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Anti-*Aljamiado*: Transliterating Arabic in the *Antialcoranes*

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When Archbishop of Toledo Francisco Jiménez de Cisneros (d. 1517) arrived in Granada in late 1499, initiating a process of coercive proselytizing, book burning, and persecution of recalcitrant Muslims, he deviated from the practice of the Archbishop of Granada, Hernando de Talavera (d. 1507), confessor to Queen Isabel I, who had pursued a policy of, by most accounts, evangelization premised on cultural syncretism that allowed Moriscos to retain certain traditional cultural practices including language and music. Cisneros's actions directly violated the terms of the capitulations of 1491 and set off a series of revolts by the new Mudéjar population of Granada and its environs.

Despite Cisneros's aggressive tactics and outlook, vestiges of Talavera's missionizing strategy —not less exigent than Cisneros, to be sure, but instead more focused on language and culture as tools for evangelization— lived on in the first half of the sixteenth century in the writing by a handful of Christian preachers and writers who made extensive use of Arabic texts in their arguments. Between 1505 and 1555, about half a dozen Christian authors wrote tracts aiming to convert Mudéjares and Moriscos more effectively to Christian belief, first by providing linguistic tools and resources for preachers and then by critiquing Islam and its canonical Scriptures. Talavera himself commissioned two linguistic works from his confessor Pedro de Alcalá, a Jeronimite monk in Granada, aimed at teaching the Arabic language in order to preach and teach in that language. Over the subsequent half century, a half-dozen works were written in Spain that developed Talavera's language-based evangelization strategy. In the early years of the sixteenth century, Zaragozan canon Martín García Puyazuelo (d. 1521) was appointed by Queen Isabel of Castile to aid the evangelization effort in Granada, where he delivered many sermons to the new Morisco population (published in Latin in 1520).[1] Working directly under Martín García in these years in Granada was a converted *alfaquí* from Xàtiva (near Valencia) named Juan Andrés, whose polemic against Islam, *Confusión o confutación de la secta mahomética y del Alcorán,* was published in Valencia in 1515 and subsequently republished and translated widely.[2] In the next few years, Joan Martí de Figuerola, working near Valencia, also collaborated with García and his associates to evangelize the unconverted Muslims of the region, writing the *Lumbre de la fe contra la secta machomética y el Alcorán* (1519–1521).[3] In the 1520s, Bernardo Pérez de Chinchón, known for translations of Erasmus, also worked on evangelizing missions around Gandía (near Xàtiva), publishing the *Libro llamado Antialcoran* (1532) and *Diálogos christianos contra la secta mahometica y contra la pertinacia de los judíos* (1535).[4] Two decades later, Lope de Obregón, a priest in the Basilica of San Vicente in Ávila, worked to Christianize the Moriscos of the city and published the *Confutación del alcorán y secta mahometana, sacado de sus proprios libros, y de la vida del mesmo Mahoma* (1555) based on his preaching efforts.

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[1] Martín García's sermons were edited and studied in 2018 by Montoza Coca, "Los *Sermones* de don Martín García, obispo de Barcelona. 2018. The first 1520 text of the *Sermones* was printed again —same city and publishers— without a date of edition indicated, leading Montoza Coca to suggest a dating between 1520–1537 for this second edition (XLI n. 167).

[2] The modern edition was published as *Confusión o confutación de la secta Mahomética y del Alcorán* (2003).

[3] Madrid, Real Academia de la Historia, Ms. Gayangos 1922/36. The text has been edited by Ruiz García and Bernabé Pons. See Joan Martí de Figuerola, 2024.

[4] Both texts have been edited by Pons Fuster, 2000.

Most of these works were written in Castilian, except for García's sermons which, although delivered in the vernacular, were published in Latin. All of them include passages from the Qurʾān in translation (most in Castilian, but those in García are in Latin), and over half of them also include Arabic text in transliteration in Latin letters; in Martí de Figuerola's case, the manuscript includes Arabic letters as well. While all include at least a few examples of transliterated Arabic, some of them incorporate many quotations amounting to scores or even hundreds of qurʾanic verses in Arabic. These treatises —which we can call *Antialcoranes*, "anti-Qurʾāns," by adopting Pérez's title[5]— treat language as a tool for evangelization in a way that follows the model of Talavera's first projects as Archbishop of Granada. They combine a focus on the Arabic language and the original text of the Qurʾān with a polemical attack on Islamic belief and a defense of Christian doctrine. This mixed attention to language and doctrine fluctuates in tone between aggressive polemical harangue and cajoling appeal, often making use of transliteration and translation of Arabic to support its argument. In this combination of linguistic and polemical content, the *Antialcoranes* present an inversion of the language and practices of the Moriscos: not Aljamiado (Castilian text written in Arabic letters and sometimes blended with Arabic text), but rather what I will call "anti-Aljamiado" (Arabic text written in Latin letters, blended with Castilian writing).[6]

Such multilingual literature merits consideration in the context of Aljamiado writing because it inverts the paradigm of Morisco linguistic expression while existing on the margins of apologetic Aljamiado texts written in defense of Morisco identity and belief. In place of defenses of Morisco belief and practice such as the work of the Mancebo de Arévalo or attacks on Christian beliefs such as the anti-Christian polemics found in BNE Ms. 4944,[7] we find precisely the opposite —apologies for Christian belief and attacks on Moriscos. In place of ʿAjamiyya (non-Arabic language) in the garb of Arabic letters, we again find the opposite, i.e. ʿArabiyya (Arabic language) transliterated in Latin letters. Similarly, the presentation in Latin letters of material from the Qurʾān and other Islamic sources can be considered in light of Mudejar or Morisco Qurʾāns in Aljamiado Castilian or those, such as the Qurʾān of Bellús (dating to 1518) in Arabic with glosses in Catalan, Castilian, and Latin.[8] Anti-Aljamiado in the evangelization and polemical literature of the first half of the sixteenth century constitutes a reversal of the Morisco use of Aljamiado, employing transliteration not to express or preserve Morisco identity but to undermine it through polemic and the call for conversion. Its study offers a perspective on Christian-Muslim encounters in sixteenth century Iberia that frames Aljamiado writing within a wider context of language use as an integral aspect of religious and social identity.

Language and the Missionary Strategy of Hernando de Talavera and Pedro de Alcalá

The connection between missionizing and the expression of Arabic was established immediately after the conquest of Granada under the ecclesiastical leadership of Hernando de Talavera. Talavera moved through various ecclesiastical roles in the decades before he was named the first Archbishop of Granada in 1493.[9] Despite his harsh

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[5] For this usage, see Bunes Ibarra (1989, 41). See also the extensive study employing this concept in contrast to catechisms in Ducharme (2013, 38–60) and the foundational study of Louis Cardaillac.

[6] I base this notion on the suggestion by Sainz de la Maza (253), discussed below.

[7] For an edition of BNE Ms. 4944, see the dissertation of Denise Cardaillac.

[8] Casassas Canals proposes that the Bellús Qurʾān (Munich, BSB Cod. Arab 7) includes the Catalan notations of Martí de Figuerola (2015, 170). More recently, this has been supported by Maxime Sellin (438). See also below, n. 119.

[9] For an overview of his ecclesiastical career, see Martínez Medina & Biersack (13–101); and Ladero Quesada (2008 and 2020). For the fullest account, see Iannuzzi (2009); and both the "Estudio preliminar"

condemnation of willfully recalcitrant *conversos*, he was reluctant to employ more force in evangelizing Jews who had formerly been baptized against their will, and he cautioned against the very establishment of the Spanish Inquisition at the moment of its foundation. Talavera's close ties with Queen Isabel facilitated his appointment as Granada's first archbishop, and in that role he implemented unique evangelization methods between 1493–99. In 1496, he had a printing press brought to Granada for printing a guide to evangelization and catechism, the *Breue y muy prouechosa doctrina de lo que deue saber todo christiano* (1496), which included a guide for new and prospective Christians to confession, Eucharist, the Mass, and general moral conduct.[10] Talavera's "gradualist approach," as James Amelang has described it (11), involved an attention to missionizing strategy and to the possible cultural barriers that might impede Muslim acceptance of Christian dogma (Iannuzzi 2009, 428).[11] Iannuzzi emphasizes that "desde su llegada en Granada, desarrolló una importante acción mediática" (429).[12] His approach to evangelizing and preaching might be called syncretistic insofar as it incorporated methods intended to bridge the cultural gap between Muslim and Christian, including consultation with local Muslim experts on questions of Islamic practice and allowing Muslim musical instruments in Christian worship. Talavera favored not only allowing certain practices, but also encouraged his fellow preachers to adopt some Moriscos habits and learn from those they preached to. According to his first biographer, Jerónimo de Madrid, "Alauaba mucho sus costumbres. Decía que ellos auían de tomar nuestra fee y nosotros sus costumbres" (Jerónimo de Madrid, fol. 35).[13] It is important to stress, as Carolyn Salomons has argued, that this attitude should not be misunderstood as a reflection of an attitude of religious relativism or, in the modern sense, "tolerance," but rather should be viewed as a deliberate missionary strategy with the goal being conversion, not acceptance of other religions (643). If his methods were syncretistic, they were strategically so.

The key to this calculated engagement was the use of languages and the desire to employ translation as a strategy. Although Talavera states specifically at the beginning of his *Breue y muy prouechosa doctrina* that "ha de saber en romance el credo" (1496, 11v).[14] he was also allegedly recognized for attempting to include Arabic words in his sermons, although his abilities were surely limited and he openly admitted that he failed to learn the language well enough for his purposes.[15] Despite his own lack of knowledge, however, he charged those preachers under his direction to learn Arabic and use the

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[10] of Márquez Villanueva to Talavera's *Católica impugnación* (1961, xlix–xcv); and the addition by Pastore, "Presentación," to the reissue of the *Católica impugnación* (2012, xix–xlviii). For an ample bibliography on Talavera, see Tavares (11: 433–480); Ducharme (2013, 163–174; and 2014).

[10] Gilbert (155) notes that neither this work nor the catechism commissioned by Cisneros used Arabic or translation. See also Meseguer Fernández.

[11] For a detailed reading of Talavera's philosophy of conversion based on the *Católica Impugnación*, see Scotto; and Poutrin (49–76).

[12] See also Ladero Quesada (2020, 38–42).

[13] Cf. the slightly modernized version in Martínez Medina & Biersack (359–386 at 376).

[14] *Breue y muy prouechosa doctrina,* fol. 11v.

