusiera más, sino que he tenido falta de algunos libros arábigos y en especial uno que se dice la Ricella, el qual presté a uno que solía ser alfaquí de Teruel y agora es cristiano y se decía Joan Gabriel, el qual fue mi maestro en este poco que he alcanzado.<sup>32</sup>

Thus, Juan Gabriel was no longer with Figuerola, and had taken away with him the “Ricella” or *Risāla* of Ibn Abī Zayd al-Qayrawānī (d. 386/996), a book very often quoted in *Lumbre de fe*, and which was a treatise on Māliki law that was very common among Mudejars and Moriscos.<sup>33</sup>

### Peculiarities of Egidio da Viterbo’s translation

In the field of Latin translations of the Qur’ān, the work commissioned by Egidio da Viterbo can be considered challenging in at least two ways: first, because the different authors and their respective contributions cannot be definitively established, and second, because consequently we cannot determine a definitive version of the text.

As can be read in the prologue to the Milan manuscript, the original 1518 translation, now lost, was carried out *in usum Fratris Aegidii Cardinalis et legati Pontificis*<sup>34</sup> by Ioannes Gabriel Terrolensis, an Aragonese Muslim converted to Christianity.<sup>35</sup> We also know from other sources that the Italian cardinal had a strong interest in philology, translation and oriental languages. In accordance with his interests, Egidio da Viterbo

<sup>32</sup> *Lumbre de fe*, f. 239.

<sup>33</sup> García-Arenal, “Algunos manuscritos de *fiqh* andalusíes y norteafricanos pertenecientes a la Real Biblioteca de El Escorial,” p. 20. *La Risāla* was translated into French by L. Bercher.

<sup>34</sup> Starczewska, *Latin Translation of the Qur’ān*, p. XXI.

<sup>35</sup> Burman, *Reading the Qur’ān*, p. 151; Davis, *Trickster Travels*, pp. 241, 367, citing Utrillas Valero, “Los mudéjares turoleses,” pp. 820, 823.

employed a former Muslim ambassador, al-Ḥasan al-Wazzān, better known in Italy as Leo Africanus, to help him further his studies of Arabic. This collaboration resulted, *inter alia*, in Leo revising and correcting the Quranic translation in 1525, at the cardinal’s residence in Viterbo.<sup>36</sup> One century later, the version corrected by Leo Africanus found its way to the Biblioteca de El Escorial in Spain, and, as we can read in the prologue to the Milan manuscript (Milan, Biblioteca Ambrosiana MS D 100 inf., dated 1621, quoted here as *M*), it consisted of four columns:

This book was copied from a manuscript in the Biblioteca Real de San Lorenzo with the Superiors’ permission. In this manuscript there were four columns: in the first one the Arabic text was written graphically [i.e. in the Arabic alphabet], with its dots and the other characters necessary to read it. The second column contained the same text, but written with our letters, which is quite useful for those who want to read it properly. The third one contained the Latin translation, which had been revised and corrected in many places: some corrections had been written between the lines, having been crossed out in the first version. The fourth column contained some notes by a man called Gabriel, but these did not continue for very long, and disappeared after the fourth or close to the fifth sura.<sup>37</sup>

As we can see from the prologue, the layout of the original translation was designed to favour a strictly philological reading of the Qur’ān.<sup>38</sup> The copyist, David Colville, also introduces himself as a learned philologist:

I who learned everything I know in this language [Arabic] without a teacher (...) learned by true experience that I, who am neither Hebrew nor Greek by origin or by birth, mastered these two languages more correctly than the people who were born Greek or Hebrew.<sup>39</sup>

<sup>36</sup> “Hactenus ille qui dicit se scripsisse ista anno 1525 Viterbii,” Starczewska, *Latin Translation of the Qur’ān*, p. XXII.

<sup>37</sup> “Liber hic transcriptus fuit ex manuscripto quodam in bibliotheca regia D. Laurentii cum licentia Superiorum. In quo quidem manuscripto erant quatuor columnae: prima in qua textus arabicus graphice descriptus erat cum earum punctis et aliis rebus necessariis ad lectionem. Secunda uero eundem textum continebat, sed literis nostratibus scriptum, qui utilis ualde est iis qui recte legere desiderant. Tertia continebat translationem latinam, quae in multis locis correcta et interpolata erat: quaeque emendata erant, scripta erant super lineas, prioribus oblitteratis. Quarta continebat annotationes quasdam <Gabrielis cuiusdam supra lineam>, sed non longe progressae sunt, nam desinunt post quartam aut circiter azoaram quintam,” Starczewska, *Latin Translation of the Qur’ān*, p. XXI.

<sup>38</sup> Burman, *Reading the Qur’ān*, p. 156.

<sup>39</sup> “Qui omnia quae in hac lingua scio, absque preceptore didici... Ego uera experientia didici me qui neque domo neque natione Hebreus aut Graecus sum, utramque linguam rectius calluisse Hebraeis atque Graecis natione,” Starczewska, *Latin Translation of the Qur’ān*, pp. XXI, XXII-XXIII.

As for Colville's methodology as a copyist, he states in the preface:

Those corrections were made by Iohannes Leo Granatinus (...). I felt obliged to transcribe in the same way the Latin translation of the third column together with the amendments which I found there, and often I retained these *pseudographias* just the way I found them, so that they might be judged by those whose hands will reach all this ridiculousness regarding such a noble translation.<sup>40</sup>

The copyist's attitude makes the text editor's task considerably more challenging. One is tempted to distinguish the original text, as translated by Ioannes Gabriel Terrolensis, from the amendments made by Leo Africanus, and from the corrections made by David Colville. However, if it is established that Leo's corrections appear above the lines in the Milan manuscript, then it has to be concluded that, as the Cambridge University Library manuscript (quoted here as *C*)<sup>41</sup> does not conserve the corrections, it would therefore be closer to Ioannes Gabriel Terrolensis' original. In this case, the Milan and Cambridge manuscripts would thus share a common layer of translation, the one undertaken by Ioannes Gabriel Terrolensis; however, surprisingly, this is often not the case.<sup>42</sup>

In the critical edition, the Cambridge University Library manuscript has been chosen as the basis of the edited text, whenever this manuscript was extant. Given that the original text was divided into four books, almost exactly following the Maghrebi division, we can establish that for Book I (Liber I: *suwar* 1 to 6) the basis of the edition is mostly *C*, for Book II (Liber II: *suwar* 7 to 18) it is mostly *M*, for Book III (Liber III: *suwar* 19 to 37)<sup>43</sup> mostly *M* and, finally, for Book IV (Liber IV: *suwar* 38 to 114)<sup>44</sup> it is both *C* and *M*.

As for textual variants, we can observe relative similarity in the first part of the text when we compare *C* with the main body of *M*. It is,

<sup>40</sup> "Correctiones autem illas edidit Iohannes Leo Granatinus (...). Translationem latinam tertiae columnae, una cum emendationibus eodem modo transcribere coactus sum, quae ibidem reperi, et saepe ipsas pseudographias sicut reperi scriptas retinui, ut iudicium ferant ii in quorum manus tam ridiculae deuenturae sunt de tam nobili translatione," Starczewska, *Latin Translation of the Qur'ān*, p. XXI.

<sup>41</sup> Cambridge MS Mm. v. 26. On this manuscript see note 13.

<sup>42</sup> See Tables 3 and 4 below.

<sup>43</sup> In the Maghrebi division of the Qur'ān, the third part (*al-rub' al-thālith*) comprises *suwar* 19-35 (*aḥzāb* 31-44). Castells Criballés, "Alguns aspectes formals de la traducció llatina de l'Alcorà de Robert de Ketton (ca. 1141-1143) i la seva relació amb el text original àrab," p. 82.

<sup>44</sup> In the Maghrebi division of the Qur'ān the fourth part (*al-rub' al-rābi'*) comprises *suwar* 36-114 (*aḥzāb* 44-60). Castells Criballés, "Alguns aspectes formals," p. 82.

however, important to bear in mind that we can make out three layers of text: the *C* original, the *M* main text and the corrections left in *M* above the main text (*supra lineam*).<sup>45</sup> An example of the three versions of the translation of *sūrah* 2:19- 2:20<sup>46</sup> is provided below. The similarities have been marked in **bold** and the differences underlined:

**Table 1: The correction layer of the Latin Qur’ān**

	Cambridge manuscript	Milan manuscript	Milan ms. <i>supra lineam</i>
2:19	<b>aut sunt similes cuidam rei (scilicet pluuiæ) quæ cadit ex caelo cum tonitruis et fulguribus, ponentes digitos suos in auribus suis prae timore mortis a fulminibus. Deus autem persequetur infideles</b> (scilicet, Corascitas).	<b>sunt similes cuidam rei quæ cadit (pluuiæ multa) a caelo cum tenebris, tonitruis et fulgetris, ponendo suos digitos in auribus suis prae timore mortis. Deus autem persequetur incredulos.</b>	sunt similes pluuiæ multa a caelo cum tenebris, tonitruis et fulgetris, <u>ponet suos digitos in auribus suis timore mortis.</u> Et Deus <u>circulabit negantes.</u>
2:20	<b>Cogitantes perdere uisum suum prae fulguribus, et quandocumque fuerunt illuminati, ambulauerunt cum illo</b> (scilicet, Machoma); <b>quando autem obscuratum est super illos, insurrexerunt (scilicet, contra Machomam). Et si Deus uoluisset, ablati fuissent uisus eorum et aures eorum, quoniam Deus est potens super omnia.</b>	<b>Cogitantes perdere uisum suum prae fulguribus, et quandocumque fuerint illuminati, ambulauerunt cum illo; quando autem obscuratum est super illos, insurrexerunt (scilicet, contra Machomam). Et si Deus uoluisset, ablati fuissent uisus eorum et aures eorum, quoniam Deus est potens super omnia.</b>	<u>Propinquum est quod fulgur rapit uisus eorum, et quandocumque illuminauit ipsis (scilicet, uisus),</u> ambulauerunt in ipso; <b>quando autem obscuratum est super illos, insurrexerunt. Et si Deus uoluisset, ambulauisse cum auditu eorum et uisibus eorum.</b> Certe <b>Deus est potens super omnia.</b>

<sup>45</sup> The corrected text can be obtained by substituting the underlined word, phrase or sentence with the equivalent word, phrase or sentence written above it, see Starczewska, “Critical Edition of Egidio da Viterbo’s Latin Translation of the Qur’ān (1518): Some Methodological Problems.”

<sup>46</sup> 2:19 “Or (another similitude) is that of a rain-laden cloud from the sky; in it are zones of darkness, and thunder and lightning, they press their fingers in their ears to keep out the stunning thunder-clap, the while they are in terror of death. But Allah is ever round the rejecters of faith. 2:20 The lightning all but snatches away their sight; every time the

As we can see from the example above, *M* is clearly a copy of *C* (albeit with some small differences), whereas *M supra lineam* is the corrected version. However, the further we move on in the text, the more challenging it becomes to establish relationships between the three layers, as can be observed in *sūrah* 37:50-37:55.<sup>47</sup>

**Table 2: Three versions of the Latin Qur’ān translation**

	Cambridge manuscript	Milan manuscript	Milan ms. <i>supra lineam</i>
37:50	Et <b>uenient</b> quidam (mauri) ut interrogent alios (mauros).	Et recipient uni alios et interrogabunt.	Et <b>ueniet</b> aliquis eorum contra alios interrogando.
37:51	Et <u>loquitur</u> unus ex illis dicens: “ <b>Ego habebam</b> unum amicum	<b>Dixit</b> dicitor eorum: “ <b>Ego habebam mihi amicum</b>	<b>Dixit</b> dicens ex illis: “ <b>Ego habebam mihi amicum</b>
37:52	qui dicebat <b>mihī quod ego non eram ex ueracibus,</b>	Et dicent <b>mihī quod tu es ex ueracibus,</b>	Dicens <b>mihī quod</b> : “ <u>An es tu ex credentibus?</u> ”
37:53	<b>et quod quando</b> fuerimus mortui et <u>redacti in puluerem et ossa</u> , quod non reuerteremur amplius.”	<b>et quod quando</b> erimus mortui <u>et terra</u> , et nos reuertemur?”	<u>An</u> quando erimus mortui <u>euademus terra</u> , <u>an sumus iudicati?</u> ”
37:54	Dixit (unus angelus): “ <u>Si uultis uos (mauri) aspicere (amicum)?</u> ”	Dixit: “ <u>Si uos eritis eleuati?</u> ”	Dixit: “An uos sitis <b>aspicientes?</b> ”
37:55	Et prospexit et uidet illum (amicum) in medio inferni.	Et eleuabunt se et uidebunt se aequales in inferno.	Et aspicit et uidit eum in fundo inferni.

light (helps) them, they walk therein, and when the darkness grows on them, they will stand still. And if Allah willed, He could take away their faculty of hearing and seeing; for Allah hath power over all things,” trans. A. Yusuf Ali, 1934: *The Qur’ān. Text, Translation and Commentary*, New York (Reed. 2001).