[15] Francisco Núñez Muley reported many decades later that, "dezía en la misa algunas palabras en arábigo—en especial, quando dezía 'Dominus Bobispon,' dezía 'Ybara figun'" (Garrad, 215). On the limitations of Talavera's ability in Arabic, Jerónimo de Madrid comments, "el con toda su ciencia, edad, y experiencia y dignidad se abaxava a aprender y oyr los primeros nominativos y anssi aprendio algunos bocablos. Pero con otras munchas ocupaciones no tanto como para predicar obiera menester. Pero lo que deprendio no fue tan poca que no supiesse decir y entender munchos bocablos que façia para lo sustancial que queria que creyesen … Decia que daria de buena boluntad un ojo por saber la dicha lengua para enseñar a la dicha gente y que tanbien diera una mano si no por no dexar de celebrar" (fol. 34; Martínez Medina & Biersack, 375; and see Madrid, BN, mss 2049, 2878, and 9545 for similar passages).

language in teaching and hearing confessions, and he even took steps to establish a kind of language "school" to facilitate this.[16]

As part of this commitment to language as a strategic tool for evangelizing and instruction, Talavera "fiço façer arte para la aprender y bocabulario arabigo y fecho mandolo ynprimir y mandolos dar a todos los dichos clerigos eclesiasticos" (Jerónimo de Madrid, fol. 34). He comissioned his confessor and fellow Jeronomite brother Pedro de Alcalá to compose a guide to the language, the *Arte para ligeramente saber la lengua arábiga*, finshed in 1501. The work was published in 1505 together with a lengthy Castilian-Arabic glossary, the *Vocabulista arábigo en letra castellana*, and then was reprinted in a second edition in 1506.[17]

The first sections of the *Arte*, up to chapter thirty-eight, are in keeping with the neutral didactic focus suggested by the title, providing an introductory summary of the Arabic language almost exclusively in grammatical terms. Although Alcalá provides a table to introduce the Arabic alphabet, the Arabic content itself is mostly presented in transliteration in Latin characters and is integrated into the Castilian text. For example, Pedro explains the nominative case: "Para el *mubtedé* (que es nominativo) tenemos dos conocimientos, conuiene saber *a.al.*: ejemplo: La casa. *a dár.* el libro. *Al moçháf*" (1883, 9). Alcalá stresses that the learning of Arabic will build off of knowledge of Latin (2), and often makes comparisons with Latin to point out similarities and differences (4–5). Such comparisons appear regularly through the work, such as when he observes, "nota que en el arauia non ay verbo infinito como en nuestra lengua latina" (23).

The work was primarily intended to serve the goals of evangelization of the Muslim population of Granada.[18] Despite the relatively neutral, linguistic nature of this grammatical content and the seemingly innocuous title —one reader has claimed that the work was guided by "una voluntad genuinamente evangelizadora, libre de polémica" (Framiñán de Miguel, 30, in Zwartjes, 76)— the *Arte* opens with an explicitly polemical prologue, framing his project as a tool for missionizing and the correction of the errors of Islam. Directing his prologue to Talavera, Alcalá states that this book was written in the context of efforts to:

> sacar a esta gente nueuamente conuertida delas tinieblas y muchos herrores en que aquel maluado y no digno de ser dicho hombre suzio y maldito Mahoma (en el qual gomito el diablo su maestro todos los herrores y heregias que auia sembrado en todos los herejes antepassados), los avia tenido por tan luengo espacio de tiempo engañados (Pedro de Alcalá 1883, 1).

Alcalá compares the prospective converts to "bestias no domadas […] que corrian a rienda suelta por la carrera delos vicios y pecados de la miserable carne" (1). This focus on missionizing is equally evident in the sections Alcalá added after his grammatical presentation as well. After chapter thirty-eight, the text abruptly shifts from grammar to a summary of Christian doctrine and prayer, including teachings and texts translated into Arabic (printed in transliterated form in Latin letters). Such texts include the Ave Maria,

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[16] "Travaxava por que sus clerigos y los de ssu cassa aprendiesen la lengua araviga y ansi fiço en su cassa publica escuela de aravigo do la eseñasen (Jerónimo de Madrid, fol. 34; Martínez Medina & Biersack, 375).

[17] Both texts have been partly edited in Pedro de Alcalá 1883 (*Arte*: 1–68); and a section of the *Arte* (following chapter 38, corresponding to Lagarde's rendering on 31–68) has been reedited by Antoine Lonnet (2002). A single facsimile edition of the first edition of the *Arte* was published in 1928. For bibliography, see Zwartjes.

[18] Iannuzzi notes that in the *Vocabulista* was elaborated "con el único fin de la conversión y asimilación dentro del mundo cristiano" (2009, 428). See also Kimmel, 70–74.

the Our Father, the Salve Regina, and prayers of confession in Arabic only, followed by a long catechetical summary of the Ten Commandments, mortal sins, seven acts of mercy, and seven sacraments, and prayers from the Mass provided in Castilian and transliterated Arabic in parallel columns, along with some relevant passages in Latin. The text concludes with an Arabic rendering of the opening chapter of the Gospel of John.

Although these linguistic and catechetical parts of the *Arte* seem separate from each other, as does the polemical tone of the prologue from the dry grammatical content of the chapters, there are important points of connection between the two that underscore how issues of language and philology were at the heart of the work of mission and polemics. One notable aspect of the grammatical chapters is Alcalá's efforts to compare without erasing Latin and Arabic linguistic differences in order to facilitate comprehension. For example, after providing an overview of Arabic letters, he claims that there are really only four such letters that do not correspond well with the Latin alphabet.[19] At the same time, he insists, preachers must pay close attention to the differences to avoid confusion and distortion: "Cada uno de las lenguas tiene su manera de hablar y con aquella se deue el hombre cuerdo conformar quanto buenamente pudiere porque de otra manera mas seria enfuscar que interpretar lo que onbre quiere dezir" (Pedro de Alcalá 1883, 39).[20] His attention to detail in comparing alphabets and grammars mirrors his efforts to compare without simplifying Christian and Muslim theological ideas. As García-Arenal and Rodríguez Mediano have noted, Alcalá faced important problems of translation in his discussion of Christian doctrine, particularly in finding suitable vocabulary for certain Christian concepts such as the "confession of sins." Confession, moreover, "was not the only term that gave Alcalá difficulty: he found it impossible, or did not wish, to include Christian religious terms like 'baptism,' 'Holy Spirit,' 'redemption,' and so forth" (40).[21] Just as Alcalá insisted upon, as Gilbert notes, "the natural heterogeneity of language" (156), so he took care not to reduce theological differences in his presentation of Christian doctrine.

In both the *Arte* and the subsequent *Vocabulista,* the focus is on both the content of the catechism as well as the philological details of language, and this double focus is meant both to serve the practical needs of preachers as well as answer the doubts and questions of Mudéjares and Moriscos.[22] In this double focus, we can see not only the use of translation as a tool for mission, but also can trace the emergence of what I am calling here "Anti-Aljamiado," the catechetical and missionary function of transliteration in appropriating Arabic letters for Christian doctrine. Alcalá explicitly referes to the evangelizing role of letters and alphabets in the *Vocabulista*, stating:

> Ca assi como los aljamiados (o cristianos viejos) pueden por esta obre saber el arauia, viniendo del romance al arauia, assi los Arauigos (o nueuos cristianos),

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[19] "Todas se pueden suplir con nuestras letras latinas o castellanas, de manera que para la comun algarauia no ay necessidad delas saber ni conocer todas, mas solamente quatro conviene saber," namely, those letters (khāʾ, dhāl, thāʾ, ʿayn, and ḥā) "cuyos sones non tenemos en nuestro a.b.c. latino, ni menos con letras latinas se pueden suplir buenamente" (Pedro de Alcalá 1883, 3–4). In the *Arte,* he does not mention ḥā, but adds it in the first chapter of the *Vocabulista* (71).

[20] This passage is translated and discussed in Gilbert, 155–156. Linguistic misalignments seem to have been a challenge for Alcalá, who complains in the epilogue that confusion over letters and transliteration was exacerbated by the typesetters, who "del todo eran ynaros y sin noticia alguna dela lengua arauiga … y no sin mucho trabajo se suplio su defeto" (Pedro de Alcalá 1883, 434).

[21] See also Pezzi.

[22] From the publication of his works, "se espera resultar tanta onrra y seruicio a nuestro señor y tan crecido prouecho alos proximos, y non menos alos nueuos conuertidos a nuestra sancta fe catholica que alos viejos cristianos, que tanta necessidad tienen de ser predicadores y maestros dellos" (Pedro de Alcalá 1883, 69).

> sabiendo leer la letra castellana, tomando primero el arauia, ligera mente pueden venir en conocimiento del aljamia (Pedro de Alcalá 1883, 69).

This suggests that the inherent opposition between "Arabs" (as "new Christians") and "Aljamiados" (as "old Christians") might be overcome by translation and transliteration, and new converts might be brought into the fold just as texts are translated between Arabic and *aljamía.* In this, not only is *Aljamiado* claimed as the idiom of Christians, but also "la letra castellana" —the Latin alphabet— provides the tool for conversion of people as well as languages.

Pedro de Alcalá's *Arte* and *Vocabulista* give voice to the combined polemical and evangelizing impetus of Talavera's engagement with Arabic. Talavera's missionizing strategy was not culturally neutral and was pursued with an explicit intention of undermining Islamic identity and erasing differences between Muslims and Christians. This is evident in Talavera's support of the publication of a Castilian translation of the popular anti-Islamic polemic *Contra legem Sarracenorum,* of thirteenth century Dominican Riccoldo da Monte di Croce.[23] The Latin text was first published in Seville under the auspices of Dominican friar Antonio de la Peña, appearing in 1500 under the title *Improbatio Alcorani.* A Castilian translation of the work appeared, also in Seville, one year later under the title *Reprobacion del Alcoran.* As Ferrero Hernández notes, the fact that the Castilian version was, as stated in the conclusion, "romançada por un religioso de la Orden del bienaventurado Sant Jeronimo," as well as the fact that one of the publishers (Juan Pegnitzer) was directly associated with Talavera, leads to the conclusion that Talavera himself was involved —either as translator or patron— in the work's preparation and publication (541).[24]

Talavera's connection to the publication of Riccoldo's work, as well as his oversight of Alcalá's *Arte,* provide a basis to evaluate the double-edged nature of his engagement with Islam. While he worked tirelessly to missionize to the Muslims of Granada both through, as he says, "teologales razones" as well as a flexible and syncretistic attitude toward Arabic language and culture, he also supported the use of polemical argumentation to undermine and delegitimize Islam and to encourage conversion and assimilation.[25] This approach to mission through a mixtuire of polemical argument, hortatory sermonizing, and linguistic manipulation in translation and transliteration laid the groundwork for the *Antialcoranes* subgenre that developed over the subsequent half century.

Martín García and His Circle[26]

In April 1500, King Fernando and Queen Isabel wrote to canon Martín García in Zaragoza to discuss the "mucha necesidad" for "personas de iglesia que sepan arabigo para instruir a los dichos nuevamente convertidos."[27] García was recognized for his earlier studies of Arabic, perhaps begun during his years as a canon and inquisitor in Zaragoza. Although he clearly had some basic familiarity with the language, his knowledge was limited, and he called on the aid of assistants to gather texts to use in his

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[23] On Riccoldo and his work, see George-Tvrtković. The critical edition of the *Contra legem* is found in Mérigoux, 1–144.

[24] See also Iannuzzi 2011.

[25] For a detailed reading of Talavera's philosophy of conversion based on the *Católica Impugnación*, see Scotto.

[26] Portions of this section expand the argument in Szpiech 2022.

[27] The letter continues: "y porque sabemos que vos sabeys arabigo y que con vuestras letras y predicación y buen ejemplo podreys muchos aprovecharles poronde nos vos rogamos encargamos que pues vedes quanto en ellos será servido nuestro Señor querays disponer os a venir a estar algun tiempo a la dicha ciudad para aprovechar el lo susodicho" (ACA Reg 3614, f. 107v).

preaching. He cited this material in his sermons, delivered in Granada and elsewhere over the course of the first decade of the sixteenth century, up to his appointment as Bishop of Barcelona in 1511. In his attention to the Qurʾān, García's work seems to follow the missionizing approach established by Talavera in which attention to original Arabic text provided support to theological argumentation against Islam and in favor of Christianity.

The quantity of qurʾanic material, while not exhaustive, is certainly extensive and shows a broad familiarity with some key passages that were of particular interest to Christian polemicists. Montoza Coca, who has edited and studied and edited García's sermons, notes that of the 156 sermons made available in publication,[28] some thirty-eight (twenty-four percent) cite the Qurʾān, including citing hundreds of passages from at least forty-eight suras.[29] Many of these citations focus on important passages discussing Mary (Maryam) and Jesus (ʿĪsā), such as 3:42–55, 4:171, 5:110–115, 19:16–33, and 66:12.[30] Passages like these were common in medieval Christian writing about and against Islam, including polemics making use of the Latin translations of the Qurʾān such as Ramon Martí's *Against the Muhammadan Sect* (*De Seta Machometi*) and Riccoldo da Monte di Croce's *Against the Law of the Sarracens* (*Contra legem Saracenorum*), which, as we have noted, was printed and translated under the auspices of Talavera's missionary work in Granada.[31] Montoza Coca has demonstrated, moreover, that García makes use, on at least one occasion (sermon 86), of the *Cribatio Alchorani* by Nicholas of Cusa to access some of his qurʾanic material (XXX).[32] He also includes a few citations of works of geography by Al-Masʿūdī and philosophy by writers such as Al-Ghazālī and Ibn Rushd, as well as works of qurʾanic *tafsīr*.

García quotes the Qurʾān mostly in Latin translation, but his printed sermons also include a small number of passages in Arabic, transliterated into Latin letters. Although most of the Qurʾān passages appear in translation only, the mere presence of Arabic suggests that more may have been included when they were originally preached. In addition, García gives the titles of qurʾanic books in Arabic, such as *çuratu ela ahymaran,* "Surat Āli ʿImrān," i.e. Surah 3, or *Çuratu Marian,* "Surah Maryam*,"* i.e. Surah 19 (Montoza Coca 250). He also occasionally incorporates Arabic words into his writing, such as the phrase *eruhu ulcudduçu,* "rūḥ al-qudushi" (Holy Spirit), e.g. from Qurʾān 5:110 or 2:87, or *aleyiççalem,* "ʿaleyhi al-salām" (Peace be upon him) and so on.[33] In a longer passage, he states:

> Primo libro, azora quarta, alea centisima decima tertia dicit "Christus insufflando creauit aues," sic dicens *innya haclucu lacum minattini quahayati*

ittayri faanfuhu fayaquunu tayran. Quod etiam secundum eum solus Deus sit creator patet libro tertio, azora decima quinta que dicitur "Angelorum," alea tertia dicens *hal mimha liquin gayrullay.* Si dicis bene est uerum quod Deus sit creator, sed non creator omnium. Tamen probatur hoc secundum ipsum Machometum in alio loco dicentem *alla alladi alaqua cullaxay,* etcetera (Montoza Coca, 161).

[In book one, surah four, ayah one hundred thirteen, it says "Christ created birds by blowing in," saying thus *annī akhluqu lakum min aṭ-ṭṭīni ka-hayʾati aṭ-ṭīri fa-anfukhu fahakūnu ṭayran* [Qurʾān 3:49, "I will make for you the likeness of a bird from clay. I breathe, and it will become a bird"].[34] And that according to him only God is a creator is evident in book three, surah fifteen, which is called "The Angels," ayah three, which says *hal min khāliqin ghayru llāh* [Qurʾān 35:3, "Is there any creator other than Allah?"]. If you say, alright, it is true that God is a creator, but he is not the creator of all, well this is proven according to Muhammad himself in another place, which says *Allāh alladhi khalaqa kulla shayʾin* [God is the one who creates all things, etc.] (Translation mine).

This passage includes a few telling details. Although García identifies the first transliterated verse as coming from "surah four, ayah one hundred thirteen," (which corresponds to Qurʾān 5:110), the quote instead matches a similar passage in 3:49. At the same time, the transliteration of the Arabic lacks the prepositional phrase *fīhi* ("in/to it") found in the original. García's paraphrase is ambiguous, representing a combination of a few similar verses such as 39:62 (*Allāhu khalaqa kulla shayʾin*) and 41:21 (*Allāhu alladhī anṭaqa kulla shayʾin*, "God is the one who makes all things speak"). These details suggest that García was relying first on the oral testimony of an assistant rather than drawing only from a written copy of the Qurʾān.

This suggestion is supported by the fact that García's missionary work was supported the converted Muslim known as Juan Andrés, author of *Confusión o confutación de la secta Mahomética y del Alcorán* (Valencia, 1515). Andrés, who claims to be the son of the *alfaquí* of Xàtiva, opens the work by describing his conversion to Christianity in 1487 (Juan Andrés 2003, 89).[35] Andrés's identity has been studied and debated by historians, who have linked him directly to Martín García and his circle.[36] As a new convert, Andrés allegedly acompanied García to Granada, "donde por predicación y voluntad de Dios, que así lo quería, infinita morisma, renegando a Mahoma, a Cristo se convertió" (90).[37] Following the death of Queen Isabel I in 1504, Andrés alleges that he set out to translate the Qurʾān into Romance, along with "sus glosas y los siete (*sic*) libros de la *Çuna.*" This translation was specifically intended to aid García's preaching work, and was instigated:

por mandado del muy reverendo señor maestre Martín García, mi patrón y señor … porque en el cargo que tenía de sus Altezas de predicar a los moros podiesse,

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[34] The Arabic is missing the phrase *fīhi,* "into it," and should state *one* word, *… fa-anfukhu fīhi …* [… I breathe into it …]. The text is not fully translated in the Latin, which abbreviates the meaning.

[35] For an analysis of his conversion, see Szpiech 2013, 33–41. For a bibliographical overview, see Zuwiyya.

[36] On the question of Andrés's identity, see Szpiech 2016. As noted there (177), a book on accounting, published by the same printer in the same year under the name "Juan Andrés," was dedicated to Martín García in one of the two print runs.

[37] Andrés further describes his call to Granada: "Fui llamado por los más cathólicos príncipes, el rey don Fernando y la reyna doña Ysabel, para que fuesse en Granada a predicar a los moros de aquel reyno que sus Altezas avían conquistado … fuy otra vez llamado por la cristianíssima reyna doña Ysabel para que veniesse en Aragón a fin de trabajar en al conversión de los moros destos reynos" (90).

con las auctoridades de su misma ley, confundirlos y vencerlos, lo que sin aquel trabajo mío con dificultad podiera hazer (Juan Andrés 2003, 91).

A comparison of Andrés's writing and the García's sermons shows a direct connection, suggesting that the latter relied on the former's aid in translating and possibly transliterating qurʾanic material.

Montoza Coca, who has edited and studied García's sermons, has identified over seventy-five passages that link them to Andrés's *Confusión* (XXVI). For example, García's sermons repeatedly name the Persian exegete *Azamahxeri* (al-Zamakhsharī, d. 1144) and the Andalusī *Abuatia* (Ibn ʿAṭiyya, d. 1201), almost always together. Andrés makes this same curious pairing while glossing Q. 36:13–20. Both García and Andrés wrongly claim that both these exegetes interpret this passage to allude to St. Paul, and Andrés explicitly states that he translated this material for García. "La qual historia tiene puesta el señor obispo de Barcelona, maestre Martín García en su libro del *Alcorán* que yo trasladé de arávigo en romançe a su reverendíssima señoría, y el mesmo tiene las susodichas dos glosas en arávigo" (2003, 216).[38] Further examples demonstrating the collaboration of García with Andrés can be found in their treatment of other verses, such the apocryphal tradition surrounding Q. 53.19–20, the so-called "Satanic Verses."[39] These examples show that although García gave his sermons a decade or more before the publication of the *Confusión,* Andrés was already supporting him in this effort with translation and interpretation of qurʾanic material. *Pace* the observations of Xavier Casassas Canals questioning Andrés's influence on García, the *Confusión* can be understood as the foundational work of the *Antialcoranes* subgenre. Although García delivered his sermons before Andrés published his *Confusión,* the latter provided the content on Arabic sources that found its way into García's sermons as well as into the *Confusión* itself. The work of both embodied the double goal of Christian apology and textual proof in Arabic that defined the evangelization efforts under Hernando de Talavera.[40]

As in Talavera's work, Andrés's approach centered on the function of the Arabic language —the transliterated sounds of the Qurʾān— as a bridge connecting Muslims with Christianity and facilitating their conversion. Although there are no surviving copies of the Romance Qurʾān that Andrés claims to have produced for García, the *Confusión* itself cites over seventy-five qurʾanic passages as well as citations of exegesis (*tafsīr*) and stories about the Prophet (*Sīra*).[41] Unlike in the majority of García's sermons, the material in the *Confusión* is given in Castilian translation or paraphrase and also, in most cases, in Arabic transliterated into Latin letters. In one passage in chapter one, Andrés writes:

Dize el libro de *Acear* que, estando Mahoma así cobejado, vino el ángel Gabriel con el segundo capítulo del *Alcorán,* que dize en arávigo assí: *ya ayuhe al mudacir con faan dir guarabaque faquabir guacia baque fatahir guarigice fahior,* que quere dezir: "O tú cobejado, levanta y amonesta y magnifica a tu

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[38] For García's reference in sermon 30, see Montoza Coca, 229. For analysis of Andrés's text, see Szpiech 2012, 323–327. See also Starczewska 2015b.