<sup>47</sup> “37:50 Then they will turn to one another and question one another. 37:51 One of them will start the talk and say: “I had an intimate companion (on the earth),” 37:52 “Who used to say, ‘what! art thou amongst those who bear witness to the Truth (of the Message)?,” 37:53 “When we die and become dust and bones, shall we indeed receive rewards and punishments?,” 37:54 (A voice) said: “Would ye like to look down?,” 37:55 He looked down and saw him in the midst of the Fire.” Transl. Yusuf Ali.



In the examples quoted above we might venture a hypothesis that the *M* copyist, Colville, gradually shifts his original version to the *supra lineam*, as the first and third column bear some resemblance. In the above mentioned case, the corrected version might be the one presented in the middle column, which is *M*’s main body of text, yet still there are considerable differences between all three versions of the text. The differences go so far as to provide us with three titles for *sūrah* 39:<sup>48</sup>

**Table 3: Three versions of the title of *sūrah* 39 in the Latin Qur’ān**

	Cambridge manuscript	Milan manuscript	Milan ms. <i>supra lineam</i>
Q 39	Capitulum secundum, de Congregationibus, in Mecha, continet 73 uersus. In nomine Dei misericordis et clementis.	Caput de Arena in eo 76 uersus In nomine Dei pii, misericordis	Caput Cateruarum

The peculiarity of this translation derives from the fact that we have been left with various versions of the text which were produced by different individuals. It is plausible to believe that Colville altered the text while copying it; often the alterations found are purely stylistic in nature, such as changes in word order, or in the grammatical tense. At the same time, in the translation’s preserved form we can find traces of different people who were given a voice in its production. The result is two, and sometimes three, different versions of the text, produced by scholars of different origins.

### **Translation and Connection: Latin as a transnational language**

It may be considered pertinent to the discussion to demonstrate the Hispanic influence visible in the Latin translation, since it has been stated above that one of the layers of the translation corresponds, more

<sup>48</sup> *Sūrat al-Zumar*: The Troops, Throngs, The Companies.

or less directly, to our protagonist, Juan Gabriel or Ioannes Gabriel Terrolensis. As can be seen in the examples below, at least one of the people involved in the production of the text knew the Hispanic vernacular, as the Latin text of the translation of the Qur'ān contains several words that can only be understood to be loanwords from Spanish (although there are also other influences, namely Arabic and Italian). The words in question are found mostly in the Milan manuscript, and come from the fragments that are either verses of the Quranic *suwar*, or the marginalia left by the copyist.

In a three-page preface to the Latin translation of the Qur'ān written by the Orientalist scribe David Colville, a scholar with knowledge of Greek, Arabic and Hebrew, as he himself points out,<sup>49</sup> we find some information about the context of the translation.<sup>50</sup> As far as the people intellectually involved in the preparation of this translation are concerned, Colville mentions three: Cardinal Egidio da Viterbo,<sup>51</sup> Juan Gabriel of Teruel (Ioannes Gabriel Terrolensis) and Leo Africanus, known for his work *Della Descrittione dell'Africa*.<sup>52</sup> The sequence of work on the text as explained by Colville is that Egidio da Viterbo first commissioned Juan Gabriel to translate the Qur'ān, but the same translation was later corrected by Leo Africanus. As has been mentioned above, Colville, when copying the translation, maintains all the versions, so that the text has corrections *supra lineam*. Regarding the origin of the translator, it can be read in the prologue that: “Ex translatione satis cognoui quicumque is fuerat: fuisse natione Hispanum uel Hispano-Italum” (“From the translation I knew well enough who he was: he was either Hispanic or Hispano-Italian by birth”).

The man to whom Colville refers when he says the translator was Italian or Spanish was Juan Gabriel from Teruel. The example that according to Colville justifies this theory is the translation of the Arabic

<sup>49</sup> Between the years 1617-1627 David Colville was the librarian of the library of El Escorial (see Ravasi *et al.*, *Storia dell'Ambrosiana: Il Seicento*, Vol. I, p. 114), where he came across the Latin translation of the Qur'ān.

<sup>50</sup> Starczewska, *Latin Translation of the Qur'ān*, pp. XXI-XXIII.

<sup>51</sup> *Vid. inter alios*: O'Malley, “Egidio da Viterbo and Renaissance Rome”; Martin, “Giles of Viterbo as Scripture Scholar.”

<sup>52</sup> *Vid. inter alios*: Davis, *Trickster Travels*.

term *wa-lā ta ‘qulūna* into Latin as “et non habetis cerebrum.”<sup>53</sup> Colville later adds that Juan Gabriel was Hispanic, from Zaragoza.<sup>54</sup>

However, this situation becomes more complicated when we realize that Juan Gabriel appears only as translator of the first volume,<sup>55</sup> or the first book (*Liber Primus*).<sup>56</sup> As mentioned above, in the Maghrebi Quranic tradition the Qur’ān can be divided into four parts, which helps to organize the work into separate (physical) volumes.<sup>57</sup> Egidio da Viterbo’s Qur’ān fits these criteria almost exactly<sup>58</sup> and, at the point where the first book ends and the second begins, the Scottish scribe adds a gloss which states: “Correctiones translationis istius scriptae fuerunt alia manu quam correctiones precedentes. Et sine dubio alterius fuit et ipsa translatio”<sup>59</sup> (“The corrections of this translation were written by a different hand than the preceding corrections. And, without a doubt, the translation was by someone else”).

Following Colville’s methodology, one of our hypotheses might be based on trying to detect features of the translation that can provide more information on the origin of the translator (or translators). Although definitive conclusions can hardly be reached, our aim hence-

<sup>53</sup> “Totum autem corpus manuscripti constabat duobus tomis, in fine prioris tomi dicitur quod Ioannes Gabriel Terrolensis descripserat tres primas columnas, putoque etiam authorem fuisse translationis, licet se scribam tantum uocet, qui ait se hoc descripsisse in usum Fratris Aegidii Cardinalis et legati Pontificis anno 1518 Viterbii. Ex translatione satis cognoui quicumque is fuerat: fuisse natione Hispanum uel Hispano-Italum, nam phrasim illam in multis retinet, ut cum transfert [*sic* in Magrebi script] *ولا تَعْلَمُونَ* ‘et non habetis cerebrum’, sic enim loquuntur phrasi uernacula, pro intelegere et sapere. Correctiones autem illas edidit Ioannes Leo Granatinus, ut ibidem de se ipso praedicat non sine uano fastu,” Starczewska, *Latin Translation of the Qur’ān*, p. XXI.

<sup>54</sup> “Illa quae scripsi de patria Gabrielis non sunt uera, quia reuera fuit Hispanus natione et Caesaraugustae,” Starczewska, *Latin Translation of the Qur’ān*, p. XXII.

<sup>55</sup> “In fine prioris tomi dicitur quod Ioannes Gabriel Terrolensis descripserat tres primas columnas,” see note 53.

<sup>56</sup> “Correctiones translationis istius scriptae fuerunt alia manu quam correctiones precedentes. Et sine dubio alterius fuit et ipsa translatio,” see below.

<sup>57</sup> Castells Criballés, “Alguns aspectes formals,” pp. 80-81.

<sup>58</sup> The difference lies in the cut-off point between the second and third part and between the third and fourth: in the Maghrebi tradition the *suwar* are grouped 1-6, 7-18, 19-35 and 36-114 while in the *M* manuscript chapters 1-6 form the first book, 7-18 the second book, 19-37 the third book and 38-114 the fourth. The same, or nearly identical, division, with changes between the third and the fourth book, occurs in T 235. López-Morillas, *El Corán de Toledo. Edición y estudio del manuscrito 235 de la Biblioteca de Castilla-La Mancha*, p. 40.

<sup>59</sup> Starczewska, *Latin Translation of the Qur’ān*, p. 181.

forth is to present some examples of the use made of the vernacular languages in order to better convey the contents of the Qur'ān.

For instance, in verse 4:15,<sup>60</sup> which according to the Milan manuscript is transmitted:

Et illae quae facient adulterium uestrarum mulierum, igitur adhibete testes super eas quatuor ex uobis, et si adhibebitis testes, igitur tenete illas in domibus clausas donec moriantur et mortem dabit Deus illis, iter patens,<sup>61</sup>

We find a clarification making reference to the phrase “facient adulterium” where the Italian translation is provided: “peruenient ad peccatum; italice: ‘Alla cosa bruta’.”

Another interesting example can be found in verse 13:17, (which is part of the second of the four books into which the translation is divided):

Et descendit a caelo aquam, et cucurrerunt flumina cum potentia sua, et super fluentum **bromam** creatam de eo quod incendunt super eam ignem, uolendo gemmas aut monetas. Et facit **bramam** sibi similem, et sic dabit Deus ueritatem et mendacium, quod **bramas** igitur descendunt extra et quoad id quod prodest hominibus, remanet firmum in terra. Sic dabit Deus exempla pro iis qui audiunt creatoris sui sancta.<sup>62</sup>

Above the word *bramam* the corrector annotates: “supra dicerat ‘bromam’ et corrigit ‘brumas’.” The copyist assumed, correctly, that *brama*, *broma* and *bruma* designate the same term in Arabic which is, respectively *zabadan*, *zabadun* and *al-zabadu*.

The English translation of this passage reads:

He sends down from the sky water and flows the valleys according to their measure, and carries the torrent a foam [فَبُيُوتًا] rising. And from what they heat [on] it in the fire in order to make ornaments or utensils, a foam [فَبُيُوتًا] like it. Thus Allah sets forth the truth and the falsehood. Then as for the foam [الزَّبْدُ] it passes away (as) scum, and as for what benefits the mankind, remains in the earth. Thus Allah sets forth the examples.<sup>63</sup>

<sup>60</sup> “If any of your women are guilty of lewdness, take the evidence of four (reliable) witnesses from amongst you against them; and if they testify, confine them to houses until death do claim them, or God ordain for them some (other) way,” Transl. Yusuf Ali.

<sup>61</sup> Starczewska, *Latin Translation of the Qur'ān*, p. 97.

<sup>62</sup> Starczewska, *Latin Translation of the Qur'ān*, p. 263.

<sup>63</sup> Islamicstudies.info. Towards Understanding the Qur'ān, with kind permission: Islamic Foundation UK, Q13:17, online: <<http://www.islamicstudies.info/tafheem.php?sura=13&verse=8&to=18>> [last consulted 15 January 2014].

Although the three words “brama,” “broma” and “bruma” all exist in the Romance languages Italian and Spanish, the only meaning which would fit semantically within the context of the quoted text is the one of “mist, haze.”<sup>64</sup>

Colville also makes his own remarks on the Hispanic vernacular tongue. For example, in verse 20:29:<sup>65</sup> “Et pone mihi admonitorem ex familia mea,” the word *Al-guazil* appears above the term *admonitorem*. *Al-guazil* comes from the Arabic *wazīr*, “minister.” However, this appears not to be an Arabism but a Hispanicism, as we read in the explanatory note: “‘consiliarium’, addit glossa quod Hispanice dicitur ‘Al-guazil’ sed puto eum decipi quod aliqua ‘zil’ est *al-waṣīl*, hoc est ‘licitor’ seu ‘comprehensor’.”<sup>66</sup>

A curious case of an Arabism, or perhaps a Hispanicism, is the word “fulano” (from the Arabic *fulān*), found in verse 25:28:<sup>67</sup> *O uah mihi! Cur non accepi fulanum in amicum?* As an alternative to the word *fulanum* the Latin pronoun *talem* is provided.