[39] For details of this comparison, see Szpiech 2022, 292–293.

[40] As Bunes Ibarra noted, "Tanto Juan Andrés como Martín García son, junto a Hernando de Talavera, partidarios de la opinión de que para poder exigir a los moriscos hay que facilitarles todos los medios posibles para su educación" (Bunes Ibarra 1989a, 51).

[41] Despite these allusions, the engagement with exegesis in Juan Andrés, as in all the other writers who follow him, is superficial. As Bunes Ibarra notes, "En todo el género de polémica es muy difícil encontrar un estudio sistemático sobre El Corán, ya que les interesa más reflejar y anotar la anécdota y la costumbre que la exégesis." See Bunes Ibarra 1989b, 213–214.

Criador, y alimpia tus ropas y vestidos y aborreze los ýdolos." Y dado este
segundo capítulo fuesse el ángel (Juan Andrés 2003, 110).[42]

Like most of the subsequent qurʾanic references in the *Confusión*, the citation given
here adheres closely to the qurʾanic text, translating the meaning accurately and rendering
the sounds of the Arabic original in a comprehensible transliteration. Numerous critics
have affirmed the oral basis of Andrés's Arabic transliteration.[43] Rather than rendering
the vowels according to a classical Arabic system in which there is only long or short *a, i,*
or *u,* the text gives a phonetic transcription that captures an oral pronunciation, rendering
a mid-front rather than an open-front sound for "a" (*ayuhe* rather than *ayuhā, guarabaque*
rather than *wa-rabbaka, guaciabaque* rather than *wa-thihābaka,* etc.). This resembles the
phenomenon called ʾ*imāla* ("inclination") in Arabic grammar, which refers to vowel
drifting (e.g. *bāb>bīb, ramā>ramē* "he threw"*),* and also captures a common
pronunciation in contemporary *Aljamiado* forms rendering a *fatḥah* followed by a long
alif as *e* rather than *a.*[44] Similarly, rather than render *al-muddaththiru* (enwrapped in a
garment) according to its written form, with an ending *ḍammah* vowel (u), it writes (using
"c" for "th") *al mudacir,* capturing the oral pronunciation of the verse as apocopated to
maintain the rhyme scheme of the whole *sūra.* This example is representative of the many
such citations found throughout the work, many of which suggest that the text was
transcribed according to the oral sound of the words rather than their written form. While
the abundant references to "book" and "chapter" numbers (and not only Surah names)
point to the consultation of a written copy in some cases at least, some of the citations
combine or confuse verses or parts of verses, suggesting that the text was at least
sometimes being reproduced from memory and not copied from a written version.[45] The
most logical interpretation of this mixed information is that the author used a written text
as a base but often recited partly from memory after locating the passages he aimed to
quote. In numerous cases, his citations, while grammatically correct and logically
appropriate in the representation of Arabic, are only approximate paraphrases of original
sources.

The importance of oral pronunciation as the foundation of the transliteration
underscores the primary role of the *Antiacloranes* genre as an aid to preachers, not an
intellectual manual for formal written polemics. Oral pronunciation determines not only
the author's citations of the Qurʾān but also affects his incorporation of Arabic terms and
phrases that would be familiar to practicing Muslims, whether fully literate in Arabic or
not. Apart from references to the *çuna* (*Sunnah*) which includes Ḥadīth material, and "un
libro que se llama *Azear,* un libro muy auténtico entre los moros" (2003, 98) (i.e. the

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[42] The verse, from Q. 74:1–5, reads in Arabic: "Yā ayuhā al-muddaththiru qum fa-andhir wa-rabbaka fa-
kabbir wa-thiyābaka fa-ṭahhir wa-l-rrujza fa-āhjur." ["Oh you enwrapped in a garment/cover, arise and
warn. Magnify your Lord. Purify your garments. Shun uncleanness/sin/polytheism."]

[43] For a longer considering, see Szpiech 2022. As noted there, Everette Larson has also studied the
transliteration habits in the 1515 Castilian edition of the *Confusión* of Juan Andrés, proposing that Juan
Andrés was transcribing based on an oral presentation of the text, that the text was cited from memory
and not according to a written copy of the Qurʾān, that the transliteration system is "regular and follows
the established patterns of Arabic" (190) and that it offers "an insight into the phonological transcription
of [classical Arabic] as pronounced by a Valencian native speaker" (197).

[44] On *imāla,* see Levin. Corriente notes that in Andalusi Arabic, "There is a possibility, though not
positively clear, that /a/ may have split into /a/ and /e/ as a result of palatalization of Classical Arabic /ā/,
a phenomenon called ʾ*imāla* by native grammarians." For a contemporary Aljamiado example of writing
e, see *Tafçira* of the Mancebo de Arévalo (e.g. "Era un ḍíya de loš šiyete del-año…"), in Madrid, CSIC
Ms. RESC/62, fol. 1v, in Mancebo de Arévalo 2003, 103.

[45] For one example of Andrés's confusion of verses, possibly indicating citation by memory, see Szpiech
2022, 293–295. For another, see Szpiech, García-Arenal & Starczewska, 119–122.

Sīra), Andrés also peppers his writing with abundant other Arabic terms from Islamic belief and practice that would be familiar to virtually any Muslim: the *Alcabba y Alquible* (i.e. *al-kaʿbah* and *al-qiblah*), *Beytillah alharan* (i.e. *bayt al-ḥarām*), and numerous others (98).[46] Andrés stresses the importance of sound in the Qurʾān, recognizing it as a key element in Muslim experience and practice that must be addressed by the preacher. He addresses the Muslim who is carried away by the sound without thinking about what the text actually says.

> Pues dime tú, moro y leyedor del *Alcorán*, ¿quántas vezes leeste este passo y deleytaste del dulce sono del dicho passo y no pensate en las palabras? Pues mira de oy adelante y lee y considera en lo que leerás, que muchas cosas fuera de razón y justicia fallarás (2003, 169).

By urging the reader to "look" and "consider what you read," he aims to replace the original text in Arabic letters with a new, transformed Qurʾān in "Christian" letters, a new form that exposes its "irrational" and "unjust" errors. He admits about his arguments that, "Yo creo que muchos moros oyrán esta declaración y no la creerán," but responds by affirming repeatedly, "todo esto lo dize el testo y la glosa *verbo ad verbum*" (216 and 165; cf. 182). Moreover, he insists that the Romance translation of the text also derives directly from the Arabic: "todo este romance es sacado *verbum ex verbo* del arávigo" (182). Transliteration and translation of Arabic, the rendering of ʿ*Arabiyya* in the letters and language of ʿ*Ajamaiyya*, are key missionizing tools for Andrés, tools that he employs first to appeal to his Muslim reader or listener on the basis of a shared oral culture and finally to lend his own text authenticity as a "true" reading of the Qurʾān's errors.

In the face of Morisco strategies at using Arabic to preserve an Islamic identity in the face of Christian pressure, Andrés's transliteration of Arabic in Latin letters thus represents a strategic inversion. Andrés directly addresses his Morisco listener or reader, challenging him to not only listen to the words but to check the authenticity of the text. Considering that in the print version of Andres's text, which was widely disseminated, these claims about the Arabic text can be verified not in Arabic letters but in Latin ones. This fact makes the transliterated Qurʾān into a Christian tool, what Pérez de Chinchón will later call an "Anti- Qurʾān." This linguistic inversion in fact mimics Andrés's own trajectory from *alfaquí* to Christian preacher, described in the prologue. Just as he was converted, so the "word-for-word" text, another kind of authentic witness, can be transliterated into a Christian, Latin garb and translated into the language of the new Spanish nation. This parallel offers a similar path toward conversion of his readers. Just as the Qurʾān itself can become an authority affirming Christian truth and the Arabic text can take on a non-Arabic guise in assuming Latin letters, so the Morisco, clad in a new outer form of Christian culture, can also become a Christian convert through a redirecting of his Muslim faith toward Christian belief. Throughout the *Confusión*, conversion and translation rest on the same appeal to authenticity and originality, mirroring each other across the bridge of transliteration as parallel operations of evangelization and cultural conquest.

Juan Andrés was a pioneer in the writing of anti-Muslim polemic, and his book marks several important firsts in the European encounter with Islam. Andrés's *Confusión* is, first of all, one of the first books ever printed with moveable type to offer selections of the Qurʾān in Arabic.[47] It was, moreover, among the first datable examples of the Qurʾān in

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[46] See also 101–105. These were already noted by Soto & Starczewska, 208.

[47] Block printing existed in the Arabic-speaking world —including al-Andalus— for the making of amulets with text —including qurʾanic passages— as early as the tenth century. See Schaefer, 38.

Romance translation to have survived.[48] Perhaps most importantly, it also set a pattern for the subsequent works in the group of texts we can refer to as *Antialcoranes*, including those addressed to the Moriscos of Castile (such as Lope de Obregón) and those missionizing to the remaining Muslims of Aragon (such as Martí de Figuerola).

Only a few years after Andrés published the *Confusión,* Martí de Figuerola, working in the same circle of Bishop García in Valencia, undertook active missionizing campaigns in the region, apparently taking over the tasks of García himself as the ageing bishop retired. This work culminated around 1518 in his lengthy missionary polemic *Lumbre de la fe contra la secta machomética y el Alcorán*, which runs in manuscript to over 250 folios in two dense columns per side (Martí de Figuerola 2024, 1:46–54). Unlike Andrés's printed text, which lacks Arabic letters, Martí de Figuerola's includes abundant citations of Arabic material given first in Arabic letters, followed by transliteration into Latin letters, followed by translation into Castilian. This approach to language formed part of his overall missionizing approach meant to put pressure on Muslim listeners by showing intimate familiarity with their holy book. As García-Arenal has noted, "Figuerola's polemical strategy reflected a broader change in the development and adoption of the doctrine of 'indirect coercion'" (156).[49] Figuerola is characterized as being especially importunate in his preaching, and as Casassas Canals notes, he was urged by Alonso de Aragón, Archbishop of Zaragoza, to return to the less aggressive preaching style of Martín García (2021, 468). Given the novelty of printing Arabic characters in this period of book printing —the earliest book with Arabic characters from moveable type was of Christian content printed in 1514 in Fano, Italy, and the earliest printing of the entire Qurʾān as a book was not attempted until 1537–1538 in Venice (Riedel, 325)— the lack of Arabic characters in Juan Andrés's *Confusión* is not surprising. In fact, it is very possible that the manuscript of Andrés's original text also included Arabic letters before transliteration, just as Martí de Figuerola's does.

Martí de Figuerola knew Juan Andrés's work and refers to him as an "expert," and it is logical to question the latter's influence on the *Lumbre*.[50] Nevertheless, the comparison of Martí de Figuerola's text with Juan Andrés's shows that the former did not copy from or rely on the latter, despite his praise. For example, both authors cite 3:36 ("When she delivered, she said, 'My Lord! I have given birth to a girl,' and Allah fully knew what she had delivered and the male is not like the female. 'I have named her Mary, and I seek Your protection for her and her offspring from Satan, the accursed.'") Both works

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[48] As far as is known, the earliest Romance Qurʾān translation was made from Latin into Catalan in 1382 at the behest of King Pere III, el Ceremoniós (Peter IV of Aragon, d. 1387), now lost. For references to its production, see ACA, Reg. 1274 (fol 192v), 1276 (f. 91r), 1438 (f. 168v), 1105 (f. 172r), all summarized and reproduced in De Epalza, Forcadell Saport & Perujo Melgar, 100–101. Similarly, a multi-lingual Qurʾān was commissioned seven decades later by the Spanish theologian Juan de Segovia (d. 1458) and made by Mudejar Muslim ʿĪsa (Yça) de Segovia, and included Latin and Castilian translations presented alongside the original Arabic text (See Martínez Gázquez). On Juan Andrés's writing in the context of these translations, see Szpiech, García-Arenal & Starczewska; and Bobzin 2014. On undated *aljamiado* Qurʾāns estimated to be from the fifteenth century, see below, n. 78.

[49] The basis of this notion is found in Martí de Figuerola's words: "Y assi, proseguiendo mi sermón, *in corpores sermonis*, dixe que los compelliessen, por compulsion indirecta, como eran pechas, alcabalas, que les quitassen las mesquitas, y que en tierra de christianos no huviesse lugar dedicado para blasfemar el nombres sanctíssimo de Jesuchrist; y más, que les quitasse los alfaquís, y esto porque no les dizen la verdad de lo que tienen scrito, antes los leuan vendidos por no perder la honrra y el provecho que sacan de los pueblos" (Martí de Figuerola 2024, 1:209; also in Guillén Robles, LXXVI). Martí de Figuerola (2024, 1:212) también conpares himself directly with García on the question of coercion.

[50] Martí de Figuerola states that "lo que se dira sera de un libro que hizo mossen Johan Andres antiguo alfaqui de Xativa y que por ser persona experta, , se presume, y assí es verdad" (30ra; Martí de Figuerola 2024, 1:313, with my changes).

abbreviate and slightly alter the text by eliminating "and Allah fully knew what she had delivered and the male is not like the female," but Juan Andrés inserts the word "female" (*unthā*) in place of the missing phrase. He writes:

> *faleme guad ahothe unça calet jni ceniey tuhe jnarieme gua jni uhiduhe bique gua durri yatihe mine assaytani aragina* [...] que quere dezir [...] que parió y nasció fembra, el qual nascimiento fue santo. Llamola María y rogó a Dios que ella y su Fijo fuessen muy apartados y defensados de la temptación del diablo. Sobre este dicho dizen los glosadores del *Alcorán* que solamente Jesuchristo y su madre sancta María fueron exemtos de la temptación del diablo (2003, 211–212).[51]

Martí de Figuerola, by contrast, abbreviates the text without insertions but leaves out a few letters:

> [Arabic letters] Fa-lammā w[a]ḍaʿathā qālat wa-in sammaytuhā maryama wa-innīa uʿiyhduhā bika wa-dhuriyatahā min al-shayṭāni r-rraḥīmi. [Latin letters] Falame dacate quelat guain çamay tue Mariama guainia hui due biqua guaduri yatahe mina axayteni hirraimi. Quiere dezir, y despues que pario sancta anna dixo o señor yo e parido fembra y la e llamada maria dixo dios yo la defendere contigo y a su hijo del diablo malvado. Dizen los glosadores special benatia sobre aquello que dize yo la defendere que la virgen maria y su hijo fueron defendidos dela temptacion del diablo (Martí de Figuerola, 120r; 2024, 1:535–36, with my changes.).

While the passages are very similar and similar to passages in the sermons of García,[52] three key details show Martí de Figuerola's independence from Juan Andrés. First, the reading of *waḍaʿathā* (she bore her) not as *guad ahothe,* as Andrés writes, but as *dacate* elides the *waw,* which was written in Arabic without a vowel, and seems to misread the *ʿayn* as a *qāf.* Secondly, the *Lumbre*'s abbreviation of the passage is different (with no addition of *unthā*). Thirdly, the Arabic text lacks a *shadda* over the *rā* in *wa-dhurriyatahā,* a fact reproduced in the transliteration as *guaduri yatahe,* unlike Andrés's *gua durri yatihe.* Lastly, the final word, *ar-rrajīmi* (accursed) is written in Arabic as *r-rraḥīmi* (lacking a dot and writing the *jīm* as a *ḥāʾ*), an error reflected in the transliteration as *hirraimi* and different from Andrés's *aragina.* In this short example, it is clear that Martí de Figuerola is not copying from Andrés and also that the transliteration he offers seems to follow the Arabic text as written, often including its errata.

A second example can be found in the citation of Q. 2:102 in both texts. Andrés writes "*guame unzile hale al mele queyni bibebile harote guamarute.* Quiere dezir: 'Y lo que vino sobre los dos ángeles llamados Harote y Marute en Babilonia'" (2003, 141).[53] Martí de Figuerola, by contrast, renders this first in Arabic letters as "*wa-mā ānzi ʿalā al-malikayni niyābila* [sic] *hāruta wa-mārūta,*" followed by a transliteration in Latin letters and translation to Castilian: "*guameuncila ala almalicani bibebila eruta guameruta.* Quiere dezir […] y lo que fue descendido sobre los dos angeles Arot y Marot en

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[51] The Arabic passage properly rendered reads: "fa-lammā waḍaʿathā unthā qālat innī sammaytuhā maryama wa-innī uʿiydhuhā bika wa-dhurriyatahā min ash-shayṭān ar-rrajīm."

[52] Cf. Montoza Coca, 115 (ser. 16), 167 (ser. 23), 226 (ser. 30), 231 (ser. 32), 1057 (ser. 106), and 1201 (ser. 123).

[53] The Arabic reads, "wa-mā unzila ʿalā al-malakayni bi-bābila hārūta wa-marūta." On Martí de Figuerola's system of transliteration and copying Arabic, see 2024, 1:80–94.

babilonia" (91v–92r; Martí de Figuerola 2024, 1:455–56, with my changes.).[54] On the one hand, this passage offers another example that Martí de Figuerola was not copying from Andrés, because the transliterations and translations by the two authors are clearly different. On the other hand, this example shows details in the transliteration that are valuable for understanding pronunciation norms among Martí de Figuerola's audience or collaborators. Apart from errors —what Roberto Tottoli has identified as a *lapsus calami* in numerous places of the Arabic script consisting of misplacing a dot over or under the ductus (Tottoli, 364)—, the transliteration resembles Juan Andrés's by consistently rendering the *fatḥah* followed by alīf as *e* rather than *ā*. In this example, *mā* is transliterated as *me* and the names *harūta* and *marūta,* which the text writes in Arabic letters as *hāruta* and *mārūta,* are rendered in Latin letters *eruta* and *meruta.* This example also provides evidence to support the suggestion that Martí de Figuerola's transliteration usually followed the written text, despite the evidence of errors (e.g. *ānzi* rather than *unzila* and *niyābila* rather than *bābila*) that are not always repeated in Latin letters.

It is known that Martí de Figuerola relied on the help of a new Christian by the name of Juan Gabriel from Teruel, an Aragonese convert and ex-*alfaquí* known as Alí Aliazar. Juan Gabriel gained a reputation as a valuable translator and informant. Beginning in 1518, the same year of Martí de Figuerola's work on the *Lumbre*, he collaborated on a Qurʾān translation into Latin commissioned by the Italian Cardinal Egidio da Viterbo, a text later to be edited and corrected by the illustrious convert Leo Africanus.[55] Martí de Figuerola's different renderings of Arabic text can be attributed to the direct influence of Gabriel, and in this way they offer, despite some differences, a parallel case to that of Juan Andrés. Both Andrés and Martí de Figuerola include transliteration of Arabic undertaken by a native speaker and convert and sharing characteristics (such as pronunciation of vowels) in common with Aljamiado. Both of these authors, moreover, made use of Arabic as a conversionary tool and a foundation of a claim to authenticity in argumentation.[56] The most significant polemical aspect of both texts is their common practice of transliteration and translation of the Qur'ān, rendering the holy text into a form that could be both recited and understood by Christians for the purpose of polemic and evangelization. In this sense, the citation practices of Juan Andrés and Martí de Figuerola represent two parallel aspects of a single polemical campaign, representing an "inversion" of Islamic sources through translation and transliteration.

Bernardo Pérez de Chinchón and Lope de Obregón, Readers of Juan Andrés

Because Martí de Figuerola wrote before the forced conversion of the Muslims of Aragon in December 1525, his arguments were directed to the still-unconverted Mudéjar population. In the years just following the decree, Bernardo Pérez de Chinchón worked as private tutor to the children of Duke Juan de Borja in the city of Gandía (near Xàtiva), where he was a canon in the collegiate church. He is best known as the most prolific and influential translator of Erasmus of Rotterdam, as well as of works by Flavio Capella Galeazzo and Juan Luis Vives. It is known that he was the grandson of Juan González Jarada, who was condemned by the inquisition and "relaxed" (released) to the secular arm, and this stain hung over later generations of family members. In 1528, Pérez petitioned inquisitor Alonso Manrique for "rehabilitation" of four of his sisters, and in the

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[54] On the relation with Gabriel, see Martí de Figuerola 2024, 1:25–26. The reading of the word *guameuncila* is uncertain, and may be *guameincila.* See also the description of using this passage in disputation with Muslim experts in Martí de Figuerola 2024, 1:197.