Another interesting comment regarding knowledge of Spanish is the one above the word *creauimus* in verse 26:18,<sup>68</sup> where it can be read that, “Hispanice dicitur ‘creare’ [‘criar’?] pro ‘nutrire’.”

The extent of Colville’s command of both Italian and Spanish is subject to doubt. He himself provides some clues as to his own linguistic limitations. In verse 21:80<sup>69</sup> the term *Maliae* appears, clearly a Latin adaptation of the Italian or Spanish term ‘maglia’ or ‘malla’

<sup>64</sup> The choice of words could reinforce the Iberian origin of the text, as we read that “Broma, que en catalán tiene el sentido de ‘niebla’, ‘nube’, procede, como el español ‘bruma’, niebla, del latín ‘brūma’ ‘invierno’” (Castañer Martín, “Aragón en los atlas lingüísticos,” p. 330, n. 9). We would like to thank Pier Mattia Tommasino for his insight on this matter and his suggestion that the above mentioned example highlights the bottom line of this article which is the cultural connection between the Moors of the Iberian region and the Italian Renaissance scholars.

<sup>65</sup> “And give me a Minister from my family,” Transl. Yusuf Ali.

<sup>66</sup> Starczewska, *Latin Translation of the Qur’ān*, p. 320. It is an error, as in the Quranic text the word is *al-wazīr*. We would like to thank Víctor Pallejà de Bustinza for bringing this to our attention.

<sup>67</sup> “Ah! Woe is me! Would that I had never taken such a one for a friend!” Transl. Yusuf Ali.

<sup>68</sup> “Dixit: ‘Non creauimus te usque inter nos filium et fuisti usque inter nos uitae tuae annos?’,” Starczewska, *Latin Translation of the Qur’ān*, p. 368.

<sup>69</sup> “Et docuimus eum officium Maliae pro uobis ut custodiatis uos cum proeliis uestris, igitur estis uos grati?,” Starczewska, *Latin Translation of the Qur’ān*, p. 333.

(chainmail), but the copyist was unfamiliar with it, as he states in the gloss: “quid sit hoc ‘Malia’ non scio, neque hispanem neque italicum” (“what this ‘*Malia*’ would be I do not know, neither in Spanish nor Italian”).

Thus, as has already been stressed, the Milan manuscript has a number of special features, due to the fact that it contains a translation from Arabic into Latin, which had been commissioned by an Italian cardinal from a scholar of Moorish origin, who in turn lived in the Iberian Peninsula and translated at least one quarter of the text. The same text was then edited and reworked by another convert from Islam to Christianity, Leo Africanus, who lived in Italy and was also of Iberian origin. This text, along with corrections, was copied by the Scotsman David Colville, who worked at El Escorial. Although the written language for all of these men was Latin, each of them communicated orally in another tongue. This crossing of cultures, people and languages certainly left significant traces in the text.

As to the lexical stratum, we have found slightly more terms of Italian than of Hispanic origin, but in order to take this analysis further one would have to establish which parts of the text come from the first translator and which from the corrector, as well as establishing whether the second translator, if there was one, began his task from the second book (half of the first volume) or from the second volume. Nor can we be sure that Colville would not have wanted to leave some mark of his scholarship, about which he boasted in the preface, by providing more parallel translations than those found in the text he copied. It would be convenient to assume that any Hispanic influence on the text was a result of Juan Gabriel’s contribution to it, but it does not necessarily have to be so; David Colville worked at El Escorial, and must have been familiar to some degree with Spanish, and before him the text had been worked on by Leo Africanus, who Natalie Zemon Davis has suggested had knowledge of Spanish.<sup>70</sup> Given the uncertainty of the linguistic attributions presented above, we will proceed to compare the fragments of the *suwar*, which may provide a more convincing argument in this discussion than the miscellaneous glosses.

<sup>70</sup> Davis, *Trickster Travels*, pp. 18, 58 *et passim*.

## Between a trench and a baptism: Similarities between Figuerola’s and Juan Gabriel’s Quranic translations

Quien creyere y se bautizare se salvara, el que no sera condemnado y deste bautismo dice Mahomet en lalcoran libro primero capítulo 1º, alea 139 صِبْغَةَ اللَّهِ  
Quiere decir trinchera de Dios y a esto dicen bautismo.<sup>71</sup>

Why, while commenting on verse 2:138<sup>72</sup>, would Figuerola talk about “God’s trench” and call it a baptism? He had probably been influenced by the Latin word *Tinctura*, used by Juan Gabriel, who translated the Arabic *ṣibga* (tincture, nature, colouring) as *Tinctura Dei*, (which is also called the “baptism” in the Latin translation).<sup>73</sup>

The Quranic quotations in *Lumbre de fe* and the Latin translation of the Qur’ān share a common wording or phraseology, which in many ways supports the thesis of a common authorship. On the one hand, we encounter similar syntactic structures, such as 2:136: “Nos crehemos en dios y en lo que fue decendido a nos,” and the Latin, “Nos credimus in Deum et in id quod nobis descendit,” or 6:38: “Y no hay ningun animal en la tierra ni ave bolando con sus alas que no sean resucitados como nosotros y nos no avemos faltado en el libro cosa alguna y después seran a su criador resucitados,” which is strikingly similar to the Latin, “Et nullum animal est in terra neque auis uolans alis suis, quibus non sint generationes sicut uobis; et nos nihil detraximus de libro. Et postea erunt resuscitati a creatore suo.” In addition, we come across similar translations of inherently Islamic concepts such as: ‘verdadero moro’ – *verus maurus* (3:67), ‘de blasfemadores’ – *ex blasphemantibus* (3:67, with similar examples in 3:95 and 12:106), ‘de dios piadoso apiador’ – *dei pii pietatoris* (basmala), ‘truncos’ – *truncos* (19:68), ‘catolicos’ – *catholici* (38:83), ‘Abraham Catolico’ – *legem cattholicam Abraham*, ‘endemoniados’ – *daemoniacus* (68:2).

It is precisely the striking translation *catholici* and *legem cattholicam Abraham* which gave this article its title. This peculiar rendition occurs twice in the material presented, in *sūrah* 3:95, where the original term is

<sup>71</sup> *Lumbre de fe*, f. 21r.

<sup>72</sup> “(Our religion is) the Baptism of Allah: And who can baptize better than Allah? And it is He Whom we worship,” Trans. Yusuf Ali.

<sup>73</sup> On Marracci’s translation of 2:138 see Bevilacqua, “The Qur’an translations of Marracci and Sale,” p. 104.

*ḥanīfan* (inclining to the right Religion) and 38:83, corresponding to a different Arabic word, *al-mukhlaṣīna* (purified, sincerely religious). In the first occurrence, Figuerola explains the Quranic passage as follows: “di tu que Dios dixo verdad pues seguid la ley de Abraham Catholico y no que de los blasfemadores.” However, where the term *ḥanīf* occurs again (3:67), it is translated as “verdadero moro” instead: “no fue Abraham judio ni cristiano mas fue verdadero moro y no fue de blasfemadores.”

In both contexts (3:67; 3:95) the term *al-mushrikīna* is translated as “blasfemadores,” and therefore the translator is consistent with this term but not with the word *ḥanīf*.

It is worth noticing that the very same term (حَنِيفًا), in a very similar context, opposed to the same word (المشركين) and referring to the same character (Abraham), is translated in these two opposite ways. Is Abraham, then, both *católico* and *verdadero moro*? Or are these terms equivalent?

Be this as it may, employing the term *católico* is an interesting choice, not shared among other early modern translations of the Qurʾān.<sup>74</sup> Might it be regarded as a sign of the oppressed religiosity of a minority that was continually subject to catechism? Could it be seen as an affirmation of the monotheistic religions’ common origins? Finally, would it be a hint on the universal character of a faithful believer, somehow accounting for the etymological meaning of the word καθολικός?

Additionally, both of the texts divide the Qurʾān into four books, which in total contain 113 *suwar* and, needless to say, the division into books and chapters (*suwar*) also coincides. In view of these similarities, which can be observed in greater detail in Appendix I to this article, the differences between the texts seem of minor importance, especially since the Latin Qurʾān has not been preserved in its original form.

We can therefore conclude that the Ioannes Gabriellis Terrolensis of Egidio’s translation, and the Juan Gabriel of that of Martín de Figuerola, was one and the same person. The path that we have traced in this essay while collating the texts reveals the fascinating interplay, as well as the important role, played by Iberian Moors (both Mudejars

<sup>74</sup> 3:95 *apud* Lucaris (attr.): “Vos autem sequimini religionem Abrahami puram, qui non erat ex communicantibus (gloriam Dei creaturas)”; *apud* Germanus of Silesia: “igitur imitatores estote religione Abraham recte gradientem, qui non fuit de numero eorum, qui Deo consortem attribuunt.” 38:83 *apud* Germanus of Silesia: “exceptis seruis tuis, qui sincere dedicati sunt cultui tuo...”.



and Moriscos) in the creation of scholarly orientalist disciplines in Europe at a time when the first “scientific” knowledge of Islam and the Qur’ān was coming into being. We can also imagine the importance of Martín García’s circle of preachers and scholars, given that Martín García is said to have used a translation of the Qur’ān made by another person in his circle, Juan Andrés.<sup>75</sup> We will finish this article by establishing whether or not Juan Andrés’s Quranic quotations coincide with those of Juan Gabriel and Martín de Figuerola.

### The special case of Juan Andrés

Unlike Lope de Obregón, Pérez de Chinchón or Martín de Figuerola, Juan Andrés was a convert—or as such he presents himself in the introduction to his work. Various scholars have recently addressed the issue of whether the *Confusión o confutación de la secta mahomética y del Alcorán* was really a text conceived and written by a Mudejar scholar, though this alleged background did contribute to the great popularity and success of the text. The *Confusión* was soon recognized as an authoritative treatise; it was translated into many languages and became influential among Arabists all over Europe.<sup>76</sup> Little biographical information has been found that might enable us to determine that Juan Andrés was in fact a real person.<sup>77</sup> He claims to have been *alfaquí* of the *aljama* of Xátiva in Valencia and to have converted (in his case, voluntarily) to Christianity in 1487, later to become a preacher in Valencia and Granada, in whose cathedral he reached the

<sup>75</sup> *Sermonis eminentissimi totiusque Barchinonensis gregis tutoris acerrimi...Martini Garciae*, Zaragoza, G. Coci, 1517; Cirac Estopañán, *Los sermones de Don Martín García, obispo de Barcelona, sobre los Reyes Católicos*.

<sup>76</sup> Wiegiers, “Moriscos and Arabic Studies in Europe,” p. 589.

<sup>77</sup> The issue of whether Juan Andrés was a historical figure has been placed in doubt by Wiegiers (Rev. of *Confusión o confutación de la secta Mahomética y del Alcorán* and “Moriscos and Arabic Studies in Europe”) and considered by Szpiech (“Preaching Paul to the Moriscos in the *Confusión o confutación de la secta Mahomética y del Alcorán* (1515) by Juan Andrés,” and *Conversion and Narrative: Reading Authority in Medieval Polemic*). Davis (*Trickster Travels*, p. 336 note 8) mentions a text on arithmetic by one Juan Andrés, *Sumario breve d’la pratica de la arithmetica y todo el curso de la arte mercantivol bien declarado el qual se llama maestro de cuento* (Valencia: Juan Joffre, 1515). In spite of the facts that it is dedicated to D. Seraphin Conde de Oliva, who had connections with Valencia, we have established that this work, which coincides in time and place with the *Confutación*, is not written by the same author.

position of canon. Juan Andrés recorded that in 1510 he had written a translation of the whole of the Qurʾān into the Romance (Aragonese) vernacular at the request of Martín García, and that this translation had often been used in the bishop's sermons. Martín García's sermons were published in Latin, after being delivered to a Muslim audience, but Juan Andrés's translation has been lost. In his *Confusión* he included as many as seventy Quranic quotations transcribed and translated into Spanish, with textual comments.<sup>78</sup> One wonders whether Juan Andrés, who had been a Muslim, might have used previous translations of the Qurʾān made by Muslims for the internal use of the community. López-Morillas has collated the translations of Juan Andrés with those of the 1606 Qurʾān, which she herself edited, as well as with other *aljamiado* versions, and has shown their complete lack of convergence.<sup>79</sup> Conversely, some quotations from *Confusión o confutación de la secta Mahomética y del Alcorán* coincide with the C layer of the Latin translation of the Qurʾān commissioned by Egidio da Viterbo. Some of these similarities (indicated in **bold**) may be observed in the examples provided below.<sup>80</sup>

For example, there is very similar wording concerning the Virgin Mary in the verses 3:37, 3:42:

Y dize en el mesmo capítulo [**capítulo segundo, libro primero**] cómo cayeron las suertes sobre Zacharías, y que Zacharías tomó la Virgen María encomendada. Así mesmo dize en el mesmo capítulo cómo esta María fablava con los ángeles y comunicava con ellos. La qual María fue mantenida de viandes celestiales; (...) “Cómo dixieron los ángeles a María: **O María, ciertamente Dios te escogió y te alimpió y te exalzó sobre todas las mugeres de todas las generaciones.**” Y dize cómo **entró Zacharías** un día **en el oratorio**, y falló a María comiendo veanda que no avía dado él a María y dixole Zacharías: “O María, **¿de dónde** oviste esta comida teniendo yo las llaves de tu oratorio?”<sup>81</sup>

<sup>78</sup> Published for the first time in Valencia, Juan Joffre, 1515, then in Seville in 1537 (although it was in fact printed in Venice, but with the name Seville, in order to escape the Venetian authorities). It was first translated into Italian in several editions, and from Italian into Latin and other European languages, including English and German, in different editions, for which see the “Estudio introductorio” by Elisa Ruiz García in her recent modern edition of, Juan Andrés, *Confusión o confutación de la secta Mahomética y del Alcorán*.

<sup>79</sup> López-Morillas, *El Corán de Toledo*.

<sup>80</sup> Regarding the criteria of comparison, see the preliminary observations in Appendix I.

<sup>81</sup> Ruiz García and García-Monge (eds.), *Confusión o confutación de la secta Mahomética y del Alcorán*, p. 138-139.

Whereas in the Latin Qur’ān we read:

[Azoara 2a liber 1us, 3:42] Et quando dixerunt angeli Mariae: “Deus exaltauit te, et mundauit te, et elegit te super omnes mulieres generationum. (M, C) [3:37] 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.

Similarly, we find a parallel between the Latin *bucina* (trumpet, horn) and the vernacular *bozina* in the translation of verse 39:68:

Primero argomiento es lo que dize **libro cuarto, capítulo segundo**, (...) que quiere dezir cómo **en la fin del mundo** sonará una **bozina** y cayrán muertos los **ángeles** del cielo y los **hombres** de la tierra. Y después sonará la dicha **bozina** otra vez y **resucitarán** todos, así ángeles como hombres.<sup>82</sup>

In the case of the Latin translation, the comments included in the apparatus are especially revealing:

[Azoara 2a liber 4us]  
Et clangetur bucina et morientur omnes qui sunt in caelo et in terra, exceptis iis quos Deus uoluerit. Et postea iterum fuit clangor bucinae et ecce omnes surgentes aspiciendo. (C)

clangetur bucina ] flabunt in cornu M • **clangetur bucina add. in die iudicii s.l. C**  
• flabunt in cornu *add.* flabitur in tuba *s.l. M* • morientur omnes qui sunt in caelo  
] cadent qui erunt in caelis M • caelo *add.* **angeli s.l. C** • terra *add.* **homines s.l. C**  
... surgentes *add.* **resuscitati s.l. C**

Last but not least, we may focus on the translation of the very term *Qur’ān*, which also matches up between the two sources (verse 21:48):

El quarto argomiento es lo que dize **capítulo tercero, libro tercero**. (...) “Cómo Dios embió **Alforcán**, qu’ es el mesmo Alcorán a Moysés y a Aarón, **luz y amonestación a los justos**.”<sup>83</sup>

Indeed, the description in the Latin translation is almost identical:

[Azoara 3a liber 3us]  
Et dedimus Moyysi et Aaron Alphurcan, lucem et admonitionem pro iustis, (M)

<sup>82</sup> Ruiz García and García-Monge (eds.), *Confusión o confutación*, p. 135.

<sup>83</sup> Ruiz García and García-Monge (eds.), *Confusión o confutación*, p. 140.

Moreover, it should be noted that in all the above mentioned cases the division of the Qur'ān into four parts is the same. The relationship between the Quranic quotations provided by Juan Andrés and the translation produced by Juan Gabriel of Teruel undoubtedly deserves a more detailed study, which we hope to carry out in the near future. In the meantime, let us conclude by putting forward a working hypothesis: that the text attributed to Juan Andrés was not in its entirety authored by him; at the very least, we can argue that his text was created in the circle of Martín García and was put together by different authors and in different hands. Everette Larson has shown in an extremely detailed linguistic study of Juan Andrés's text that several persons must have been involved in its composition.<sup>84</sup> Larson states that "only in the transcribed Arabic text have we discerned an orthographic and phonetic unity that suggests a single author."<sup>85</sup> Larsson does not question the involvement of a converted Mudejar, but raises the question of the exact nature of his involvement in the final version of the *Confusión*. We suggest that there was a repertoire of Islamic sources which were used by different agents for polemical purposes.

Although we will leave this suggestion as just a working hypothesis, at the end of this essay we will also be able to put forward some conclusions that reach further than our initial aim, namely, identifying the Juan Gabriel of Martín de Figuerola with the Ioannes Gabriellis of Egidio da Viterbo. We have been able to highlight the importance of the work done by the circle of Martín García, to a degree which has not yet been fully explored. Moreover, our essay shows why it is interesting that this work arose in Italy, not only because of the collaboration of an Aragonese Mudejar in the ambitious intellectual endeavours of an Italian cardinal, but also due to the fact that Martín de Figuerola's work was brought to Italy and copied there, and, moreover, that the parallel work of Juan Andrés was the object of several very influential Italian editions.

The arguments developed in this essay also demonstrate an issue which has been debated in the recent literature, i.e. whether the Muslims of Aragon knew Arabic, or whether, on the contrary Arabic had been

<sup>84</sup> Larson, *A Study of the 'Confusión de la secta mahomética' of Juan Andrés*. We are grateful to Gerard Wiegers for providing us with a copy of this unpublished dissertation.

<sup>85</sup> Larson, *A Study of the 'Confusión de la secta mahomética'*, p. 26; Wiegers, *Rev. of Confusión o confutación de la secta mahomética y del Alcorán*, p. 258.

totally lost, in which case Aragonese Mudejars had to rely on translations made by others, or made in previous centuries. It is our belief that, even if Arabic had been lost or was no longer used orally by the majority of an illiterate rural population (a fact about which Martín de Figuerola is very emphatic),<sup>86</sup> there were *alfaquís*, the “guardians of Islam,”<sup>87</sup> who had kept a tradition of Quranic knowledge and *tafsīr*. These were figures whom erudite people moving in European circles of Early Modern scholarship made a point of recruiting and taking into account. Moreover, given the difficulty of rendering the Muslim holy book into a Christian language, collaboration of Muslims or ex-Muslims was often requested. Such were the cases of Mohamet working with Robert of Ketton and Herman of Carinthia on the first translation of the Qur’ān,<sup>88</sup> Iça Gidelli collaborating with Juan de Segovia,<sup>89</sup> Juan Gabriel and Leo Africanus’s contributions or the assistance offered by Josep Aravigo, *alfaquí* of Zumilla who taught the language of the Qur’ān to Pérez de Chinchón.<sup>90</sup> A tradition of collaboration between a Muslim or a Muslim convert and a Christian ecclesiastical personality was to be continued from the Middle Ages up to the translation of Ludovico Marracci.

## Appendix I

### Comparison of the Quranic quotations from *Lumbre de fe* with the Latin translation of the Qur’ān

#### *Preliminary observations*

The Latin fragments are compared with the vernacular; fragments of the *C* manuscript are compared whenever *C* is extant. The *C* manuscript is considered more faithful to the original.

<sup>86</sup> “Se submeter a un alfaquí que no tiene letras algunas, que es más lego que un labrador, que en dezir que sabe todo el alcorán de corazón que no tiene necesidad de más saber, y desde dentro tengo experiencia así de los alfaquís de Aragón y de Valencia,” f. 23, “y ellos como simples e ignorantes que no saben leer ni entender el Alcorán ni saben algarabía que todos son aljamiados darán fe al alfaquí,” f. 253.

<sup>87</sup> See for example, Miller, *Guardians of Islam. Religious Authority and Muslim Communities of Late Medieval Spain*, pp. 102 and ff.

<sup>88</sup> Martínez Gázquez, “*Las traducciones latinas del Corán, arma antiislámica en la cristiandad medieval*,” esp. p. 13.

<sup>89</sup> Burman, *Reading the Qur’ān*, pp. 181-88.

<sup>90</sup> Pérez de Chinchón, *Antialcorano*, p. 82.

In the places where we know that *M* copied from Thomas Erpenius' *Sura Yusuf wa tahajji al-'Arabi, Historia Yosephi partiarthae, ex Alcorano*, Erpenius' text is provided in the footnotes.

The similarities between the two fragments are highlighted in **bold**.

The differences between the fragments are underlined.

The numbers of *suwar* and books (*liber*) come from the *M* manuscript, the abbreviation 'v.' stands for *versus* [verse, *āyah*].

Extracts from the critical apparatus are given when they provide data for comparison.

For the purpose of comparison and in order to underline the similarities between the two texts, we have provided some corresponding translations by Mark of Toledo and Germanus of Silesia. In the footnotes, the translations of the four fragments presented in Appendix I are contrasted with those of Mark of Toledo (MT) and Germanus of Silesia (GS).

**Table 5: Comparison between *Lumbre de fe* and the Latin Qur'ān**

	<i>Lumbre de fe</i>	Latin Qur'ān
2:136 <sup>91</sup>	libro primero azora primera alea cient y treynta y siete: nos crehemos en dios y <b>en lo que</b> fue decendido a nos y a Abraham y a Izmael y a Isaac y Jacob y a los tribus y lo que se dio a Moysen y a Jesús y lo que se dio a los prophetas de parte (—) su señor y no nos apartamos ninguno dellos y somos creyentes.	Azoara 1 <sup>a</sup> liber 1 <sup>us</sup> , v. 134  Dicite: “Nos credimus in Deum et <b>in id quod</b> nobis descendit, et quod Deus cedit Abraham, Ismaeli, et Isaac, et Iacob, et tribubus, et id quod uenit Moyses et Iesu, et id quod uenit propheta a domino suo; et non discedimus a nullo, et nos sumus ei mauri.” (C)
1:2	alabado seha Dios señor de las naciones	Laudetur Deus, dominus generationum (M)
1:2	piadoso apiadador	misericors, clemens, (M)

<sup>91</sup> MT: “Dicite: ‘Credimus in Deum et in id quod destinatum fuit ad nos et ad Abraham et Ysmael et Ysaac et Iacob et tribus; et in id quod datum fuit Moysi et Ihesu; et in id quod traditum fuit Prophetis a creatore suo; non distingo inter eos et nos, ei sumus oblati.’” GS: “Nos credimus in Deum et quod caelitus datus est... Item quod traditum est Abrahæ et Ismaeli et Isaac et Iacob et tribubus. Item quod commissum est Moysi et Iesu et quod collatum est reliquis prophetis a Domino suo. Non facimus discrimen inter quempiam ipsorum. Nos enim fide pura simplici ei.... obedientes sumus.”