[55] The translation has been edited and studied by Starczewska (2018). See also Starczewska (2015a); and García-Arenal & Starczewska.

[56] I have reached a similar conclusion based on comparison of citations of Q. 5:46 and other passages. See Szpiech 2022, 305–306.

notice of that successful transaction, Pérez is mentioned as "maestro de los hijos del Duque de Gandía, que diz que ha fecho una obra qontra Mahoma y su seta" (Pons Fuster & Parellada 155).[57] This work was published in Valencia four years later as *Libro llamado Antialcoran,* after which Pérez published more translations of Erasmus as well the *Diálogos christianos* in 1535.

In both works, language is a central aspect to Pérez's approach. The *Antialcorano,* published in the same period as the author's better known and more influential translations of Erasmus, collects twenty-six sermons that, he says, "compuse en lengua castellana" with the express intention "para insruyr y enseñar a los nuevamente convertidos y para confutar la secta mahomética" (2000, 79). He underscores in his prologue, which is directed to his fellow "canónigos, rectores, vicarios, y qualesquier personas ecclesiásticas que tengan administración de los nuevamente convertidos de moros," that the decision to write and publish in Castilian, which has met with their criticism, is directed at Moriscos "por no aver en ellos aquella erudición y doctrina y spíritu que se requiere para tan gran empresa" (79). Because he is writing for Moriscos of the region,[58] he stresses the importance of "original" material that they can understand and identify with "para ganarles poco a poco la boca como a pollos: y mostrándoles los males y mentiras de su ley, enamorarlos a la nuestra, primero con las obras y luego con las palabras." Latin is useless in reaching them and they cannot be taught until their own text and beliefs have been disproven. "Empeçarlos a christianear por la missa [en latín] es como empeçar la casa por el tejado para que sin fundamento nunca se haga" (80). He repeats this same argument in the Latin prologue to his *Diálogos Christianos,* noting that it has been necessary to write in Romance because "Saracens, with whom one must discuss, know Spanish but not Latin. Moreover, most of them have learned to read and write in our language" (391).

Like García, Andrés, and Martí de Figuerola, Pérez relied on the help of native assistants. In the *Antialcorano,* he claims he consulted "con alfaquíes y personas doctas en su ley, quales fueron Moscayre alcadí de Gandía, y Mangay y el alfaquí zumilla, y otros que no nombro" (81–82). Moreover, he mentions "alfaquí zumilla" (identified as Pérez's Arabic tutor, José Arávigo) again in the *Diálogos*, a text that he says reproduces "algunas disputas que con algunos moriscados mis amigos he tenido: specialmente con Joseph Zumilla mi maestrao en arábigo, el cual por me hazer placer aunque ya buen cristiano holgaba de disputar y tomar en la disputa la parte del moro" (401). But Pérez is not only following the pattern of earlier authors by relying on native informants. He also mentions his use of earlier polemics as sources in the prologue to the *Antialcorano.* Besides claiming that "he visto y rebuelto tres o quatro reprovaciones que ay del alcorán y algunos sermones que el muy reverendo maestro Martín García arçediano de Zaragoça en su tiempo hizo," he adds, "me aproveché de los trabajos de los pasados" (81). Although he does not specify what those "reprovaciones" (reproofs, polemics) were, one clue might be found in the library of the Duke of Gandía. Not only did the library contain works by Erasmus of Rotterdam, as well as of works by Flavio Capella Galeazzo and Juan Luis Vives —all sources Pérez was busily translating at the time of his anti-Morisco writing— but it also contains the 1515 edition of Andrés's *Confusión* (Pastor Zapata 289 [#10] and 306 [#229]). This usage is not surprising. After all, Pérez is working little more than a decade after Andrés's *Confusión* appeared in Valencia, and the presence of the work is attested in the library catalogue of the Duke Juan de Borja among the other titles that Pérez was busy translating.

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[57] AHN, Inquisición, Lib. 573, fol. 89v. See also Parellada, 181.
[58] On the Morisco population in Ávila, see Tapia.

Pérez's use of Andrés is evident in several passages where he reproduces the text very closely. For example, in sermon eight, which is the first to mention multiple verses from the Qurʾān, it states: "Item dize tu alcorán, libro tercero, capítulo diez y nueve: que dios crió en el infierno un árbol, que es tan grande como todo el infierno: y la fruta deste árbol dize que es cabeças de demonios: y que este árbol se llama sajaratazocon: y que desta fruta comerán los del infierno: y que beverán plomo derretido" (154). This exerpt names a qurʾanic passage that corresponds loosely to Q. 44:43–46, which mentions "shajarat al-zaqqūm" (the tree of Zaqqūm) in Hell as well as the detail that sinners there drink "molten" metal (*muhl*). It combines this passage with details from Q. 37:62–67, which mentions the tree's fruit as "heads of devils," as well as exegetical literature specifying the tree's immense size. It is telling that this hybrid text reproduces almost exactly a passage in Andrés's *Confusión*.[59] Moreover, the string of Qurʾān and Ḥadīth references that follow in sermon eight of the *Antialcorano* mirror a similar string in chapter fifteen of Andrés's *Confusión.*

In most of the *Antialcorano,* Pérez gives his citations in Spanish translation only, with no Arabic letters or transliteration. As he himself notes, this was because it was difficult to print Arabic letters and any such printing would need to be double checked with native experts. "Las allegaciones del alcorán no van aquí insertas: porque en el molde se corrompe mucho la lengua aráviga: y porque este negocio quiere simepre nueva averiguación con los alfaquís moros." Nevertheless, this last fact was not an impediment to communication because these experts "saben bien de coro el alcorán" (87). Following many citations of Arabic sources, the printed text often leaves spaces where the Arabic could be introduced and where, we may suppose, it may have been written in the original manuscript.

Despite this overall absence of Arabic, however, the text includes occasional words and short phrases in Arabic, including the names of qurʾanic books. Most notable is the inclusion of two full sentences, both of which appear in sermon eight. A close comparison of these phrases with the *Confusión* shows without a doubt that Pérez copied these sentences directly from Andrés. For example, he notes, "hazes una oración a dios, que dize desta manera: O alla hume negine micueli almele gue ni gua minhadeui alcabri guacuyal macer. Que quiere dezir, libra nos Dios de las preguntas de los dos ángeles y del tomento de la huessa: y del mal camino. Amen" (154–155).[60] This follows Andrés's *Confusión* almost exactly: "los moros tienen una oración […] dize en arávigo así: *allahume negi ne miçueli al melequeni gua minhadebi al cabri guaçuyalmaçer,* que quiere dezir 'Líbranos Dios de la pregunta de los dos ángeles y del tormento de la fuessa y del mal camino, amén'" (157).[61] This phrase is an oral prayer and is not found as such in the Qurʾān or other authoritative source. The second example of an Arabic sentence is found on the next page of the same sermon. While naming five things allegedly granted to Muhammad and no one else, Pérez states, "el quinto que a él fuessen lícitos los despojos de las guerras, que dize ohillet li alganeym ylem tuhil liahadim min cabli" (2000, 156). Pérez's entire list of five things is copied from Andrés, who provides more transliterated

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[59] "Dize *Alcorán,* libro tercero, capítulo diez y nueve, que Dios crió en el Infierno un árbol, el qual árbol dize la glosa qu'es tan grande como todo el Infierno. Y la fruta deste árbol dize que es cabeças de demonios, el qual árbol se llama Sajaratazacon, de la qual fruta dize comerán los infernales y beverán plomo dirretido" (Juan Andrés 2003, 154). Most telling is the fact that Andrés quotes and transliterates a passage from Q. 44:43, but mistakenly numbers it "libro tercero, capítulo diez y nueve," which as Andrés notes elsewhere, corresponds to the surah "de los ángeles" (*aṣ-ṣṣaffat*), i.e. 37 (127). Pérez reproduces this numbering.

[60] The transliteration in the printed edition introduces a few errors and has been corrected in comparison with the original printing, *Libro llamado Antialcorano* (Bernardo Pérez de Chinchón 1532, 102).

[61] The Arabic reads "Allāhumma najjinā min suʾāl al-malakayni wa-min ʿadhābi l-qabri wa-sūʾi l-masār."

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text from which Pérez draws various snippets. Andrés concludes with "la cinquena y postrera es que a él solo fueron lícitos los despojos de la guerra y batallas, en arávigo dize *hillet li alganeym ylem tuhil li ahadin min cabli*" (181). The fact that Pérez's versions of these transliterated passages match Andrés's and that the content of all the passages in which he includes Arabic phrases follows exactly the content and order in the *Confusión* shows without a doubt that this was his direct source for Arabic citations and transliterations. It is worth noting that neither of these two sentences comes from the Qurʾān itself, but instead both derive from oral prayers or Ḥadīth passages.[62]

In comparison with the *Confusión,* the *Antialcorano* shows a marked reduction in the engagement with the qurʾanic text and a lack of first-hand knowledge of the text or of related Islamic sources, notwithstanding Pérez's alleged consultation with "algunos moriscados mis amigos." This is even more pronounced in the *Diálogos christianos,* which mentions the Qurʾān on some twenty occasions but paraphrases only a few and contains only two direct quotations of the Qurʾān (including a blank space for the Arabic to be added), both of which appear in a sermon that is reproduced in full from the *Antialcorano*.[63] Similarly, the text contains three passages with transliterated Arabic phrases, all of which seem based on Andrés's *Confusión*.[64] This trend of increasing distance from first-hand engagement with Islamic sources is even more evident in another work that appeared two decades after the *Diálogos* entitled *Confutación del alcorán y secta mahometana* (1555) by Castilian priest Lope de Obregón from Ávila.[65] Like Pérez, he stresses that part of his approach he relied heavily on Juan Andrés, reproducing many of his translations of Arabic verses while also copying Andrés's transliterations of Arabic text.