	<i>Lumbre de fe</i>	Latin Qur’ān
1:3	rey del día del Juhicio	dominus diei iudicii. (M)
1:4 <sup>92</sup>	a ti adoramos y <b>por ti</b> nos ayudaremos	Te adoramus <b>et per te</b> adiuuabimur. (M)
1:5	encaminamos por el camino <b>derecho</b> ,	Dirige nos per uiam beatorum (M) beatorum <i>add. rectam s.l. M</i>
1:6	el camino de los bienaventurados	et illorum qui a te gratias acceperunt, (M) et illorum qui a te gratias acceperunt <i>add. per uiam illorum quos gratiam dedisti in eos s.l. M</i>
1:7 <sup>93</sup>	y no por el camino de los malditos errados.	et non per uiam maledictorum neque errantium. (M)
32:23	libro tercero capítulo decimo cuarto alea vin y quatro: A hemos dado a Moysen el libro <b>pues no esteys enduda</b>	Azoara 14 <sup>a</sup> liber 3 <sup>us</sup> , v. 23  Iam dedimus nos Moysi scripturam, <b>igitur ne sitis in dubio</b> de congregatione eius, et posuimus eam uiam filiis Israelis. (M) <i>ne sitis in dubio de congregatione add. non sis in dubio de obuiatione s.l. M</i>
17:88	libro 2º capítulo II alea 87: Di tu que <sup>94</sup> : “Si todos los hombres y los demonios se ayuntassen para hacer otro alcorán no lo harán <b>aunque los unos a los otros se ayudasen</b> .”	Azoara 11 <sup>a</sup> liber 2 <sup>us</sup> , v. 90 Dic: “Si congregarentur homines et diaboli super ferre <u>similem</u> huius Alcoran, non ferrent eum <u>similem ei</u> , <b>licet auxiliaretur alter alterius.</b> ” (M)
85:3	libro cuarto capítulo 48 alea cuarta: Y <b>por el testigo y por la cosa testiguada</b>	Azoara 49 <sup>a</sup> liber 4 <sup>us</sup> Et manifestatio manifesta! (M) manifestatio manifesta <i>add. per testem et testificatum s.l. M</i>

<sup>92</sup> MT: “Te quidem adoramus, per te uiuamus.” GS: “Te colimus et imploramus opem tuam.”

<sup>93</sup> MT: “...quam eis erogasti, non eorum contra quos iratus es neque dampnatorum.” GS: “...non eorum, super quos ira tua requiescit, neque illorum, qui errorem sequuntur.”

<sup>94</sup> *Dic tu quod* [‘di tú que’] is an often-used phrase in this Latin Qur’ān.

	<i>Lumbre de fe</i>	Latin Qur'ān
66:12	y Maria figa de <b>amran aquella que guardo su virginida</b>	Et de Maria, filia Habrahae, <b>illa quae seruauit uirginitatem suam</b> ; et inspi-rauimus in illam de spiritu nostro. Et creditit uerbis domini sui in librum eius, et fuit una ex deuotis. (C) Maria, filia Habrahae ] Mariam, filiam Ioachim M • Ioachim <i>add.</i> <b>Emran</b> <i>s.l.</i> M • seruauit ] custodiuit M • uirginitatem <i>add.</i> uuluam <i>s.l.</i> M
3:67 <sup>95</sup>	Libro primero capítulo segundo alea sesenta y cinco: no fue Abraham judio ni cristiano mas fue <b>verdadero moro</b> y no fue de <b>blas-femadores</b>	Azoara 2 <sup>a</sup> liber 1 <sup>us</sup> , v. 66 Non fuit Habraham iudeus nec chris-tianus sed fuit <b>uerus maurus</b> , et non fuit ex illis qui blasfemauerunt. (C) illis qui blasfemauerunt ] <b>blasphemantibus</b> M • blasphemantibus <i>add.</i> participantibus <i>s.l.</i> M
39:11	Libro 4 <sup>o</sup> capítulo segundo, alea 13: Di tu seoy mandado de dios en que adoreis a el para mente el qual tiene la ley	Azoara 2 <sup>a</sup> liber 4 <sup>us</sup> , v. 13 Dic tu: “Mihi praeceptum est ut adorem Deum catholice, qui habet legem, (C) tu <i>om.</i> M • tu <i>add.</i> Machoma <i>s.l.</i> C • Mihi praeceptum est ] Ego praecipior M • qui habet legem ] eum in lege M • legem <i>add.</i> ueram <i>s.l.</i> C
39:12	y asi que fui mandado ser el primero de los <b>moros</b> .	et mihi praeceptum est ut <sim> primus ex credentibus.” (C) credentibus <i>add.</i> <b>mauris</b> <i>s.l.</i> C
20:123	Libro 3 <sup>o</sup> capítulo 2 <sup>o</sup> , alea 122: Dije <b>desendet</b> vosotros todos enemi-gos	Azoara 2 <sup>a</sup> liber 3 <sup>us</sup> , v. 113 <b>Dixit: “Descendite ex eo omnes</b> , uni aliis <b>inimici</b> . Ego mittam uobis ex me directionem.” (M) omnes uni <i>add.</i> uterque <i>s.l.</i> M
basmala	en el nombre de dios <b>piadoso apiada-dor</b>	<i>e.g.</i> Q 7, Q 8, Q 10: Cum nomine Dei <b>pīi pietatoris</b> . (M)

<sup>95</sup> MT: “Non fuit Abraham Iudeus neque Christianus, sed Ysmahelita neque ydolatra.”  
GS: “Nequaquam fuit Abraham Iudaeus neque Christianus sed fuit Hanafita.”



	<i>Lumbre de fe</i>	Latin Qur’ān
22:3	Libro 3, capítulo 4, alea cuarta: y de los hombres ay algunos que disputan contra dios <b>sin sabiduria siguen en todo al diablo maldito</b>	Azoara 4 <sup>a</sup> liber 3 <sup>us</sup> , v. 3 Et ex hominibus sunt qui disputant de Deo <b>absque scientia et sequuntur omnem diabolum maledictum.</b> (M)
6:38	Libro 1 <sup>o</sup> , capítulo 5, alea 39: Y no hay ningun animal en la tierra <b>ni ave bolando con sus alas</b> que no sean resucitados como nosotros y nos no avemos faltado el el libro cosa alguna y <b>después seran a su criador resucitados.</b>	Azoara 5a liber 1us, v. 39 Et nullum animal est in terra <b>neque auis uolans alis suis</b> , quibus non sint generationes sicut uobis; et nos nihil detraximus de libro. <b>Et postea erunt resuscitati a creatore suo.</b> (C)  resuscitati a creatore suo ] a suo creatore resuscitati M
7:11	Libro segundo, capítulo primero, alea 11: ya vemos creado y despues avemos nos formado y avemos dicho a los angeles <b>que adorassen a adam</b> los quales lo adoraron sino el demonio <b>el quel no fue de los adorantes.</b>	Azoara 1 <sup>a</sup> liber 2 <sup>us</sup> , v. 10 Iam creauimus uos, postea figurauimus uos, postea diximus angelis: “ <u>Adorate Adam!</u> ” Certe adorauerunt praeter diabolum, <b>qui non fuit ex adorantibus.</b> (M)
19:68	libro tercero capítulo primero alea 67: pues por tu señor yo los reçussitarse y tambien a los demonios y <b>después los presentare</b> cabo el Infierno todos como a <b>truncos</b>	Azoara 1 <sup>a</sup> liber 3 <sup>us</sup> , v. 68 Igitur pro domino, tuo ego educam eos et diabolos, <b>postea ego repraesentabo eos</b> circuitui inferni <b>truncos.</b> (M)
108:1	Libro 4 <sup>o</sup> capítulo 61: nos te avemos dado la fuente	Azoara 71 <sup>a</sup> liber 4 <sup>us</sup> Et nos dedimus tibi Alcautar. (M) Alcautar <i>add.</i> id est, flumen paradisi <i>s.l.</i> M
108:2	<b>pues aze la oracion a tu señor</b>	Et <b>fac orationem ad dominum tuum!</b> (M) Et fac orationem <i>add.</i> <b>Igitur</b> ora <i>s.l.</i> M
108:3	y sacrifica que tu enemigo sera cortado	Et sacrifica quod inimicus tuus est succisus. (M)
19:71	y no ay ninguno de vosotros que no aya dentrar en Infierno, la qual cosa fue de <b>tu señor mandamiento determinado</b>	Et non erit ex uobis nisi qui intrabit, erit super <b>dominum tuum mandatum determinatum.</b> (M)

	<i>Lumbre de fe</i>	Latin Qur'ān
19:72	después vos salvara a los justos y dexará a los injuriadores en el como <b>truncos</b>	Postea liberabimus illos qui timebunt et relinquamus iniuriatores in eo <b>truncos</b> . ( <i>M</i> ) timebunt <i>add.</i> timuerunt <i>s.l. M</i>
36:67	Libro tercero capitulo 18, alea 68: Y suos queremos destruir,	Azoara 18 <sup>a</sup> liber 3 <sup>us</sup> , v. 65 Et si <b>uellemus, destruissemus</b> super habitationes suas, et non potuissent defendere se neque conuerti. ( <i>M</i> )
2:138	libro primero capítulo 1º, alea 139: <b>trinchera de Dios</b> y a esto dicen <i>bautismo</i> .	Azoara 1 <sup>a</sup> liber 1 <sup>us</sup> , v. 136 <b>Tinctura Dei</b> , nulla est melior tinctura quam illa quae est Dei quem omnes adoramus. ( <i>M</i> ) Tinctura <i>add.</i> scilicet, <b>baptisma</b> <i>s.l. M</i> • nulla est melior tinctura <i>add.</i> et quis melior <b>baptismate</b> <i>s.l. M</i>
3:169	libro 1º, capítulo 2º, alea 167: <b>Y no penseis que aquello que son muertos por amor de dios que son finados; ciertamente ellos son bivos con su creador mantenidos.</b>	Azoara 2 <sup>a</sup> liber 1 <sup>us</sup> , v. 169 <b>Et nolite cogitare quod illi, qui mortui sunt propter amorem Dei, sunt defuncti. Certe illi sunt uiui, et cum creatore suo nutriti,</b> ( <i>C</i> )
32:11	libro tercero capitulo decimocuarto alea doce: Di tu que a vosotros <b>finara el angel de la muerte el qual</b> fue y tiene cargo de vosotros y después volveréis a vuestro señor	Azoara 14 <sup>a</sup> liber 3 <sup>us</sup> , v. 11 Dic: "Occidet uos rex <b>mortis, ille qui</b> est procurator pro uobis, <b>postea ad dominum uestrum reuertemini.</b> " ( <i>M</i> ) Occidet <i>add.</i> <b>Complebit</b> <i>s.l. M</i> • rex <i>add.</i> <b>angelus</b> <i>s.l. M</i>
2:253	libro primero, capitulo primero, alea dozientas cincuenta y una: <b>Aquellos fueron los prophetas y mensajeros los quales havemos exaltado unos mas que otros, y dellos ay a quien dios habló y havemos dado a Jesus hijo de María las declaraciones</b>	Azoara 1 <sup>a</sup> liber 1 <sup>us</sup> , v. 251 <b>Illi fuerunt prophetae uel nuncii quos exaltauimus et quosdam magis quam alios, et ex illis sunt aliqui quos locutus est Deus;</b> et sublimauimus quosdam in dignitate, <b>et dedimus Iesu filio Mariae declarationes</b> quem adiuuabimus cum Spiritu Sancto, et si Deus uoluisset, non pugnassent priores postquam habuerunt declarationes, sed habuerunt differentiam inter se, et aliqui ex illis crediderunt, quidam uero non crediderunt. Et si Deus uoluisset, non pugnassent. Igitur Deus agit quod uult. ( <i>C</i> )

	<i>Lumbre de fe</i>	Latin Qur’ān
3:52	Libro primero, capítulo segundo alea 54: después que Jesus <b>sintió dellos la blasfemia</b> , dixo quales son los ayudadores con <b>dios, dixeron los Apostoles nos somos ayudadores de dios, nos havemos creydo en dios, y hazednos testigos</b> que nos somos <b>salvos</b>	Azoara 2 <sup>a</sup> liber 1 <sup>us</sup> , v. 51 Et postquam Iesus <u>inuenit et deprehendit blasphemiam illorum</u> . Dixit: “Qui sunt adiutores <u>mei</u> cum Deo?” <b>Dixerunt apostoli: “Nos sumus adiutores Dei, nos credimus in Deum, et <u>sis testis</u> quod nos sumus mauri.</b> (C) Et <i>om.</i> <i>M</i> • Iesus inuenit et deprehendit ] <b>sensit</b> Iesus <i>M</i>    mei cum Deo ] <b>Deo</b> <i>M</i> • sis testis ] <b>facit nos testes</b> <i>M</i> • facit nos testes <i>add.</i> <b>testificare</b> <i>s.l.</i> <i>M</i>    mauri ] <b>saluii</b> (?) <i>M</i>
36:14	Libro tercero capítulo decimo octavo alea quatorce: Y quando <b>enviamos a ellos dos</b> y desmentieronlos y ayudamoslos con el <b>tercero</b> y dixeronnos, o vosotros embiados	Azoara 18a liber 3us, v. 13 <b>Et misimus eis duos</b> , et mentiti sunt eos, et compleuimus cum tribus. Et dixerunt: “Nos ad uos mittimur.” ( <i>M</i> ) tribus <i>add.</i> <b>tertio</b> <i>s.l.</i> <i>M</i>
33:56	Libro tercero capítulo quinzeno alea cincuenta y siete: y que dios y los angeles todos azen oracion <b>sobre el propheta</b> o vosotros <b>que habeyes creydo hazed oracion</b> sobre el que <b>saludad</b> sobre el <b>salutación</b> .	Azoara 15a liber 3us, v. 57 Et quod Deus et angeli eius dant salutationem <b>super prophetam</b> . O uos qui estis credentes! Salutate super eum et <b>salutate saluatione</b> magna. ( <i>M</i> ) uos qui estis credentes <i>add.</i> <b>qui crediderunt</b> <i>s.l.</i> <i>M</i> • Salutate super eum <i>add.</i> <b>Orate</b> pro eo <i>s.l.</i>
29:46	libro tercero capitulo undecimo alea cuarenta y siete: y no querais disputar con los que tienen la scriptura <b>si no con lo que es meior; sino a los que injuriaron dellos</b> . Y <b>dezid</b> , nosotros havemos crehido <b>en lo que fue descendido</b> a nos y <b>fue descendido</b> a vosotros y nuestro dios y vuestro dios es <b>un solo al qual somos moros</b> .	Azoara 11 <sup>a</sup> liber 3 <sup>us</sup> , v. 45 Et non disputetis eis qui habent scripturam <b>nisi cum eo qui est melior, nisi illis qui sunt iniuriatores ex eis</b> , et <b>dicent</b> : “Credidimus cum illo; descendit uobis et descendit nobis. Et est dominus noster et dominus uester idem, et <b>nos sumus ei mauri.</b> ” ( <i>M</i> ) dicent <i>add.</i> <b>dicite</b> <i>s.l.</i> <i>M</i>    cum illo; descendit uobis <i>add.</i> <b>in illum qui delatus fuit</b> uobis <i>s.l.</i> <i>M</i> • descendit <i>add.</i> <b>delatus fuit</b> <i>s.l.</i> <i>M</i> • idem <i>add.</i> <b>unus</b> <i>s.l.</i> <i>M</i>

	<i>Lumbre de fe</i>	Latin Qur'ān
16:125	libro segundo, capítulo 10, alea 125: ruego tu por el camino de tu <u>creador</u> con la <b>amonestación</b> y con la <b>sabiduría</b> santa y <b>disputa</b> tu <b>con ellos en lo que es mejor</b> . Con (?) tu <u>creador</u> es sabidor de los que hierran en su camino y el es sabidor de los bien encaminados.	Azoara 10 <sup>a</sup> liber 2 <sup>us</sup> , v. 123 Roga ad uiam <u>domini</u> tui cum scientia et cum <b>admonitione</b> sancta, et <b>disputa cum eis cum eo, quod est melius</b> ; quod <u>dominus</u> tuus est sapiens cum eo, qui errat a uia eius et is est sapiens cum directis. (M) scientia <i>add. sapientia s.l. M</i>
2:285	libro primero capitulo primero, alea dozientas y ochenta y dos: <b>el mensajero creyó en dios y en lo que fue descendido a el de su señor y los creyentes todos creyeron en dios y en sus angeles y en sus escrituras y mensajeros</b> etc.	Azoara 1 <sup>a</sup> liber 1 <sup>us</sup> , v. 281  Et <b>credidit nuncius quod delatum sibi fuit a suo createore</b> , et <b>omnes credentes crediderunt in Deum, et in eius angelos, et eius scripturas, et eius nuncios</b> , non agendo differentiam inter aliquos eius nunciorum, et dixerunt: "Audiuimus et obediuimus tuae indulgentiae, o creator noster, ad te ibimus." (M) createore <i>add. domino s.l. M</i>
21:91	<b>aquella que guardo la virginidad e inspiramos en ella de nuestro spiritu y pusimosle a su hijo milagroso a las naciones-</b>	Et ea, quae custodiuit uirginitatem suam, et <b>flauimus in ea ex spiritu nostro, et posuimus eam et filium eius miraculum pro nationibus</b> . (M) ea, quae <i>add. illam, quam s.l. M</i>
19:22	libro tercero, capítulo primero alea vint y una: <b>y empreyose del spiritu y se aparto con el en lugar extremo</b>	Azoara 1 <sup>a</sup> liber 3 <sup>us</sup> , v. 21  Et grauida facta est eo et <b>discessit cum eo in locum extremum</b> . (M) grauida facta est <i>add. ingrauidauit de s.l. M</i>
3:86	Libro primero, capítulo segundo, alea 84: quando encaminará dios a gente que descreyeron empues que fueron creyentes y <b>testiguaron</b> que el mensajero era verdadero.	Azoara 2 <sup>a</sup> liber 1 <sup>us</sup> , v. 85 Et quomodo diriget Deus gentem quae fuit incredula, postquam crediderat, et postquam testificata est quod nuncius erat uerus quibus uenerunt declarationes? Deus autem non diriget iniuriantes. (C) diriget <i>add. ducet s.l. M • testificata est ] testificauerint M</i>

	<i>Lumbre de fe</i>	Latin Qur’ān
19:18	libro tercero, capítulo primero, alea 17: dixo ella, yo me defiengo de ti con el piadoso si tu eres <b>tequia</b> .	Azoara 1a liber 3us, v. 17 Dixit: “Ego defendo me cum pio ex te si es <b>Iachia</b> .” (M) Iachia <i>add.</i> timens, sed glossa erat quod hoc erat nomen pulcherrimi iuuenis in Idumea. <i>s.l. M</i>
9:113	Libro segundo, capítulo tercero, alea 108: <b>No fue dado al mensajero ni a los creyentes que ellos demandasen perdón para los blasffemadores: en cara que fuesen parientes después que los fue declarando que son amigos del infierno.</b>	Azoara 3a liber 2 <sup>us</sup> , v. 112 <b>Non fuit datum prophetae et credentibus ut petant ueniam pro blasphematoribus, licet sint ex cognatis magis propinquis, postquam fuit declaratum iis quod ii sunt socii <u>pro igne</u>.</b> (M) pro igne <i>add. ignis s.l. M</i>
5:75	Libro primero, capítulo 4º, alea 81: <b>No es el Mexias hijo de Maria sino mensajero antes del qual passaron los messageros y su madre es muy santa –Los quales dos solian comer viandas,</b>	Azoara 4a liber 1 <sup>us</sup> , v. 81 <b>Non est messias, filius Mariae, nisi nuncius ante quem transierunt nuncii; et mater eius sanctissima, qui ambo solebant comedere cibos.</b> Animaduerte, quomodo declarauimus eis misteria, et postea animaduerte, quomodo facti sunt mendaces. (C)
3:46	libro 1, capítulo 20, alea 45: <b>y ablará a los hombres en la ninyez sera perfecto y sera de los santos.</b>	Azoara 2a liber 1 <sup>us</sup> , v. 46 <b>et loquetur ad homines in pueritia, et erit perfectus, eritque ex sanctis.</b> (C) loquetur ad ] alloquetur <i>M</i> • perfectus <i>add.</i> prouectus <b>et erit ex sanctis s.l. M</b> • eritque ex sanctis <i>om. M</i>
3:48	Libro primero, capítulo segundo, alea 47: <b>el qual enseñilla la scriptura y la sabiduria y la tora y los evangelios</b>	Azoara 2a liber 1 <sup>us</sup> , v. 48 <b>Quem docuit Deus</b> scripturam, et scientiam, et legem, et Euangelia. (C) Quem <i>add.</i> Iesum <i>s.l. C</i> • Quem docuit Deus ] <b>Qui docet</b> <i>M</i> • scientiam <i>add. sapientiam s.l. M</i>
3:49	sera mensajero	Et erit nuncius filiis Israel... (C)

	<i>Lumbre de fe</i>	Latin Qurʾān
38:82	Libro cuarto, capítulo segundo, alea 81 y 82: Pues por tu gloria yo los <b>enganyare</b> <u>generalmente</u> a todos	Azoara 1 <sup>a</sup> liber 4 <sup>us</sup> , v. 76-77  Dixit: “Igitur per gloriam tuam ego tentabo omnes, (C) Dixit <i>add.</i> diabolus <i>s.l.</i> C • Igitur <i>om.</i> M • tentabo ] <b>decipiam eos</b> M • omnes <i>add.</i> homines <i>s.l.</i> C
38:83	salvo a tus siervos los <b>catolicos</b>	exceptis seruis tuis qui sunt <b>catholici</b> ex illis.” (C) exceptis seruis tuis ] praeter seruos tuos M • <b>ex illis om.</b> M • illis <i>add.</i> hominibus <i>s.l.</i> C
94:2	libro quarto capítulo 57 alea tercera y quarta: y nos te quitamos el pecado	Azoara 57 <sup>a</sup> liber 4 <sup>us</sup>  Et demposuimus ex te peccatum tuum, (M)
94:3	aquel que <b>agraviaba</b> tus espaldas	illud quod erat in lateribus tuis. (M) erat in lateribus tuis <i>add.</i> <b>aggrauauit</b> lumbos tuos <i>s.l.</i> M
5:46	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.	Et misimus post eos Iesum, filium Mariae, uerum cum quod habet in manibus de lege, cui dedimus Euangelia... (C) misimus <i>add.</i> nos Deus <i>s.l.</i> C • misimus <i>add.</i> direximus <i>s.l.</i> M • post eos ] super eorum uestigia M • eos <i>add.</i> prophetas <i>s.l.</i> C • uestigia <i>add.</i> sanitas <i>s.l.</i> M • uerum <i>add.</i> ad uerificandum <i>s.l.</i> M • cum <i>add.</i> eo M    habet in manibus de lege ] exit in suis manibus ex Tora M • lege <i>add.</i> scilicet, ueteri <i>s.l.</i> C • suis manibus <i>add.</i> inter manus suas <i>s.l.</i> M    cui <i>add.</i> Iesu <i>s.l.</i> C • dedimus <i>add.</i> nos Deus <i>s.l.</i> C
4:105	libro primero capítulo tercero alea cient y quatro: y nos havemos descendido a ti scriptura para que juzgasees entre ellos	Azoara 3 <sup>a</sup> liber 1 <sup>us</sup> , v. 104  Et nos detulimus tibi scripturam ut iudicares inter homines... (C) nos <i>add.</i> Deus <i>s.l.</i> C • Et nos <i>add.</i> certe <i>s.l.</i> M • tibi <i>add.</i> Machoma <i>s.l.</i> C • scripturam <i>add.</i> cum ueritate M • scripturam <i>add.</i> Alcoran <i>s.l.</i> C • iudicares ] iudices M