The *Confutación* of Lope de Obregon focuses heavily on the life of Muhammad, dedicating the first twelve chapters to this topic and adding a refutation of Islam in the remaining three chapters. He states this dependence directly in the prologue to the work, where he lists his sources, which include texts by Saint Isidore of Seville, Antoninus of Florence (d. 1459), and Denis the Carthusian (d. 1471), as well as the works by Juan Andrés, Pérez de Chinchón, and Martín García:

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[62] The only other example of transliterated Arabic that goes beyond a few words is found later in the same sermon. Listing five things granted to Muhammad not given to others, he includes "el quinto que a él fuessen lícitos los despojos de las guerras, que dize *ohillet li alganeym ylem tuhil liahadim min cabli*" (Bernardo Pérez de Chinchón 2000, 156). The entire list of five things is copied from Andrés, who provides more transliterated text from which Pérez draws various snippets and words. Andrés concludes with "la cinquena y postrera es que a él solo fueron lícitos los despojos de la guerra y batallas, en arávigo dize *hillet li alganeym ylem tuhil li ahadin min cabli*" (Juan Andrés 2003, 181). The Arabic in both texts can be understood as: *uḥillat lī al-ghanāʾim wa-lam tuḥil li-aḥadin min qablī,* which is a combination of various phrases found in *Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim* V.3 (521a) (https://sunnah.com/muslim:521a) and related accounts.

[63] The citations of the Qurʾān are found dialogue five of the *Diálogos*: "Tu mesmo alcorán lo dize que es luz y camino para los hombres y en el capítulo Elenphal [8:7] dize … que quyere dezir. Dios quiere que se preuve la verdad por su palabra: y llamas a christo palabra de dios." And "Item en el capítulo de Jona [10:94] dize vuestro alcorán assí … que quere dezir. Si estuviéredes en dubda desto que havemos dicho, preguntaldo a aquéllos que han leydo el libro antes que yo." (Pérez de Chinchón 2000, 449–450; elipses in original). This entire passage is part of sermon twelve of the *Antialcorano,* which is copied in full into dialogue five and which and contains the same two qurʾanic quotations (199 and 203, respectively).

[64] The transliterations are found in dialogue five, "se prueva como aquella palabra de dios que vosotros llamays elquelimetu alahi: e aquel spíritu sancto que vosotros llamays ruhuelcuduçu: son personas distinctas del padre" (458); and dialogue seven: "Esto es lo que vosotros llamays elchelimetualahi: que quere dezir la palabra de dios" (486); And "que xro. Sea lo que vosotros llamays elchelimetualahi" (488). Cf. Juan Andrés 2003, 173 and 211.

[65] Szpiech 2014.

> Me siguo por los proprios dichos de su alcoran. […] segun y como lo ley y halle escrito en sus proprios libros, y en vn libro que ordeno Juan Andres […] ayudandome assi mesmo de los dichos declaracion de sant Isidro, y del Arçobispo de Florencia, y de Dionysio Carthusiano, y de los .xxvj. sermones de maestro Bernardo Perez de Chinchon, y de las historias de Martino, y Vincencio, y del libro de maestro Martin Garcia Obispo de Barcelona y del libro que ordeno Iacobo Philippo [...] y de otros diversos libros (Lope de Obregón, 2v).[66]

This direct dependance on these sources is obvious in the work, even though Obregón does not name them in the text. For example, in chapter two of the *Confutación,* he paraphrases a section from Ibn Kathīr's (d. 774/1373) *Al-Sīrat al-Nabawiyya* about the first revelations to Muhammad which contain qurʾanic passages such as Q. 96:1–5 ("Read in the name of your Lord…") and Q. 74:1–5 ("O you covered up…"). In each case, Andrés provides a transliteration of the texts, including telling details such as "los animales y los árboles saludavan a Mahoma en el camino y le fablaban, diziendo en arávigo *absir ya mohemed ineque raçolollah* […]" (2003, 109), although in Ibn Kathīr's version, "Every tree and rock bowed down before him saying…" (1:291, and cf. 294, 296, 298). Obregón reproduces this order of sources and passages and he reproduces the detail that the trees and animals (rather than trees and rocks) greeted him: "vio que los arboles meneandose le avian hecho grande acatamiento y que lo animales aullando y ladrando avian dicho *absir ya mohemed ineque raçolo llah…*"(9v–10r).[67] Most of Obregón's few dozen transliterations can be found in the *Confusión* and they match Andrés's very closely. In some passages, Obregón even reproduces errors or particular readings in Andrés's text. For example, in a citation of Q. 66:1 (which begins "O Prophet! Why do you prohibit from what Allah has made lawful to you, seeking to please your wives?"), Andrés's text transliterates "your wives" (*azwājuka*) incorrectly as *aznegique,* confusing the *wāw* with a *nūn*. He also mistakenly inserts the end of 66:2 ("the All-Knower, the All-Wise," *al-ʿalīmun al-ḥakīm*) in place of the end of 66:1 ("Forgiving, Merciful"). Moreover, in 66:2 ("Allah has ordained for you the way to absolve yourselves from your oaths [*aymanikum*]"), he interprets the term for "oaths" (lit. "your right hands") as "vuestras esclavas" ("your slaves/concubines"), based on the euphemistic expression "what your right hands possess" (*mā malakat aymānuhum*), used elsewhere in the text for slaves, Obregón reprodces all of these details in the *Confutación,* showing his direct and constant dependence on Juan Andrés.

This example is one of many such examples that can be offered showing the direct parallels between Obregón's text and the *Confusión.*[68] Obregón's limited ability in Arabic forced him, as he himself notes in the prologue of the *Confutación*, to rely on a local convert to insert other texts in Arabic in transliteration, all of which evince, as in previous examples, a strong oral character. Obregón's strained attempts at rendering the Arabic text for fellow Christian preachers calls to mind the words of thirteenth century Domincan Ramon Martí (d. after 1284), who states in his anti-Jewish text *Capistrum Iudaeorum* (*Muzzle for the Jews*), which is filled with transliterations of Hebrew text into Latin letters, "It will be best if this treatise [be written] not only in Latin, but also in Hebrew, and that one have the knowledge of reading Hebrew, even if they cannot understand it").[69]

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[66] On Obregón's treatment of Muhammad, see Ducharme 2020.

[67] For a comprehensive comparison of the two authors, see El-Kolli.

[68] Another telling example —the nearly identical misquotations of Q.3:169— has been explored in Szpiech 2022, 311–312.

[69] "Optimum erit si istud opusculum non solum in Latino, sed etiam in Hebraeo, et scientia legendi, etsi non intelligendi Hebraicum habeatur" ("It will be best if this treatise [be written] not only in Latin, but

Just over a decade after Obregón published the *Confutación,* bishop of Valencia Martín Pérez de Ayala published, just before his death, the catechism entitled *Doctrina Christiana, en lengua Arauiga, y Castellana* (1566). This work, which contains no Islamic sources but instead offers Christian prayers and passages in transliterated Arabic and Spanish translation, was intended for use in teaching Christianity to Arabic speakers. It was the last work containing Arabic that was published before the 1567 decree of Felipe II that made the Arabic language illegal in all contexts. This prohibition marked a sharp turn in the prevailing Christian attitude about the role of language in the assimilation and conversion of the Morisco population. The shift in attitude is evident in the words of Granadan clergyman Pedro Guerra de Lorca two decades after Pérez de Ayala and the 1567 decree. In his *Catecheses mystagogicae pro aduenis ex secta Mahometana* (*Mystagogical Catechism for Those Coming from the Muhammadan Sect*, 1586), he urges his Morisco listeners:

> Patiently prepare your ears to the rhythm of Christian culture. You should not insist that your instruction take place in reverse order, that is, in the Arabic language […] nor should you wish your leaders to become Arabs. […] On the contrary, adjust yourselves to their vernacular! (25r)[70]

Anti-Qurʾān and Anti-Aljamiado

The use of the Arabic language in Spanish preaching and evangelizing in the first half of the sixteenth century is one example of a longer history of Christian use of Arabic and Hebrew as part of polemical efforts against non-Christians in western Europe beginning in the twelfth century. From the first translation of the Qurʾān in the 1140s in Toledo and the first Latin references to the Talmud and Rabbinical exegesis a few decades earlier, Christian engagement with Muslim and Jewish sources grew more intense throughout the thirteenth century, especially with the work of Dominican friars in Iberia and Italy. In the polemics of Ramon Martí, for example, the Qurʾān itself was cited —in Arabic written in Hebrew letters— as a pro-Christian source against the Jews, a sort of proof that the Muslims respected Jesus like the Christians themselves did and so could provide a model for doubting Jews.[71] In such examples, transliteration of foreign alphabets became a useful tool for polemical engagement serving as a means of appropriating and foreign scriptures and transforming them. Such transformations effected a kind of linguistic "conversion" that mirrored the evangelizing goals in the texts of converting their listeners and readers. Carlos Sainz de la Maza calls this phenomenon "inverse Aljamiado" ("aljamías inversas"), which he defines as "todo proceso de escritura de una lengua usando el alfabeto propio de otra que sea la lengua de referencia identitaria de un grupo social distinto, que, mediante este procedimiento, hace suyo algún aspecto propio de la cultura representada por la lengua así transcrita" (253–254).[72] The strategies of the sixteenth century texts directed at the Moriscos carry on this tradition of manipulating language as a tool of argument and an appeal to conversion. Although born of Hernando de Talavera's language-focused missionizing strategy directed at Mudejar Muslims in

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also in Hebrew, and that one have the knowledge of reading Hebrew, even if they cannot understand it"; Ramon Martí, 1:56.

[70] "Modo Christianae culturae patienter vestras aures praeparate. Nec vestram instructionem inverso ordine, id est, sub lingua Arabica fiere debere contendatis […] nec subinde ut vestros praepositos de novo Arabicos fieri […] velitis sed et contra vosmet eorum vulgari sermoni attemperate."

[71] For an edition and study of these citations, see Szpiech 2011.

[72] See also Tommasino, 233–234; García-Arenal & Starczewska, 415; and Abdel Haleem, 187–190 on the traditional debate over the importance of spelling and letters. See also Martí de Figuerola (2024, 1:83); and Tottoli, 376–77.

Granada in the 1490s, the arguments of the *Antialcoranes* also transmitted the rhetoric and argumentation of the long polemical tradition that preceded him.