	<i>Lumbre de fe</i>	Latin Qur’ān
61:14	Libro 4º, capt. 24, alea 15: O vosotros creyentes seyed <b>favorezadores</b> a Dios assi como dixo Jesus hiiio de Maria a <b>sus discípulos</b> .	Azoara 24ª liber 4 <sup>us</sup> , v. 14 O uos credentes! Estote <b>fauorabiles</b> Deo sicut dixit Iesus filius Mariae <b>discipulis suis...</b> (C) uos <i>add.</i> illi qui estis <i>M</i> • credentes <i>add.</i> mauri <i>s.l.</i> <i>C</i> • fauorabiles ] fauentes <i>M</i> • fauentes <i>add.</i> auxiliatores <i>s.l.</i> <i>M</i>    <i>discipulis suis</i> ] <u>apostolis</u> <i>M</i>
5:112	Libro primero, capítulo quarto alea <b>cient y diez y ocho</b> <b>quando dixeron los apóstoles</b> a Jesus hiiio de Maria y si <b>tiene poder</b> tu creador	Azoara 4ª liber 1 <sup>us</sup> , v. <b>118</b> <b>Quando dixerunt apostoli:</b> ‘O <u>Iesu</u> , fili Mariae, eia si <b>habet potestatem</b> creator tuus... (C) Quando ] Et cum <i>M</i> • eia si <i>om.</i> <i>M</i> • habet potestatem <i>add.</i> <u>an potest</u> <i>s.l.</i> <i>M</i>    creator tuus ] tuus creator <i>M</i>
2:272	Libro primero, capítulo primero, alea doscientas y setenta: no es dado a ti encaminarlos <b>pero</b> dios encaminara	Azoara 1ª liber 1 <sup>us</sup> , v. 268 Non est debitum tibi dirigere eos, et igitur Deus diriget quem uoluerit... (M) debitum tibi dirigere eos <i>add.</i> super te ductio eorum <i>s.l.</i> <i>M</i> • et igitur <i>add.</i> <b>sed</b> <i>s.l.</i> <i>M</i> • diriget <i>add.</i> duces <i>s.l.</i> <i>M</i>
3:95	libro primero capitulo segundo alea noventa y quatro: di tu que dios dixo verdad pues seguid la ley de <b>Abraham Catholico</b> y no que de los <b>blasfemadores</b> .	Azoara 2ª liber 1 <sup>us</sup> , v. 95 Dic tu quod Deus dixit ueritatem, ergo sequimini <b>legem catholicam Abraham</b> , qui non fuit ex <b>blasfemantibus</b> . (C) tu <i>add.</i> <u>signum crucis</u> <i>s.l.</i> <i>M</i> • sequimini ] sequimini <i>M</i> • sequimini <i>add.</i> uos mauri, iudei et christiani <i>s.l.</i> <i>C</i> • sequimini <i>add.</i> scilicet, iudei, christiani, mauri <i>s.l.</i> <i>M</i>    Abraham ] Habrahae <i>C</i> • catholicam Abraham ] Abrahae catholice <i>M</i> • qui ] et <i>M</i> • blasfemantibus ] blasphematis <i>M</i> • blasphematis <i>add.</i> participantibus <i>s.l.</i> <i>M</i>

	<i>Lumbre de fe</i>	Latin Qurʾān
12:106	Libro segundo, capítulo sexto alea 107: <b>y no crehen los mas de ellos</b> en dios que no son sino <b>blasfemadores</b>	Azoara 6 <sup>a</sup> liber 2 <sup>us</sup> <sup>96</sup> <b>Et non credunt plures eorum</b> cum Deo, nisi quod ii sunt <b>blasphematores</b> . (M) cum Deo <i>add.</i> in Deum <i>s.l.</i> M • quod ii sunt blasphematores <i>add.</i> essent <u>participantes</u> <i>s.l.</i> M
5:64	libro primero capitulo quarto alea setenta: y dixeron los judios la mano de dios es cerrada sus manos serán cerradas y ellos malditos – <i>Cosa manifiesta es y puesta en razón.</i>	Azoara 4 <sup>a</sup> liber 1 <sup>us</sup> , v. <b>70</b> Et dixerunt iudei: “Manus Dei est clausa.” Manus illorum sint clausae et illi sint maledicti... (C) Et <i>om.</i> M • est <i>om.</i> M • clausa <i>add.</i> id est, contracta ne faciat bonum <i>s.l.</i> C • illorum <i>add.</i> iudeorum <i>s.l.</i> C    Manus illorum sint clausae et illi sint ] clausae sunt eius manus et sunt M • Sed potius manus eius ] Imo eius manus M • eius <i>add.</i> Dei <i>s.l.</i> C
7:159	Libro segundo capítulo primero, alea cient y sesenta y quatro: <b>y la gente de Moyses algunos se encaminan con la verdad con la qual se ygualaran-</b>	Azoara 1 <sup>a</sup> liber 2 <sup>us</sup> , v. 157 <b>Et ex gente Moysis fuerunt aliqui, qui directi sunt cum ueritate et cum ea aequati sunt.</b> (M) fuerunt aliqui, qui directi <i>add.</i> <u>agmina ducunt</u> <i>s.l.</i> M    aequati sunt <i>add.</i> aequati <i>s.l.</i> M
12:111	libro segundo, capítulo sexto, alea cient y doze: grande milagro huvo en sus historias; pero fue verdad lo que está en sus evangelios y en la Thora y declaracion.	Azoara 6 <sup>a</sup> liber 2 <sup>us</sup> <sup>97</sup> Certum fuit in historiis suis miracula pro iis ex certis rationibus, et non fuit historiarum falsi. Igitur fuit ueritas

<sup>96</sup> Thomas Erpenius, *Sura Yusuf wa tahajji al-‘Arabi, Historia Yosephi partiarcae, ex Alcorano*, 106: “Et non credunt plurimi eorum in Deum, nisi et ipsi associantes.” / “Et major eorum pars in Deum non credit, quin et socium ei adjungat.”

<sup>97</sup> Thomas Erpenius, *Sura Yusuf wa tahajji al-‘Arabi, Historia Yosephi partiarcae, ex Alcorano*, 111: “Vtique est in narratione eorum exemplum habentibus prudentiam. Non est historia ficta: sed verificatio ejus quod inter manus ejus; et distinctio omnis rei; et via



	<i>Lumbre de fe</i>	Latin Qur’ān
		illud quod erat in manibus suis, et declaratio omnis rei, et uia, et misericordia pro gentibus credentibus. (M) rat inter manus suas s.l. M    uia add. ductio s.l. M iis ex certis rationibus add. sociis intellectuum s.l. M • et add. signum crucis s.l. M    historiarum falsi add. historia falsificata s.l. M • Igitur fuit ueritas illud quod erat in manibus suis add. sed uerificatio illius quod erat inter manus suas s.l. M    uia add. ductio s.l. M
51:1	Libro quarto capitulo decimo y sexto en las aleas primera, segunda, tercera y quarta: Que dios <b>jurava</b> por los vientos corriendo	Azoara 14 <sup>a</sup> liber 4 <sup>us</sup> , v. 1-3  Per uentos discurrentes! (C)  discurrentes ] currentes M • uentos discurrentes add. <b>iuramentum</b> s.l. C • uentos currentes add. uentilatos uentilationem s.l. M
51:2	y por las naves cargadas	Et per nubes oneratas! (C) oneratas ] grauatas M • oneratas add. aquis s.l. C • grauatas add. ferentes farcinam s.l. M
51:3	y por las naves que corren ligeramente.	Et per naues quae currunt longe! (C) currunt add. in mari s.l. C • naues quae currunt add. currentes faciliter s.l. M • longe om. M
68:1	libro quarto capitulo treinta y uno alea primera y segunda juro pdios por el entero y por la pluma y por lo que scriuieron	Azoara 31 <sup>a</sup> liber 4 <sup>us</sup> , v. 1-2  N. Per atramentarium et per plumam et quod scribunt! (M) atramentarium add. calamum s.l. M

recta; et misericordia populo credenti.” / “Habent prudentes in narratione eorum exemplum: neque historia est fabulosa, sed ueritatem adstruens ejus quod in manibus habet, et discretio omnis rei, viaque recta, et misericordia populo credenti.”

	<i>Lumbre de fe</i>	Latin Qur'ān
68:2	que tu no eres por la gracia de dios <b>en-demoniado</b>	Et quod tu no es propter gratiam domini sui <b>daemoniacus!</b> ( <i>M</i> )
2:23	Libro primero captiulo segundo, alea 23: Si estais en duda en lo que havemos descendido sobre vuestro siervo.	Azoara 1 <sup>a</sup> liber 1 <sup>us</sup> , v. 21  Et si dubitatis de illo quod detulimus super seruum nostrum... ( <i>C</i> ) dubitatis ] uos estis in dubio <i>M</i> • uos estis <i>add.</i> fuistis <i>s.l.</i> <i>M</i> • illo <i>add.</i> scilicet, Alcorano <i>s.l.</i> <i>CM</i> • detulimus <i>add.</i> fecimus descendere <i>s.l.</i> <i>M</i> • seruum nostrum <i>add.</i> scilicet, Machom <i>s.l.</i> <i>CM</i>

**Table 6: Division of the Qur'ān**

	Figuerola	<i>CM</i>
Number of books	Este dicho libro del Alcoran contra el qual escrivimos tiene quatro libros [Said book of the Qu'rān against which we are writing has four books]	LIBER I: <i>suwar</i> 1 to 6 LIBER II: <i>suwar</i> 7 to 18 LIBER III: <i>suwar</i> 19 to 37 LIBER IV: <i>suwar</i> 38 to 114
Number of chapters	los quales contienen en si todos ciento y treze capítulos, [which contain a total of 113 chapters]	There are also 113 <i>suwar</i> in the Latin Qu'rān, in which the first does not count as a <i>sūrah</i> .
Place of revelation	los ochenta y tres fueron dados en meca, los treinta en Amedina. [83 of them were given in Mecca and 30 in Medina]	According to <i>M</i> there are 25 ( $\pm 1$ ) revealed in Medina and 88 in Mecca, with discrepancies between <i>C</i> and <i>M</i> concerning the place where <i>suwar</i> 57 ( <i>C</i> : Tribula vs. <i>M</i> : Mecha) and 61 ( <i>C</i> : Mecca vs. <i>M</i> : Almedina) were revealed.

## Appendix II

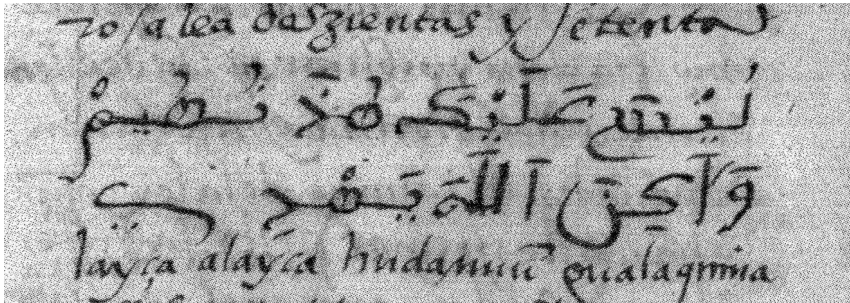
### Sample of Quranic quotations in Martín de Figuerola’s *Lumbre de fe*.

#### *Preliminary observations*

In this appendix we provide a transcription of several fragments of Figuerola’s manuscript.

The images show quotations from the Qur’ān, below which the corresponding transcriptions in Arabic have been provided, along with footnotes containing references to the standard edition of the Qur’ān.

[54r.] Libro primero, capítulo primero, alea doscientas y setenta:



لَيْسَ عَلَيْكَ هُدَاهُمْ وَلَا تَضَلُّهُمُ 98

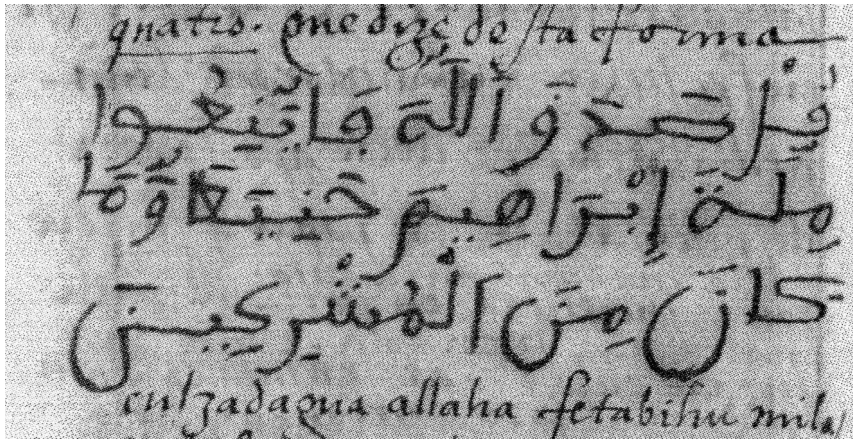
*Layça alayça hudatuum gualaquina allaha yaddi.*

Quiere decir: no es dado a ti encaminarlos pero dios encaminará. Esto dize Mahomet de sí mismo, que no es el encaminador, pero dize en la

<sup>98</sup> لَيْسَ عَلَيْكَ هُدَاهُمْ وَلَكِنَّ اللَّهَ يَهْدِي مَنْ يَشَاءُ وَمَا تُضَلُّوا مِنْ خَيْرٍ فَلَا تُفْسِدُوا مَا تَنْفَعُونَ إِلَّا ابْتِغَاءَ وَجْهِ اللَّهِ 2:272  
وَمَا تُضَلُّوا مِنْ خَيْرٍ يُؤَفَّ إِلَيْكُمْ وَأَنْتُمْ لَا تُظْلَمُونَ

Zuna en un libro que se dize Aziep que no hay otro encaminador sino Jesucristo hijo de María.

[58v.] Y más que no hos podáys dezir moros sin que guardéys la ley de Abraham assí hos lo mandó Mahomet en su Alcorán libro primero capítulo segundo alea noventa y quatro que dize de esta forma:



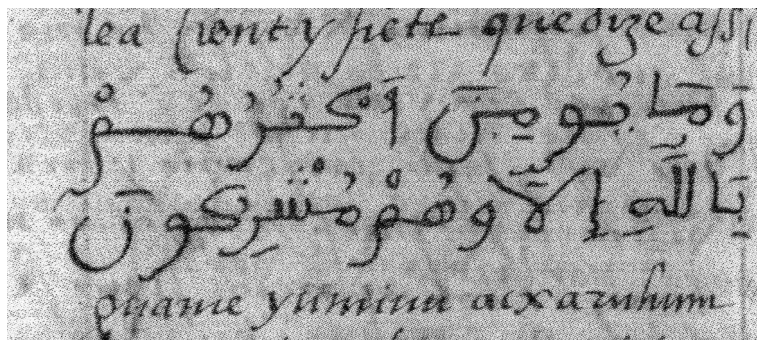
<sup>99</sup> قُلْ صَدَقَ اللَّهُ فَاتَّبِعُوا مِلَّةَ إِبْرَاهِيمَ حَنِيفًا وَمَا كَانَ مِنَ الْمُشْرِكِينَ

*Culzadagua allaha fetabihu milata hibrayma abie guamequena minal-muxeriquina.*

Quiere dezir: di tú que dios dixo verdad pues seguid la ley de Abraham Católico y no fue de los blasfemadores. Pues dime tú, alfaquí, si tienes entendimiento que siguiendo la deguella de Abram y la circuncisión guardáys por ventura las serimonias de aquel? No por cierto.

<sup>99</sup> قُلْ صَدَقَ اللَّهُ فَاتَّبِعُوا مِلَّةَ إِبْرَاهِيمَ حَنِيفًا وَمَا كَانَ مِنَ الْمُشْرِكِينَ 3:95

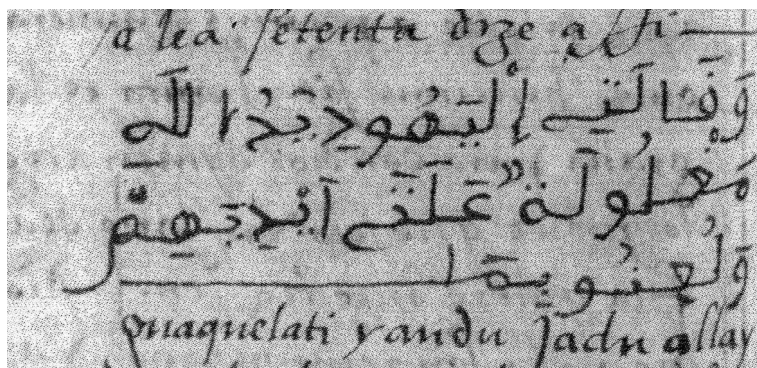
[61v.] Libro segundo, capítulo sexto alea cient y siete que dize assí:



<sup>100</sup> وَمَا يُؤْمِنُ أَكْثَرُهُمْ بِاللَّهِ إِلَّا وَهُمْ مُشْرِكُونَ

*Guame yuminu acxaruhum biellay ileguahum muxiricuna.*

Quiere dezir: y no crehen los más de ellos en dios que no son sino blasfemadores. Dizen los glosadores sobre esta lea que los judíos y christianos ahunque crehan en dios no son creyentes porque no crehen en Mahomet y de los judíos lo dizen más claro en el libro primero capítulo quarto alea setenta dize assí:



<sup>101</sup> وَقَالَتِ الْيَهُودُ نَبِيُّ اللَّهِ مَغْلُوبٌ عَلَيْنَا وَلَمْ يَكُن لَنَا سُلْطَانٌ عَلَيْهِمْ سَاءَ الْيَوْمِ سَاءَ

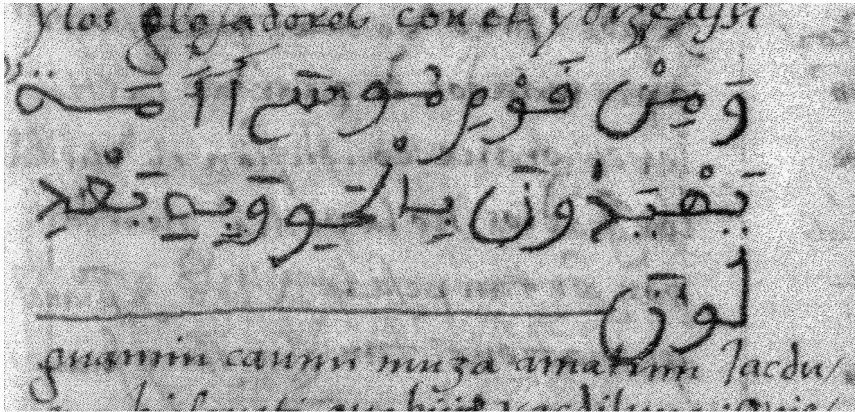
<sup>100</sup> وَمَا يُؤْمِنُ أَكْثَرُهُمْ بِاللَّهِ إِلَّا وَهُمْ مُشْرِكُونَ 12:106

<sup>101</sup> وَقَالَتِ الْيَهُودُ نَبِيُّ اللَّهِ مَغْلُوبٌ عَلَيْنَا وَلَمْ يَكُن لَنَا سُلْطَانٌ عَلَيْهِمْ سَاءَ الْيَوْمِ سَاءَ 5:64

*Guaquelati yaudu yadu allay maglu latun alata aydihim.*

Quiere decir: y dixeron los judíos la mano de dios es çerrada [62 r.] sus manos serán cerradas y ellos malditos. Cosa manifiesta es y puesta en razón (...)

Libro segundo, capítulo primero, alea cient y sesenta y quatro y los glosadores con él y dize assí:



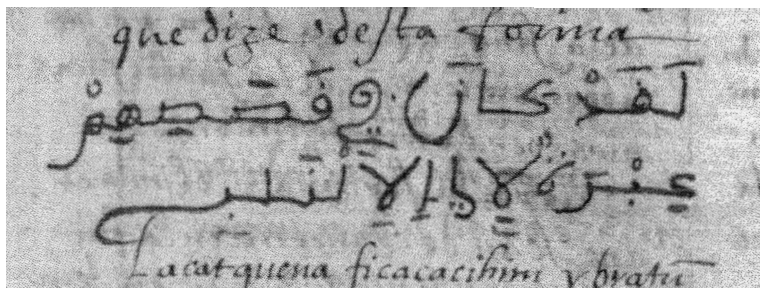
<sup>102</sup> وَمِنْ قَوْمِ مُوسَىٰ أُمَّةٍ يَهْتَدُونَ بِالْحَقِّ وَيَهْتَدُونَ بِأَلْحَقِّ وَيَهْتَدُونَ بِأَلْحَقِّ وَيَهْتَدُونَ بِأَلْحَقِّ

*Guamin caumi muza amatum yacdua bialguati gua bii yacdiluna.*

Quiere dezir: y la gente de moyse algunos se encaminan con la verdad con la qual se ygualarán. Dizen los glosadores que esta verdad dize Mahomet en este texto se entiende de Jesucristo pues si los Judíos siguiendo esta verdad se salvaron y fueron en el camino verdadero cuánto más nosotros los cristianos que le tenemos por señor y cabeça y criados en su santa ley.

<sup>102</sup> وَمِنْ قَوْمِ مُوسَىٰ أُمَّةٍ يَهْتَدُونَ بِالْحَقِّ وَيَهْتَدُونَ بِأَلْحَقِّ وَيَهْتَدُونَ بِأَلْحَقِّ وَيَهْتَدُونَ بِأَلْحَقِّ 7:159

[62 v.] Alcorán libro segundo, capítulo sexto, alea cient y dotze que dize desta forma:

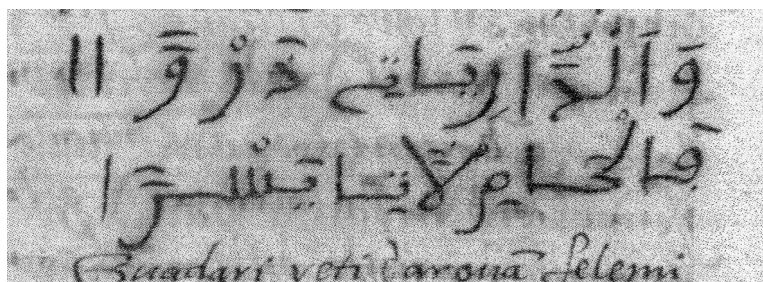


لَقَدْ كَانَ فِي قَصَصِهِمْ عِبْرَةٌ لِّأُولِي الْأَلْبَابِ \* 103

*La catquena ficacacihim ybratun vli ililbebi.*

Quiere dezir: grande milagro huvo en sus historias, pero fue verdad lo que está en sus evangelios y en la Thora y declaración.

[63 v.] Libro quarto capítulo decimoquarto en las aleas primera, segunda, tercera y quarta:



وَالذَّارِيَاتِ ذُرُوءًا ۖ فَالْحَامِ لِأَيَّتِي يَسْرًا \* 104

\* The *alif* seems to be joined on the left.

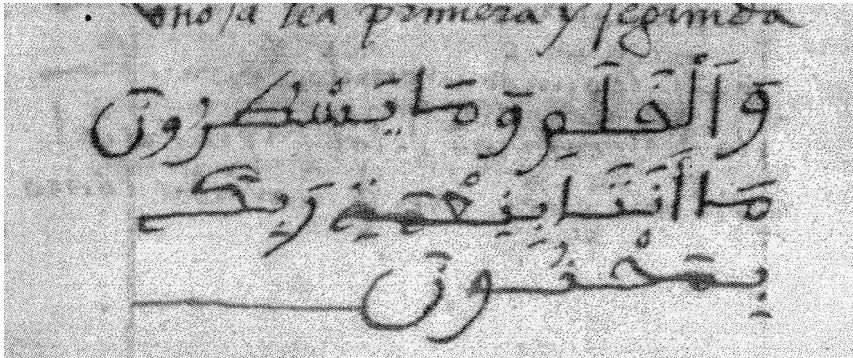
لَقَدْ كَانَ فِي قَصَصِهِمْ عِبْرَةٌ لِّأُولِي الْأَلْبَابِ مَا كَانَ حَدِيثًا يُفْتَرَىٰ وَلَكِن تَصْدِيقَ الَّذِي بَيْنَ يَدَيْهِ وَتَفْصِيلَ كُلِّ شَيْءٍ وَهُدًى وَرَحْمَةً لِّقَوْمٍ يُؤْمِنُونَ

وَالذَّارِيَاتِ ذُرُوءًا / وَقُرْأَ فَالْحَامِلَاتِ / فَالْجَارِيَاتِ يَسْرًا 3-1: 51: 104

*Guadari yeti darguan felemi leti yazeran.*

Quiere decir: que dios juraua por los vientos corriendo y por las naues cargadas y por las naues que corren ligeramente etc.

Mira tú, prójimo mío, de qué modo dize Mahomet que juraua dios. Y no contento desto dize que juraua por la pluma como está escrito libro quarto Capítulo treinta y uno a lea primera y segunda:



<sup>105</sup> وَالْقَلَمِ وَمَا يَسْطُرُونَ مَا أَنْتَ بِنِعْمَةِ رَبِّكَ بِمَحْنُونٍ

*Gualcalami guame yazmiruna meanta binigmati rabbica bi macnuna.*

Quiere decir: juro por dios por el entero y por la pluma y por lo que scriuieron que tú no eres por la gracia de dios endemoniado.

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<sup>105</sup> ن وَالْقَلَمِ وَمَا يَسْطُرُونَ / مَا أَنْتَ بِنِعْمَةِ رَبِّكَ بِمَحْنُونٍ 2-1:68



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