The presence of Arabic in the *Antialcoranes* clearly serves as more than a simple tool of communication of text. It also functions, in Soto and Starczewska's words, as an "authoritative rhetorical token,"[73] a manner of evoking an aura of Islamic authenticity, even though it is made in the services of an anti-Islamic argument. In transliterated form, however, it also comes to function as a polemical weapon. Insofar as Morisco identity and tradition were founded on adapting and modifying existing structures of language and culture within sixteenth-century Spain in order to preserve Islamic culture, the writing of Talavera, García, Andrés, and subsequent authors who used Arabic language in transliteration and translation constitutes a frontal attack on Morisco survival strategies. This was the case not simply because these writers attacked Islam, but more specifically because they manipulated language and writing systems to do so. In the face of Morisco Aljamiado and other cultural practices, churchmen of the early sixteenth century employed "Anti-Aljamiado," inverting and denaturing key markers of crypto-Muslim identity. Seeing the Arabic of the *Antialcoranes* as "Anti-Aljamiado" is logical when viewed within the wider context of Christian-Morisco polemical engagement in the first half of the sixteenth century. In place of defenses of Morisco belief and practice, such as that found in the work of the Mancebo de Arévalo, or Morisco attacks on Christian beliefs written in Aljamiado, such as the anti-Christian polemical tract found in BNE Ms. 4944, we encounter precisely the opposite. If Morisco Aljamiado can be considered, as the etymology of the word itself suggests, a case of ʿ*Ajamiyya* (non-Arabic language) presented in the garb of Arabic letters, the Arabic of the *Antialcoranes* constitutes the opposite: a form of ʿ*Arabiyya* (Arabic language) transliterated in Latin letters.

The polemical impetus behind the *Antialcoranes* is clearly represented in a surviving Qurʾān manuscript of the period, the so-called "Qurʾān of Bellús" (Munich, BSB Cod. Arab 7), which dates from 1518 and can be located to Bellús, near Xàtiva, the hometown of Juan Andrés. The Arabic text —possibly copied by Martí de Figuerola's collaborator Juan Gabriel or a related associate[74]— is glossed throughout with translated words and marginal notes in Catalan, Latin, and Castilian and shows a clear Christian perspective by sometimes disagreeing with the text and labeling passages as "ridiculous" (5v, 9v, 101r), "lies" (3v, 13v, 40r, 126v, etc.), "false" things (3r, 14r, 18r, etc.), "fiction" (14r, 126r, 143v, etc.), among other insults. Among the glosses of this hostile reader, which Casassas Canals and Selin have proposed is very possibly Martí de Figuerola, one can find occasional transliterated words and titles. Such details constitute an example of the role of the transformation of language —through glossing, transliteration into Latin letters, and translation— in the formation of a polemical argument. The Bellús Qurʾān, whose content is still being documented and interpreted, provides a useful touchstone for assessing the engagement of Christian readers around Valencia like Andrés and Martí de Figuerola and interpreting the symbolic value of their treatment of Arabic material.

To appreciate what is at stake in the rendering of the Qurʾān in translation and transliteration in this polemical context, one can recall the words of Q.12:2, in which God says, "I have revealed the Qurʾān in Arabic so that you, can understand." The doctrine of *iʿjāz al-Qurʾān* (the inimitability of the Qurʾān) has been a widespread idea since the third/tenth century (Bar Asher 66), developing the belief that the Qurʾān is the unmitigated word of God that cannot be translated. Cordoban scholar Ibn Ḥazm noted in his *Muḥallā,* a compendium of law, that God

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[73] Soto & Starczewska, "Authority," 209.
[74] Selin, "To Translate is to Interpret", 424. Cf. Martí de Figuerola 2024, 1:77.

explained in pure language that He sent Muhammad, peace be upon him, and brought down to him the Qurʾān in no language save Arabic. Accordingly anyone who reads it in any language other than Arabic does not read what God sent by means of His prophet, peace be upon him, and he does not read the Qurʾān (4:159).

This untranslatability rests on the belief that the Arabic language is itself "pure," a "clear Arabic language" (*lisān ʿarabī mubīn,* Q. 16:101) in which "there is no crookedness/unevenness" (*ghayra dhī ʿiwaji,* 39:28). Q. 41:44 addresses even more directly the importance of the Arabic language as the only suitable medium for God's words. "If we sent down a Qur'ān in a foreign language (*ʿajamiyyan*), they would have said, 'Why are its verses not made clear? What? A foreign language and an Arab [speaker]?'" The "crookedness" of foreign letters might easily be interpreted as foreign and unfitting to contain the revealed text, and Muslim poets have employed the image of Christian alphabets as a metaphor for imperfection and infidelity.[75]

Moreover, if the very notion of the Qurʾān in *Aljamiado* is problematic, it is especially so in the mouth of a "non-Arab."[76] The rendering of the Qurʾān not only as a translation into ʿajamiyya but also as a transliteration into an "inverse Aljamiado" constitutes a double polemical gesture, both a challenge to the divine status of Arabic and an appropriation and repackaging of that status in a Latin guise.[77] The presentation in Latin letters of material from the Qurʾān and other Islamic sources, as we find in the *Antialcoranes,* can be read as a kind of marginal gloss on contemporary polemical and apologetic literature of the Moriscos themselves, offering a mirror image of the two dozen or so manuscripts of Mudejar or Morisco Qurʾāns in *aljamiado* Castilian (including two in Latin script), studied in depth by Consuelo López Morillas and Nuria Martínez de Castilla.[78] "Anti-Aljamiado" in the evangelization and polemical literature of the first half of the sixteenth century can thus be read as a deliberate and strategic reversal of the Morisco use of Aljamiado, a way of employing transliteration not to preserve Morisco identity but to undermine it through the conversion of belief and the inversion of sacred text and language.

"Language difference," as Joseph Errington has stated, is not simply an expression of human diversity or a manifestation of religious or cultural independence but a vehicle of power that historically has "figured in the creation of human hierarchies" (5). As David Damrosch has put it, "alphabets and other scripts […] serve as key indices of cultural identity, often as battlegrounds of independence or interdependence" (196). In the context of evangelization and forced conversion, script and language had the power to evoke the elusive aura of authentic identity, and language itself began to serve as a new theological witness to the historical triumph of Christianity, a dangerous weapon in a war of words that constituted, in Seth Kimmel's phrase, "the apologies and polemics that made violence possible and comprehensible" (12). Yet as Pérez de Ayala concedes in his

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[75] The twelfth-century Persian poet Khāqānī (d. ca. 1199) claims that the course of heaven (*Falak*) is "more crooked than the writing of the Christians," in this case Greek (Pifer 168), and likens conversion to bending the staff of Moses into the shape of a cross. I am grateful to Michael Pifer for this reference.

[76] On the question of the rendering of the Qurʾān in writing, see Abdel Haleem, "Qur'anic Orthography."

[77] García-Arenal (158), characterizes Martí de Figuerola's polemic as "double" in another sense, as speaking both with Muslims and also with Aragonese nobles who patronized them.

[78] Consuelo López-Morillas gives a list twenty-five manuscripts, suggesting only four (Madrid, Biblioteca Nacional ms 4938; Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale ms. Arabe 1163; Madrid, Real Academia de la Historia mss. 9402 and a section of 9409), might date to the fifteenth century. All are copied in *aljamiado* and none are complete (46). See also Castilla on these and later qur'anic manuscripts. Also relevant is the work on the Bellús Qur'ān (1518), on which see Casassas Canals 2015 and 2021; Cassasas Canals & Martínez Gásquez, who provide an edition of the glosses; and Sellin.

Doctrina christiana, sometimes changing alphabets is not sufficient to capture the nature of the original language: "Porque la lengua Arauiga (como todos los demas) tiene no solamente proprios characteres, pero aun proprias pronunciaciones y sonidos de letras, que no se puede bien suplir con letras Latinas" (22r).[79] The fact that Pérez de Ayala's text made no use of Islamic text but only rendered Christian content in transliterated Arabic suggests that perhaps such limitations were perceived to extend to content as well as sound and form.

With the ban on Arabic in 1567, texts like the *Antialcoranes* naturally ceased to be published, marking the 1555 *Confutación* of Lope de Obregón as the last text of its kind. If the mixture of appeal and attack in the *Antialcoranes* elaborate the dual impulses toward pastoral and polemical engagement that were at the core of Talavera's project, the eventual abandonment of preaching campaigns based on language and text in the latter half of the sixteenth century marks a decisive end to that missionizing project. But despite the ban, the influence of the *Antialcoranes* did not disappear. While Figuerola's work remained in manuscript and was soon overlooked and forgotten, the *Confusión* of Juan Andrés was translated and printed dozens of times in multiple languages and was cited and known by Christian writers about Islam well into the nineteenth century and even, on occasion, into the twentieth. Juan Andrés's influence does not stop with the expulsion of the Moriscos around 1609. In the seventeenth century, the *Confusión* was cited by the Jesuit Tirso González de Santalla in his *Manuductio ad conversionem Mahumetanorum* (1687), as well as by Johannes Maurus, Vicente Ximeno,[80] and Manuel Sanz, Spanish Jesuit in Malta, who quotes Andrés repeatedly in his *Tratado breve contra la secta Mahometana* (1693, first published in Italian two years earlier).

Andrés's arguments, formulated in response to late-medieval Muslim polemics, proved to be an important source for Christian anti-Muslim propaganda in the early modern period, even into the eighteenth century. Italian translator of the Qur'ān, Ludovico Marracci, in his *Alcorani Textus Universus* (1698, partly reprinted under a new title in 1721 by Christian Reineccius in Leipzig) makes use of Andrés on various occasions, as does the English orientalist George Sale, whose translation of the Qur'ān later found a place in the library of Thomas Jefferson.[81] Even a century later, the Discalced Carmelite Manuel Traggia de Santo Tomás de Aquino drew heavily from Juan Andrés in his *Verdadero carácter de mahoma y de su religión* (1794), naming or citing him at length over forty times and reproducing most of the second chapter of Andrés's *Confusión*.[82] Through figures like Sale and especially Traggia —whom Míkel de Epalza calls "el mayor y más importante islamólogo en lengua española de su época (siglos XVIII-XIX)" (219)— the reach of the *Antialcoranes* stretches to the modern period. And *Anti-Aljamiado,* the strategic inversion of the linguistic habits of the Moriscos, overlaps with the origins of European Arabic philology, quietly representing a dark polemical legacy behind the foundations of modern-day Arabic and Islamic studies.

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[79] On Ayala's philosophy of using the Arabic language in missionizing, see Gilbert, 280–281 n. 38; and Garrido García, 127.

[80] Tirso González de Santalla, *Manuductio ad conversionem Mahumetanorum,* 2 vol., Madrid: Juan de Goyeneche, 1687, vol. 2, pp. 8, 11, 16, 42, 395, 405, and others; Manuel Sanz, *Tratado breve contra la secta mahometana*, Seville: Lucas Martín, 1693, pp. 4, 60. For Andrés's influence on northern European writers, see Wiegers, 242–243.

[81] Szpiech 2012, 337–339.

[82] Manuel Traggia de Santo Tomás de Aquino represents most of Juan's chapter two, for example, but without the transliterations (32–34).

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